

**In Search of a Cultural Republic: Intellectual and
Literary Periodical Publishing in Dublin 1930-55**

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Declaration

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

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1. Contexts

*'It wasn't a golden age. I never thought it was golden.
Gilt potato bread perhaps.'*¹

In 1934, in a lecture to the Irish Society in London, Thomas McGreevy declared that there was 'no Irish cultural Republic; no republic of the Irish mind'.² Three years later, Frank O'Connor complained: 'Whatever may have swamped Ireland, it is not culture, English or any other sort.'³ In 1951 the Arts Council was established and, timid though it was in its first incarnation, it had the State-supported objective 'to stimulate public interest in, and to promote the knowledge, appreciation, and practice of, the Arts'.⁴ The intervening years from McGreevy's speech to the Arts Act were long regarded as a cultural wasteland, with Dublin in the 1930s memorably described by Terence Brown as a place to leave, an intellectual environment notable for its 'almost Stalinist antagonism to modernism, surrealism, free verse, symbolism and the modern cinema combined with prudery and deep reverence for past.'⁵ Likewise, F. S. L. Lyons' analogy of the Irish through the years of the Emergency as a people condemned 'to live in Plato's cave, with their backs to the fire of life' endured.⁶ That picture has been complicated by more recent work, from the broad brushstrokes of Brian Fallon to Clair Wills' forensic cultural history of Ireland during World War II, which have argued that the intellectual and artistic life of the country was more vibrant than had previously been considered.

¹ Kurt Jacobsen, 'An Interview with Desmond MacNamara', in *Logos*, Winter 2008, (http://www.logosjournal.com/issue_7.1/macnamara%20interview.htm) (21 Jan. 2014).

² Cited in Diarmuid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2004), p. 359.

³ Frank O'Connor, 'Ireland reads – trash!' *Irish Press* 9 Mar. 1937, p. 8.

⁴ Arts Act 1951, *Irish Statute Book* (www.irishstatutebook.ie) (15 May 2014).

⁵ Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-2002* (London, 2004) p. 155.

⁶ F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since The Famine* (London, 1973), pp 557-58.

Irish periodicals have long been mined for pithy quotes to illustrate diverse arguments in broader histories of early twentieth-century Ireland. Frank Shovlin's pioneering study of six Irish literary periodicals set the standard for a more focused study, arguing that the literary periodical was 'a powerful means of understanding Irish cultural and historical trends.'⁷ Tom Clyde provided a useful bibliographic overview, particularly in terms of dating and geographically locating the periodicals.⁸ Malcolm Ballin extended the parameters to look at periodicals published in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales,⁹ and Bryan Fanning considered five diverse periodicals to illustrate the intellectual politics that played out in Ireland in the decades following Independence.¹⁰ If *The Bell* dominates as a source for the filleted quote, then it has also dominated more focused research, most recently in monographs from Kelly Matthews and Niall Carson.¹¹

The study of periodical culture is an area of increasing research interest internationally, with important initiatives such as the Modernist Journals Project (M.J.P.) in the U.S.A.¹² and Peter Brooker's and Andrew Thacker's three-volume history of the modernist magazine in Britain, North America, and Europe.¹³ These studies expanded the debate to consider the commercial as well as the intellectual conditions that shaped these periodicals – in fact, one of the guiding principles of

⁷ Frank Shovlin, *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958* (Oxford, 2003), p. 4.

⁸ Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin, 2003).

⁹ Malcolm Ballin, *Irish Periodical Culture, 1937–1972: Genre in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland* (Basingstoke, 2008).

¹⁰ Bryan Fanning, *The Quest for Modern Ireland: the Battle for Ideas, 1912–1986* (Dublin, 2008).

¹¹ Kelly Matthews, *The Bell and Irish Identity 1940–1954: Representation and Transformation* (Dublin, 2012);

Niall Carson, *Rebel by Vocation: Sean O'Faoláin and the Generation of The Bell* (Manchester, 2016).

¹² Further details on the scope and work of the Modernist Journal Project is available on www.modjourn.org.

¹³ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (eds), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines Vol. I Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford, 2009), *Vol. II North America 1894-1960* (Oxford, 2012), *Vol. III Europe 1880 – 1940* (Oxford, 2013).

the M.J.P. is that it will only use copies of journals that have their original advertising intact. The study of twentieth-century Irish periodicals, however, has shown a bias towards the literary content in general and *The Bell* in particular. The bias may be inevitable as much of the work has been driven by literature scholars and the focus on *The Bell* may, in part, be attributable to a lack of research on the other periodicals published in Dublin at that time. There has been a tendency to consider periodicals in isolation, whether in separate chapters or in monographs, which carries an inherent risk of exceptionalism. The research on Irish periodicals is notable, too, for the scant attention paid to the prosaic commercial realities of publishing.

The subject of this thesis is intellectual and literary periodical publishing in Dublin from 1930 to 1955. It presents a panoptic view of Irish periodical publishing and contextualizes intellectual and literary periodicals within that environment and within the broader cultural history of the period. Although close analysis has focused on *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *Motley*, *Ireland To-Day*, *Commentary*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*, these periodicals have been contextualized among their peers, and those periodicals, too, have been woven into this thesis. Notably successful Irish periodicals such as *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland's Own* and the market leaders in the dominant religious and women's interest sectors will be considered later in the text alongside noteworthy imported periodicals.

There are several reasons for this timeframe. During this period, the seven periodicals under review here were clustered in Dublin city. A consistent theme

running through this thesis is that boundaries are not as clear-cut as they may seem. This thesis is not a linear analysis: there were overlaps and gaps in publication over the years from 1930 to 1955 but there was also a consistent engagement with Irish cultural endeavour and questions of identity across all these periodicals during this period. 1930 marked the first issue of *The Capuchin Annual* and 1955 marked the last under the editorship of Father Senan Moynihan. *The Dublin Magazine* was also published consistently throughout this period – in fact, it commenced in 1926 and ceased in 1958. Together these two very different periodicals provide a backdrop to the ebb and flow of intellectual and literary periodical publishing represented in *Motley*, *Ireland To-Day*, *Commentary*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*. By 1955, only *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Bell* remained, though all three were by that time poor shadows of their former selves. A primary concern of this thesis is the interrogation of the commercial realities of publishing, which has been a neglected aspect of periodical research. The availability of Eason's distribution data for the period 1930-48 has enabled a close analysis of the financial operation of these periodicals, enhanced by printers' invoices, business records and reports from regional and international distributors. In the broader cultural and historical context, this period is notable for major political events such as the 1932 general election and the 1937 Constitution; cultural highpoints as diverse as the Eucharistic Congress and the Irish Exhibition of Living Art; and of course, the Emergency.

According to an Eason's report dated February 1934, in that month alone Eason's in Dublin distributed more than 160,000 copies of 190 individual Irish and

imported periodicals.¹⁴ This was a publishing market dominated by domestic religious periodicals and imported fiction and women's interest magazines, with a smaller market share held by trade or professional reviews and the ubiquitous film and picture magazines. The periodicals were categorised by Eason's under subject headings such as film, educational, juvenile, agricultural, trade, craft, and engineering. These categorizations were fluid: the subject headings changed in later reports and some periodicals were categorised oddly.

The periodicals considered in this thesis have been drawn primarily but not exclusively from Eason's 'Literary & Reviews' category. In April 1937 Eason's recorded 39 periodicals in this category. However, when the London titles and the inappropriately categorized Irish reviews such as *Irish Decorator & Builders Review* (3d.) and *Irish Farm Life* (1d.) are excluded, a core group of what might be broadly termed Irish 'cultural' periodicals remains. *Irish Digest* (1s.) is considered to a limited extent in this thesis because it was the most widely distributed periodical in Eason's 'Literary & Review' category, regularly exceeding 4,000 copies in the April reporting periods recorded from 1937-48. It adopted the popular Digest model and reprinted articles from Irish and international periodicals. Three Irish periodicals listed in this category have been excluded. *Éigse* (2s.) was dedicated to the cultivation of research in the field of Irish language and literature and *Dublin Historical Record* (1s. 6d.) concerned itself primarily with the history of Dublin, and they have been excluded on the basis of a narrow editorial remit. The exclusion of *Studies* from this thesis may be regarded as contentious. If judged on longevity

¹⁴ Monthly trade statistics 1931-1973 (Eason and Son Archive, EAS/A1/6/1/3/5).

alone, then this century-old periodical could be regarded as the most successful twentieth-century Irish periodical. The editorial in the first issue in March 1912 declared that the objective was to 'give publicity to work of a scholarly type, extending over many important branches of study, and appealing to a wider circle of cultured readers than strictly specialist journals could be expected to reach'.¹⁵ However, in the period under review here, *Studies* carried a cover price of 3s. 6d., which afforded it the distinction of being the most expensive Irish 'Literary & Review' periodical and immediately limited its appeal to a 'wider circle'. The original rationale for *Studies* was that it would serve as a review for University College Dublin (U.C.D.), and the influence of U.C.D. academics was significant: the first two editors were U.C.D. professors Timothy Corcoran S.J., Professor of Education and Thomas Finlay S.J. Professor of Political Economy.¹⁶ Michael Tierney, Professor of Greek and later President of U.C.D., contributed 55 articles between 1922 and 1953. It is self-evident that editorial emphasis will inevitably evolve and change over time and sample issues should be treated with caution, but a survey of *Studies* in 1936 does not suggest that it was pitched at the same market or engaging with contemporary culture as the other periodicals considered here - lengthy articles included 'Proposals for a New Senate' by Daniel A. Binchy,¹⁷ 'Some Irish Bardic Poems' by Lambert McKenna,¹⁸ and 'The Conversion of Boccaccio and Chaucer' by Herbert Thurston.¹⁹ The editorial focus was on the top-down architecture of the State written primarily by, and arguably for, clerical and lay

¹⁵ Cited in Bryan Fanning (ed.), *An Irish Century: Studies 1912-2012* (Dublin, 2012).

¹⁶ The third editor was Patrick Connolly S.J., who remained in post from 1914-50.

¹⁷ *Studies*, Mar. 1936, pp 1-19.

¹⁸ *ibid*, pp 65-70.

¹⁹ *Studies*, Jun. 1936, pp 215-25.

academics, and it has been described as ‘the most important Catholic periodical read by Irish intellectuals’.²⁰

It could be argued that U.C.D. was well served during this period. If *Studies* was dominated by U.C.D academics then, at the other end of the spectrum, *The National Student* served the student body at U.C.D. This thesis does not purport to present a close examination of contemporaneous student publications: to *The National Student* could be added *The Quarryman* (later *The Quad*) from University College Cork; *The New Northman* from Queen’s University Belfast; and three publications from Trinity College Dublin - *T.C.D. Weekly* (a training ground for Alec Newman, later editor of the Irish Times),²¹ *Icarus*, a student literary magazine, and *Trinity News*. These student publications were self-evidently aimed at and distributed among the student populations within the relevant universities and none of these titles appear on Eason’s distribution lists for the period. However, *The National Student* merits some consideration here because several of the characters who dominated publishing in Dublin cut their teeth on *The National Student*. It also illustrates the fierce competition for the finite advertising that preoccupied all publishers during this period. *The National Student* was launched in May 1910 and the editorial comment in that first issue declared that ‘the tone of the magazine will be National, that is to say Irish’:

A magazine creates unity and so fosters esprit de corps... it is of the highest importance just at present to emphasise the fact that unity now exists between the students who were scattered formerly

²⁰ Diarmuid Ferriter. ‘A Catholic collection of essays on Ireland’ in *Irish Times* 28 Jul. 2012. (<https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/a-catholic-collection-of-essays-on-ireland-1.544544?mode=amp> (11 Jun. 2018).

²¹ Terence Brown, *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence* (London, 2015), p. 144.

between University College S.J. and the Catholic Medical School. We hope to do something to make these students realise that at last they belong to one College and that a College which has possibilities of greatness'.²²

The quality of the content and production fluctuated, inevitably impacted by the transient nature and relative talents of the editors. The title changed too: in 1931/32 *Comhtrom Féinne* was added to the cover - *Comhtrom Féinne* ('Fair Play') was taken from the U.C.D. Crest adopted in 1911 which also included the Latin motto 'Ad Astra 'To the Stars'. In subsequent years, some covers featured both titles (*The National Student* and *Comhtrom Féinne*) and some adopted the format *Comhtrom Féinne The College Magazine*.²³

It floundered at times between the 'serious *Student*' and the 'scandal-sheet *Student*',²⁴ as Roger McHugh described it in his recollection of the magazine published in the one hundredth number. The frequency of publication changed over the period under review here, as did the price: the December 1930 issue had a cover price of 6d., the April 1935 issue was 3d., the February 1943 issue was 4d. and the February 1949 issue was 6d. There were several dramatic changes of cover designs: the cover of the December 1930 issue simply showed the title, price, date and place of publication; the cover of the 29 January 1932 issue listed some of the contents, displayed within an elaborate Celtic-style blue frame; the May 1935 issue showed the U.C.D. crest set against a striking green background; the May 1941

²² 'Without Comment' [reprint of Editorial no. 1, vol 1, May 1910] *The National Student*, Souvenir Number Jun. 1935, p. 71. The 'one college' referred to here was University College Dublin, established by Charter as a constituent college of the National University of Ireland under the Irish Universities Act 1908.

²³ For consistency, the title *The National Student* will be used throughout this thesis.

²⁴ Roger McHugh, 'Foreword' in *The National Student*, Apr. 1947, p. 6.

issue showed a black-and-white photograph of Earlsfort Terrace; the February 1942 issue included a half-page advertisement for Elvery's on the black-and-white cover; and the November 1944 issue included an abstract illustration of a harp set against a vibrant yellow background (this illustration reappeared on several issues throughout the 1940s).

The National Student is noteworthy as it was undoubtedly an incubator for aspiring writers at U.C.D., several of whom would go on to write for *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*, including Valentin Iremonger, Pearse Hutchinson and Donagh MacDonagh (who also served as editor). Brian Ó Nualláin was listed as the editor in 1933 and he also contributed articles – in the March 1935 issue, Ó Nualláin was listed as a recipient of a prize of ten shillings for his article ‘What is wrong with the L & H?’²⁵ Ó Nualláin also wrote under the pseudonym of Brother Barnabas, an early precursor of his later pseudonyms Flann O’Brien and Myles na gCopaleen. *The National Student* claimed some credit for influencing one of the periodicals considered in this thesis. *Ireland To-Day* was founded and edited by U.C.D. alumnus James O’Donovan, though he was not publicly identified as the editor within its pages. O’Donovan contributed at least one article to *The National Student* in December 1930, in which he recalled a speech he wrote for Seán Ó Deagha, when Ó Deagha was president of the S.R.C. and O’Donovan was Honorary Secretary. It illustrates his view on the role of universities, a view coloured no doubt by his own experience - O’Donovan had been recruited into the Irish

²⁵ ‘Announcement’ in *The National Student*, Mar. 1935, p. 48.

Volunteers by his chemistry professor at U.C.D. and served as the I.R.A. director of chemicals during the War of Independence:

But a University's functions are not confined to higher education and the spread of culture. The University has been variously described as 'the handmaid of the State', 'the 'State in microcosm', and in its association with Ireland's aspirations, the recognition of its Statehood, this University has been ever in the van. In this long-drawn, spirit-wearing fight for freedom, the sympathy of this College has even been spelt in letters of blood.²⁶

In June 1936, *The National Student* carried a half-page article entitled '*Ireland To-Day A New Irish Periodical*'. O'Donovan was not mentioned in the article, but the (unidentified) reviewer noted that *Ireland To-Day* had aroused interest around the college for its impressive list of contributors:

Ireland To-Day has adopted a serious tone in its first number; it seems destined as a vehicle of discussion for first-class Irish writers on current topics... The magazine, as a whole, has a suggestion of the old "*National Student*", it discusses and criticises brilliantly and elaborately, endeavouring to open men's minds to ideas rather than to convince them.²⁷

The exclusion of any article 'in the Gaelic tongue' was the only criticism of what was considered an excellent first issue. *The National Student* was, of course, notable for including articles in Irish and at least two editions were published entirely in Irish, including most of the advertisements, in March of 1944 and 1945.

In the Easter 1943 issue (under the editorship of Richard J. Cremins and James Hackett), the editorial announced a departure from previous issues of *The National Student* which had become 'the preserve of the litterateur and the dilettante' and

²⁷ 'Ireland To-Day A New Irish Periodical' in *The National Student*, Jun. 1936, p. 56.

called for a renewed focus on the 'normal student', who could of course enjoy 'an intelligent article of a cultural standard... but a distinction must be drawn between the intelligent and the intelligentsia'.²⁸ However, by 1946 it seems the 'intelligentsia' were again in the ascendant. From December 1946 to March 1948, *The National Student* appears to have been dominated by the partnership of Anthony Cronin and Paidin O'Halpin, who alternated between the roles of editor and chairman and contributed regularly. The December 1947 issue was edited by O'Halpin (who was also listed as chairman) and he contributed a full-page poem entitled *Poem* and a review of Stephen Spender's *Poems of Dedication*. That same issue included a two-page article on Evelyn Waugh by Cronin, who was listed as a member of the Board of Management. The March 1948 issue was edited by Cronin with O'Halpin as Chairman, and it included a poem by Cronin entitled *Warning* and a poem (*For Kevin Barry*) and short story (*The Daughters Go To And Fro*) by O'Halpin. Under the apparent control of Cronin and O'Halpin, production standards were notably higher, the book review section was more extensive, and regular features included a double-page spread on poetry entitled 'Space for Verse'. This then was, in the words of McHugh, the 'serious' *Student*, and the resemblance to the style of *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Bell* is noteworthy – Cronin's editorial in the December 1946 is reminiscent of O'Faoláin:

We have no sense of our being among the leaders of the intellectual life of the nation... There is in fact no intellectual life worth mentioning in this College at this time, no communal excitement about ideas and their application to life, art and politics ...In this country talent and self-sacrifice are so often rewarded by exile or poverty.'²⁹

²⁸ 'Editorial' in *The National Student*, Easter 1943, p. 1.

²⁹ 'The Time and The Place' in *The National Student*, Dec. 1946, p. 5.

Though the focus was on U.C.D., *The National Student* is also notable throughout this period for several articles that engaged with the broader cultural life of Ireland. In the February 1933 issue, 'B.W.' took objection to the performance of Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* by the Abbey Players in America:

No one knows better than an Irish man of the defects of his nation, but let us keep them to ourselves. There is no necessity to invite the world to view our dirty linen at 1/3 the[sic] time, a world which has been educated to scoff at anything Irish. Keep our troubles to ourselves, show the world the clean side of our life.³⁰

The ill-tempered exchanges with The Gate theatre in 1935 also indicate a broader societal awareness of *The National Student*. In February 1935, *The National Student* had criticised The Gate for its poor season and failure to justify its reputation for intelligent and brilliantly produced plays. The review came to the attention of Hilton Edwards, who reacted with magnificently dramatic rage, called in the editor Donagh MacDonagh and threatened that if the reviewer ever darkened the door of The Gate again, the play would be stopped immediately. MacDonagh published the subsequent correspondence and accused Edwards of taking an 'hysterical and shortsighted stand'. The response from directors of The Gate was also (gleefully) published, informing MacDonagh that 'they do not invite criticism from your paper and do not invite you to the theatre' and threatening legal action if any further comments on the theatre or its productions were published.³¹ The broader cultural division between modernity and tradition was reflected in the May 1933 issue by Charles Donnelly (who would subsequently join

³⁰ 'The Abbey Players and Irish Culture' in *The National Student*, Feb. 1933, p. 32.

³¹ 'Stage & Screen' in *The National Student*, Feb. 1935, p. 6.

the International Brigades and be killed in Spain in 1937). Donnelly argued that modern Irish art must be in touch with the people:

The modern Irish artist cannot throw over modern thought. Neither can he agord[sic] to throw over Ireland. In his consciousness the two must fuse. His problem is to accomplish that fusion.³²

Eight years later, Seamus Ó h-Innse (who would be appointed a Supreme Court Judge in later years) delivered a scathing opinion of this 'fusion' of Ireland and modern Irish art. Ó h-Innse took aim at 'Anglo-Irish writers' (rather loosely defined) and offered some sage advice to aspiring writers. First, they should grow their hair long, wear 'freakish' clothes and gain a reputation for consuming vast quantities of alcohol in Bohemian pubs such as Davy Byrne's. Then they should concentrate their efforts on writing a semi-historical novel, which had the greatest chance of being hailed as a Book of the Month:

Choose some eighteenth-century Gaelic poet and kill him slowly in three volumes (see Francis MacManus) or write a realistic novel of nineteenth century Ireland, depicting the downtrodden peasants dying in thousands like flies, with their guts rotted with dysentery and their mouths foaming with green saliva (see O'Flaherty's 'Famine') or come up to date with a story of the Trouble in Dublin containing a terrific final scene in which the hero is shot in a shebeen called Molly Maguire's while the family next door are saying the Rosary (mix O'Flaherty, O'Connor and O'Casey).³³

Literature was not the only art form subjected to criticism. In April 1935, John O'Gorman decried the state of modern Irish architecture in his scathing review of the Royal Hibernian Academy exhibition ('For the life of me I cannot think why the Royal Hibernian Academy Exhibition should be reviewed.') He highlighted the 'pathetic little group of Architectural designs in the 'Cinderella Section' of the

³² 'Charles Donnelly, 'Literature in Ireland' in *The National Student*, May 1933, p. 65.

³³ Seamus Ó h-Innse, 'How to Become An Anglo-Irish Writer' in *The National Student*, May 1941, p. 6.

exhibition and accused the architectural profession of neglecting to inform the public of their work: 'People are beginning to realise that something is happening in the Architectural world and they want to know what it is.'³⁴ O'Gorman followed up with a full-page article in May 1935, in which he decried the appalling state of architecture in Ireland and called for a revolution in Irish architecture. Architecture was about more than academic study of different styles and 'the reproduction of old decorative motifs on the surface of new structures'. Irish architecture should be regarded as part of contemporary life: 'See it as the modern German and the modern Swede and the modern Dutchman sees it – as a living thing, a tangible thing, a necessary thing.'³⁵ Though a passionate advocate for the international style O'Gorman was scathing of 'half-baked' modernism'.³⁶ In 1936, he contributed an article to *The Capuchin Annual*, which castigated new building development in an unnamed Irish town, though the town was identifiable as Galway:

When one sees the suburbs one realises the proper word is 'orgy'. Here is building gone mad, pretentiousness supreme, vulgarity rampant. Nowhere in the whole length and breadth of Ireland can there be more horrible houses... there is nothing, nothing whatever so horrible, so stupid, so utterly tragic as the mess this city has made of its suburbs within five short years.³⁷

The National Student is also notable for its success in attracting a significant level of advertising throughout the 1930s and 1940s. As would be expected, there were advertisements from U.C.D. alumni – in the December 1930 issue Colm Ó Lochlainn 'A College Man' and printer of *The National Student* took a half-page

³⁴ John O'Gorman, 'The R.H.A. Exhibition' in *The National Student*, Apr. 1935, p. 19.

³⁵ John O'Gorman, 'Irish Architecture', in *The National Student*, May 1935, p. 27.

³⁶ John O'Gorman. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*.

<https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/4148/O%27GORMAN-JOHNJOSEPH> (11 Jun. 2018).

³⁷ John O'Gorman, 'Building and Order' in *The Capuchin Annual* (1936), p.131.

advertisement alongside an advertisement for ‘another business run by College Men’ – The Riverside Bindery in Fleet Street in Dublin. In that same issue Thompson Military Tailors of Saint Andrew Street in Dublin offered an impressively expansive tailoring service encompassing Free State or Imperial uniforms, lounge suits, breeches and habits.³⁸ Not surprisingly, there were regular and numerous advertisements for social venues in Dublin – the Swiss Chalet, Café and Restaurant on Merrion Row, O’Donoghue’s Lounge on Suffolk Street, and McCarthys on Leeson Street where ‘Everybody in College’ goes for papers and tobacco;³⁹ Cafolla’s Ice Cream Parlour and The Green Cinema;⁴⁰ and the Four Provinces Restaurant and Ballroom on Harcourt Street.⁴¹ However, there were also advertisements for the national brands that were being sought by all publishers, indicating the level of competition and the relatively small pool of advertisers available in periodical publishing at the time. *The National Student* secured advertisements for Kennedy’s Bread,⁴² The National Bank,⁴³ Macey’s of Georges Street,⁴⁴ Elvery’s,⁴⁵ and several full-page advertisements from Irish Hospital Sweepstakes. In an unfortunate placement in the February 1935 issue, an advertisement for one of those coveted national brands (Will’s Gold Flake cigarettes) was placed alongside an editorial berating U.C.D. students for not supporting *Comthrom Féinne*: ‘There are over 2,000 students of U.C.D.; there are

³⁸ *The National Student*, Dec. 1935, unnumbered advertisement page.

³⁹ *The National Student*, Easter 1943.

⁴⁰ *The National Student*, Mar. 1944.

⁴¹ *The National Student*, Feb. 1949.

⁴² *The National Student*, Mar. 1935.

⁴³ *The National Student*, Feb. 1949.

⁴⁴ *The National Student*, Dec. 1944.

⁴⁵ *The National Student*, Feb. 1943, front cover.

hardly 300 copies of *Comthrom Féinne* sold at each issue.’⁴⁶ Such an admission of actual circulation figures would never have been conceded by the more professional - and commercially acute - publishers in Dublin, whose claims of circulation numbers generally owed more to aspiration than actuality. In common with contemporaneous periodicals, readers were encouraged to support the businesses that supported *The National Student*: ‘If you do as we direct you will be doing your duty by helping your own College Magazine to continue a vigorous existence and also by helping those who have magnificently helped us.’⁴⁷

The National Student was also beset by the prosaic commercial difficulties that affected all publications during the Emergency - there are several references to paper shortages and in the December 1943 issue the director Peter O’Malley reminded readers that there was a war on and ‘emergency regulations limit us to five issues per year and a certain quantity of paper in each issue’.⁴⁸

The National Student, then, shared several of the editorial and commercial preoccupations common to the proprietors of *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *Motley*, *Ireland To-Day*, *Commentary*, *The Bell*, and *Envoy*. It certainly merits further research and a comparative analysis with other contemporaneous student publications in Ireland and internationally is a tantalizing prospect. However, in the context of this thesis, *The National Student* was primarily a student-led and student-targeted publication. It did not appear on any Eason’s

⁴⁶ *The National Student*, Feb. 1935, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *The National Student*, Dec.1930, p. 175.

⁴⁸ ‘The Director Regrets’ in *The National Student*, Dec. 1943, p. 1.

distribution list of the periodicals under review, though it may of course have been sold directly in selected outlets. It was hampered by the inevitable transience of editorial control and influence over the long run - there are notably higher standards in the mid-1930s under the influence of Donagh MacDonagh and Brian Ó Nuallain and in the latter half of the 1940s when Anthony Cronin and Paidin O’Halpin took the reins. As a training ground for aspiring writers and commentators, many of whom would migrate towards the literary and intellectual periodicals on which this thesis is based, *The National Student* merits some consideration within this panoptic analysis of Irish periodical publishing.

Patrick Kavanagh appears frequently throughout this thesis, so it may be regarded as surprising that *Kavanagh’s Weekly* (6d.) is not included in the core group of periodicals under review. Though it certainly engaged with – or, perhaps more accurately, confronted – contemporaneous political, economic, and cultural topics, *Kavanagh’s Weekly* did not share the diversity of content and perspective that defined the other periodicals considered here, and it was written exclusively by Patrick and his brother, Peter, from their flat at 62 Pembroke Road in Dublin. It was a weekly publication and it was short-lived: only thirteen issues were published from 12 April to 5 July 1952. Much to the Kavanagh brothers’ ire, it carried very little advertising and it was not distributed by Eason’s, which would not list it unless it was guaranteed not to be libelous - as no such guarantee could be given, Peter distributed it himself around Dublin. Kavanagh derided the pillars of Irish culture and society – GAA, the civil service, the ‘Queen’s Theatre’ and ‘Radio Iran’ among them – and bemoaned the pitiful state of culture and artists in Ireland: ‘If

there are artists, or may possibly be artists, in Ireland the place to look for them would be the Labour Exchange or, alternatively in the queue for the boat at Dun Laoghaire.⁴⁹ The philistinism and lack of support for artists was a recurring theme: 'men who in a well-ordered society would be weeding a field of potatoes or cutting turf in a bog are now making loud pronouncements on art.'⁵⁰ The intent of the Cultural Relations Committee was 'the encouragement of the non-thinking, of the low mediocre' and its members, together with those of the Arts Council wore 'the cultural smile which withers all life within range of its venom'.⁵¹

Though the motivation for the paper was not financial and Peter funded it himself from his savings (while they lasted), Kavanagh recognized that it was 'incapable of surviving without either a subsidy or support from advertisers.' He singled out two businessmen for particular opprobrium. The first was 'the head of a business firm which happens to have a monopoly in the Twenty-Six County Republic... a friend of letters and a friend of ours in particular.' This patron admired Kavanagh's 'liberal Catholic viewpoint' and hoped he would continue. However, when Kavanagh suggested that he could support him with 'one of the goodwill advertisements' that the firm placed elsewhere, the response was that Kavanagh's outspoken views were 'too dangerous' and critical of Lemass, whom the businessman had to meet regularly. He admired Kavanagh as an individual 'but as a businessman it is an entirely different matter'. The second businessman was 'the head of a firm which goes in in a big way for supporting with advertising all the usual graveyard culture'.

⁴⁹ 'Art' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 10 May 1952, p. 2.

⁵⁰ 'Four Pillars of Wisdom' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 19 Apr. 1952, p. 3.

⁵¹ 'The Story of an Editor who was corrupted by Love' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 5 Jul. 1952, p. 1.

The patron's response was that he and a few others would make a collection and gather a few pounds a week for Kavanagh: 'Charity, says we... What about giving us an ad.? We bawled. His answer was a lovely cultural smile.'⁵² The end was inevitable and the final issue of *Kavanagh's Weekly* was published on 5 July 1952, though Kavanagh claimed in his blistering editorial in that issue that the main problem had not been money but the absence of writers and the absence of an audience: 'we had friends of a vague kind and enemies of a fairly precise kind'.⁵³

The period under review here also coincides with the development of radio in Ireland as another medium through which the literate public could acquire information and ideas. The radio service was launched on 1 January 1926, with 2RN broadcasting from a studio at 36 Little Denmark Street, in Dublin. Seamus Clandillon was the station's first director of programming. 2RN featured very few talk programmes and the emphasis was on music, often played live by solo performers. Dr. T. J. Kiernan succeeded Séamus Clandillon and acted as director of radio from 1935 to 1940, but it is Roibeard Ó Faracháin, appointed as the first Talks Officer in 1939, who is credited with supporting Irish writers such as Brendan Behan, Kate O'Brien, James Plunkett and Francis MacManus.⁵⁴ Austin Clarke, for example, presented a weekly poetry broadcast during this period. Ó Faracháin himself was, of course, a poet whose work was published in *The Capuchin Annual*, *Ireland To-Day* and *The Bell*. Radio was an increasingly popular medium in Ireland. In its first year of broadcasting, 9,867 licences were issued. This number increased

⁵² 'Sinn Féin' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 21 Jun. 1952, p. 1.

⁵³ 'The Story of an Editor who was corrupted by Love' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 5 Jul. 1952, p. 1.

⁵⁴ <http://www.rte.ie/archives/exhibitions/681-history-of-rte/683-rte-1930s/290027-roibeard-o-farachain-appointed-talks-officer-august-1939/> (30 Jul. 2018).

within a year to 26,935. By 1933, the number of licences issued had risen to 45,008 and the upward trajectory continued: in 1936, 98,949 licences were issued; in 1939, 166,275 licences were issued; and by 1945, the number of licences issued had risen to 172,705.⁵⁵ It is interesting, too, to note the geographical distribution of radio licences. Just as Dublin was the centre for publishing at this time, it also held the lion's share of radio licences. In 1945, 62,787 radio licences were issued in Dublin among a population of 618,997 – in effect, one in ten inhabitants in Dublin held a radio licence in 1945. Louth had the second highest proportion of licences per 1,000 of the population, with 96 of every thousand inhabitants holding a radio licence. Leitrim held the distinction of having the lowest number of licences per 1,000 of the population in 1945, with only 21 in every thousand inhabitants holding a licence. The national average of radio licence holders in 1945 was one in seventeen.⁵⁶ What, then, were these 172,705 licence-holders nationwide listening to in 1945? Based on Radio Éireann's data, it would appear that, despite Ó Faracháin's best efforts, music programming still dominated. In 1945, the total number of minutes of broadcasting on Radio Éireann was 152,610. The music department accounted for 51% of this airtime, with 'talks' coming a poor third at 12%. News in English accounted for 15% of airtime; variety and lays 7.6%; children's programmes 7.6%; news in Irish 2.6%; women's programmes 2% and, surprisingly, religious services accounting for only 1% of broadcasting time.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Radio Éireann Annual Report 1945* Appendix A (R.T.É. Archive).

⁵⁶ *Radio Éireann Annual Report 1945*, Table iii. Geographical Distribution of Radio Licences 1945 (R.T.É. Archive).

⁵⁷ *Radio Éireann Annual Report 1945*, Appendix B. Broadcasting Hours (R.T.É. Archive).

This thesis will focus on *The Dublin Magazine* (2s. 6d.), *Ireland To-Day* (1s.), *Commentary* (6d.), *Envoy* (1s.), and *The Bell* (1s., increased to 1s. 6d. in December 1941).⁵⁸ This latter periodical could not reasonably be excluded from a study of periodicals published in Dublin in these years but this thesis will test the received wisdom that *The Bell* was exceptional by contextualizing it among its peers. A comparative analysis of these periodicals will also serve to test the enduring perception of *The Dublin Magazine* as a conservative and irrelevant ‘self-regarding coterie.’⁵⁹ Two other periodicals have been included, though they were not included in the same Eason’s category. *Motley* (6d.) was categorized in ‘Sports, Pastime and Hobbies, etc’ and *The Capuchin Annual* was distributed through Eason’s book department. However, these two periodicals are notable for the diversity of their content and perspective, publication of original writing, and consistent engagement with contemporaneous culture. They are notable, too, for the scant research attention that has been afforded to them.

The purpose of this thesis is to present a panoptic view of periodical publishing in Dublin from 1930 to 1955 and to provide a more nuanced historical study of these intellectual and literary periodicals by locating them within the broader cultural history and publishing landscape, by providing a comparative analysis of their content, operating models and peers, and by considering the convergence of culture and commerce within their pages. These periodicals complicate the picture

⁵⁸ The increase in the cover price of *The Bell* from 1s. to 1s. 6d. has been incorrectly dated to January 1942 in a recent study. The price increase was indeed announced in the January 1942 issue, but the cover of the December 1941 issue carried the higher cover price. The December 1941 issue was promoted as a Special Christmas Number but it did not include any substantial additional pages or sections to justify the price increase; in fact, it carried only six more pages than the previous November 1941 issue.

⁵⁹ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 155.

of post-independence Ireland as a closed-off culture, both in terms of the platform that they provided for new ideas and debates but also in terms of how the editors of these periodicals marketed them among an international network of intellectual periodicals. This thesis acknowledges the valuable research that exists on some of these periodicals. However, the purpose of this thesis is to examine these periodicals, not as has generally been the case, in isolation but rather by focusing on the fluidity of intellectual and literary publishing and the overlapping spheres of influence - cultural and commercial - in Dublin during the period under review. This thesis argues that writers moved more fluidly between markedly different periodicals such as the traditional *Capuchin Annual* and the modernist *Bell* than has previously been acknowledged. These periodicals were commercial operations as well as cultural projects, and the business operation of these periodicals has not been comprehensively interrogated. This thesis endeavours to unravel the various revenue streams that made publication possible and to address the fundamental question of how these intellectual and literary periodicals operated financially in a publishing market that was flooded by British imports and in an era before the Arts Act and the belated State acknowledgement of its role 'to stimulate public interest in, and to promote the knowledge, appreciation, and practice of, the Arts'.⁶⁰

This thesis focuses on periodicals published in Dublin for the simple reason that Dublin was at the epicentre of Irish publishing. Book publishers such as Talbot Press and Browne & Nolan, printers including Alex Thom and Cahill & Co., and Eason's book and magazine distribution hub were located within close proximity of

⁶⁰ Arts Act 1951, Irish Statute Book (www.irishstatutebook.ie) (15 May 2014).

each other in Dublin city. In April 1937 Eason's recorded its distribution of 39 periodicals categorised as 'Literary & Reviews': 40% were Dublin-based periodicals and 50% were published in London.⁶¹ It should be noted that the advertising agencies were also clustered in Dublin – by 1945, it has been estimated that there were 19 advertising agencies in Dublin, with a combined turnover of £750,000.⁶² Even the notably successful *Ireland's Own*, though based in Wexford since 1902, had an advertising office and manager on Lower Ormond Quay in Dublin.⁶³ A control to this Dublin-centred study will be provided in later chapters in a consideration of regional rivals and an international perspective will be grounded in an analysis of how these periodicals were marketed and in the range of their influence among an international journal network.

The identification of the readerships of periodicals is challenging, given the lack of recorded readership data and the inevitable publisher hyperbole - and this difficulty is not unique to Irish periodicals. The much-heralded reader survey in *The Bell* was, in fact, nothing of the sort, and not a single question was asked of the reader's age, occupation, or location. A chapter specifically on reception is not provided here, because it is a theme that runs throughout the entire thesis - how editors described their readers, who advertisers believed they were reaching, and where these periodicals were marketed all add nuance. To this may be added contemporaneous reception to these periodicals – press reviews, personal correspondence - and this strand is interwoven with arguably the most

⁶¹ News circulation figures 1937-48 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

⁶² Hugh Oram, *The Advertising Book: the History of Advertising in Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), p. 113.

⁶³ Email correspondence with Gerard Breen, former editor of *Ireland's Own* (26 Sept. 2015).

fundamental means of assessing reception: how many copies were sold? This thesis analyses extant distribution data recorded by Eason & Son, the dominant distributor of newspapers and periodicals in Ireland at that time. This data is supplemented, where available, by printers' invoices, correspondence with regional distributors, bookshop orders, and where available, by data from the Audit Bureau of Circulations in London.

These periodicals are notable, too, for the dominant editorial vision that sustained them. Cyril Connolly, editor of the London periodical *Horizon*, memorably defined the role of the editor of a periodical:

Some flourish on what they put in, others by whom they keep out... the dynamic editor runs his magazine like a commando course where plucked men are trained to assault the enemy position; the eclectic is like an hotel proprietor whose rooms fill up every month with a different clique.⁶⁴

More recently, Terence Brown has noted the diverse influences of John Edward Healy and R. M. Smylie as editors of the *Irish Times*: under Smylie the *Irish Times* sought to engage with Irish life; under Healy it observed it.⁶⁵ It is appropriate, then, to introduce here the editors of the periodicals under review. These individuals were actively engaged with Irish cultural life – they were writers, playwrights, commentators and patrons of the arts. This thesis will reference their broader cultural endeavours in the context of considering the overlapping spheres of influence in Dublin at that time but it does not intend to provide comprehensive biographical studies of each individual or assessments of their entire publishing

⁶⁴ Cyril Connolly, 'Little Magazines' in *The Evening Colonnade* (London, 1973), p. 414.

⁶⁵ Brown, *Irish Times*.

output. This thesis will focus on their roles at the periodicals under review, but it is instructive to survey briefly the trajectory of their careers before their editorships.

Seumas O'Sullivan launched *The Dublin Magazine* as a monthly in 1923, moved to a quarterly publication schedule in 1926, and edited it thereafter until his death in 1958. He was born James Sullivan Starkey on 17 July 1879 in Ranelagh, Dublin. By the time he launched *The Dublin Magazine*, O'Sullivan was already a well-regarded poet. A.E. included several poems by O'Sullivan in his 1904 anthology of poems by up-and-coming writers, *New Songs*, and O'Sullivan published his own collection of poetry, *Twilight People* in 1905. He also co-edited the Tower Press booklets, which included verse, sketches, and essays by living Irish writers. The received wisdom is that *The Dublin Magazine*, under the editorship of O'Sullivan, was apolitical, conservative, cautious and self-regarding. Certainly, O'Sullivan did not choose to publish impassioned editorials on the topics of the day. His editorial style was as measured and as subtle as his poetry, but in providing a platform in *The Dublin Magazine* for other views and other impassioned voices, he was arguably anything but apolitical. O'Sullivan and *The Dublin Magazine* were held in high regard by contemporaries such as Beckett, Liam O'Flaherty and, even A. J. Leventhal. O'Sullivan had pulled Leventhal's review of *Ulysses* from a 1923 edition of *The Dublin Magazine*, deciding against challenging the printers who refused to set the text for Leventhal's article. An outraged Leventhal launched his own magazine, *Klaxon*, in 1923, with the express purpose of carrying his review. *Klaxon* did not survive past this single edition; nor did Leventhal's subsequent publishing endeavour, *Tomorrow*, which he launched in 1924. Perhaps chastened by the

brutal realities of publishing, Leventhal went on to become one of O'Sullivan's staunchest and lifelong allies.

James (Jim) O'Donovan had a remarkable career, before and after his editorship of *Ireland To-Day*. He was born on 3 February 1896 in Castlevue, Co. Roscommon, and attended U.C.D. where he was recruited into the Irish Volunteers by his chemistry professor and served as the I.R.A. director of chemicals during the War of Independence. He opposed the Treaty, served as a member of the anti-treaty I.R.A. executive and as I.R.A. director of munitions and chemicals during the Civil War. He was imprisoned for two periods in the early years of the Free State but then secured employment with the E.S.B. Incredibly, while employed at the E.S.B., he launched *Ireland To-Day* and managed to maintain his anonymity as editor (and keep his job) for the duration of that periodical's publication.

Father Senan Moynihan (*The Capuchin Annual*) was born in Meenascarthy, Camp, County Kerry on 24 November 1900, the youngest of eight children,⁶⁶ and baptised John Moynihan.⁶⁷ The Moynihan farm extended over 36 acres and was the second largest farm in the Townland of Meenascarthy.⁶⁸ The 1901 Census records that the family had a boarder (a National School Teacher) and two servants.⁶⁹ John Moynihan was educated at Aughaesia National School for eight years and at St. Brendan's Seminary in Killarney for four years, before entering All Hallows in

⁶⁶ Census of Ireland 1901.

(<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kerry/Deelis/Meennascarty/1408463/>) (27 Jun. 2012).

⁶⁷ Letter from Rev. Dr. Benedict Cullen, Archivist, Church Street to Mr Laurysens (no address), 28 Nov. 1996 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁶⁸ Valuation Lists 1859–1947, no. 7. County of Kerry, Electoral Division of Deelis.

⁶⁹ Census of Ireland 1901.

(<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kerry/Deelis/Meennascarty/1408463/>) (27 Jun. 2012).

Dublin in October 1918, following in the footsteps of his older brother Francis, who would subsequently become the editor of *The Advocate* in Melbourne and ‘unquestionably the greatest Catholic editor and publisher in the history of the Church in Australia.’⁷⁰ Young John Moynihan stayed at All Hallows for only six months, leaving in March 1920 – the rector of All Hallows noted that: ‘From the beginning he appeared to us not to be in earnest and seemed to take his life here and his studies lackadaisically.’⁷¹ John Moynihan joined the Capuchin Order in 1920 and took the name Senan. It is thought that his ordination was probably in 1928.⁷² The Capuchin Provincial Chapters were held every three years, but there was no reference to *The Capuchin Annual* at either the Chapter in August 1928 nor in August 1931,⁷³ nor at any of the Definitorial Meetings between those dates, but it is possible that it was arranged at local level with perhaps an informal nod from the Provincial Father Kevin Moynihan.⁷⁴ The reasons for the selection of Father Senan as editor are unknown, nor do we know whether he had any prior experience of publishing. Nonetheless, in December 1929, the first edition of *The Capuchin Annual* was published under his editorship and he continued to edit the Annual until 1955. Father Senan also edited for a time the monthly *Father Matthew Record* (f. 1908) and the short-lived *Bonaventura* (1937), and he was the author of *Angelic Shepherd* (1951), an illustrated account of the life and career of Pope Pius XII.

⁷⁰ *The Kerryman*, 11 Dec. 1954, p.52.

⁷¹ Thomas O’Donnell, Rector, All Hallows College, 11 Sept. 1920 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁷² Note by Father Pdraig Ó Cuill, Provincial Archivist, 24 Sept. 2005 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

Seán O’Faoláin requires little introduction as he has been the subject of more scholarly research and popular attention than all the other editors in this group combined.⁷⁵ O’Faoláin was born 23 February 1900 in Cork. He attended U.C.C. where he came under the influence of Daniel Corkery. He joined the Irish Volunteers and took the republican side in the Civil War. In 1926 he went to Harvard University to study modern languages, and he taught Anglo-Irish literature at Boston College. He returned to Ireland in 1933 and became a prolific contributor to periodicals and the daily press. By the time *The Bell* was launched in October 1940, O’Faoláin was an established writer – his published work included *Midsummer Night Madness* (1932), *A Nest of Simple Folk* (1934), *Bird Alone* (1936) and his biography of Daniel O’Connell, *King of the Beggars* (1938).⁷⁶ Although he was the co-founder of *The Bell* and edited the periodical from 1946 to 1954, Peadar O’Donnell’s profile has not been as stellar as that of O’Faoláin, though he is now regarded as an influential socialist republican theorist. He was born on 22 February 1893 in Donegal. A schoolteacher by training, he was active in the I.R.A. in Donegal during the War of Independence and opposed the Treaty. While interned for long periods in the early 1920s, he began to write seriously and, as with O’Faoláin, he was a published writer before he co-founded *The Bell* – his work included *Storm* (1925), *Islanders* (1928), *Ardrigoole* (1929), and *On the Edge of the Stream* (1934).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Recent work includes Niall Carson, *Rebel by Vocation: Sean O’Faolain and the Generation of The Bell* (Manchester, 2016) and Paul Delaney, *Seán O’Faoláin: Literature, Inheritance and the 1930s* (Kildare, 2014).

⁷⁶ Maurice Harmon, ‘O’Faolain, Sean’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009). (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6736>).

⁷⁷ Fearghal McGarry, ‘O’Donnell, Peadar’ in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6700>).

Mary Manning (*Motley*) was born on 30 June 1906 in Dublin, the eldest of three children of Fitzmaurice and Susan Manning. Her maternal aunt was Louie Bennett, the suffragist and trade unionist. Mary was educated at Alexandra College and studied acting at the Abbey school. She contributed articles to A.E.'s *The Irish Statesman* and her first play *Youth's the season?* was directed by Hilton Edwards at the Gate Theatre in 1931 and hailed as one of the most accomplished first plays ever seen in Dublin - the silent character of Egosmith was included at the suggestion of her lifelong friend, Samuel Beckett.⁷⁸ The characters of Fricas, mother and daughter, in Beckett's first novel, *Dreams of Fair to Middling Women* (1932) are based on Mary and her mother, Susan, though the friendship apparently survived that ruthless depiction.⁷⁹ In March 1932, the first issue of *Motley* was published under her editorship. Manning's endeavours at *Motley* were not unappreciated by her contemporaries. In the October 1933 issue, 'C' wrote:

Mistress Mary Manning
Maid magnanimous
Mingle by mushroom manuscript
Mid many master minds
Moderate my metaphors
My meanings magnify
Maintain my moral magnitude
My mediocre mimes
Make me much more momentous
More marvellous, more bad!
Milksops may mutter maledictions
Miserably mean
Make money, merry Motley
*Most modern magazine.*⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Bridget Hourican, 'Manning, Mary Howe' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6700>).

⁷⁹ Email correspondence with Chris Ackerley, 16 Jan. 2017. See also Ackerley, 'Lassata Sed: Samuel Beckett's Portraits of his Fair to Middling Women' in *Samuel Beckett Today / Aujour'hui* vol. 12, (2002), pp 55-70.

⁸⁰ *Motley*, Oct. 1933, p. 16.

Sean Dorman (*Commentary*) was born c.1910 in Kinsale, Cork, where the Dormans were a well-established family.⁸¹ He attended St. Columba's College in Dublin, and Oxford College (Worcester) and worked as a freelance journalist. His maternal uncle and godfather was Lennox Robinson, who exerted a defining influence on Dorman's literary aspirations and he acknowledged the reflected importance that the relationship with Robinson bestowed on him. Robinson looms large in Dorman's memoir and in 1958 he published, under his Raffeen Press imprint, *My Uncle Lennox*. From 1941 to 1942, Dorman and his wife Margaret Moffett ran the Picture Hire Club above Trueman's Art Gallery on Molesworth Street in Dublin, which offered paintings for sale on a hire-purchase basis. *Commentary* was born out of Dorman's ambition to 'have a magazine of my own!'⁸²

John Ryan (*Envoy*) was born on 19 February 1925 in Camden Street, Dublin. The Ryan family owned the Monument Creameries in Dublin. Ryan was educated at Clongowes Wood College, Co. Kildare, and studied painting for a time at the National College of Art. He was just 24 years old when he launched *Envoy*, but he managed to harness the experience of Valentin Iremonger as poetry editor, the unpredictable genius of Patrick Kavanagh, and the tireless promotional efforts of James Hillman, who would move on from *Envoy* to a remarkable career as a psychologist, academic, and Pulitzer-nominated author.

⁸¹ A stained glass window in memory of Dorman's parents, Nora and Steward Dorman, and his uncle Lennox Robinson is in St. John the Baptist Church in Kinsale.

⁸² Sean Dorman, *Limelight over the Liffey* (Cornwall, 1983), p. 112.

The editors may be the dominant personalities of this thesis but they are joined by a cast of characters – writers, artists, financiers – who together weave a tapestry that challenges the perception of a closed-off culture and provides a more nuanced analysis of intellectual and literary periodical publishing in Dublin from 1930 to 1955. Chapter 2 considers current research on twentieth-century Irish periodicals, contextualized within international research on periodical culture and a broader consideration of the genre of ‘little’ magazines. Chapter 3 surveys the wider periodical publishing market and considers the operation of News Brothers in Cork and Porters in Derry, to provide a nuanced perspective of the scale of Eason’s operation and its pre-eminence within the distribution market at the time. Irish periodicals that targeted a more general audience (such as *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland’s Own*) and the market leaders in the dominant religious and women’s interest sectors will be considered alongside noteworthy imported periodicals to provide a context for considering how Irish intellectual and literary periodicals navigated this competitive landscape. Chapter 4 locates *The Dublin Magazine*, *Motley*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Ireland To-Day*, *The Bell*, *Commentary* and *Envoy* within the broader periodical publishing market and intellectual milieu in Dublin. It focuses on circulation and takes due account of relevant developments in the daily press and the presence of imported periodicals to provide a more nuanced analysis. Chapter 5 examines the editorial preoccupations of *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley* and *Ireland To-day* and considers whether these periodicals were echo chambers of the daily press or whether they were pursuing markedly different editorial agendas.

Chapter 6 interrogates whether the long shadow cast by *The Bell* has obscured the contribution of its peer periodicals in Dublin through the 1940s. O’Faoláin claimed that *The Bell* would hold a mirror up to Irish society: this chapter holds a mirror up to periodical publishing in Dublin in 1940s and ask whether it reflects only *The Bell*. Chapter 7 considers the commercial realities of intellectual and literary periodical publishing in Dublin through the 1930s and 1940s, focusing on advertising, subscriptions and patronage. Chapter 8 examines the presentation of these periodicals – both in terms of material production but also in terms of how and where they were marketed.

2. The Genre of 'Little' Magazines

This chapter will consider the genre of little magazines, survey research and developments in the study of periodicals internationally, locate the study of Irish periodicals in this field of study, and assess how international research trends may inform the scope of this study.

The study of periodicals was pioneered in the UK by researchers working in the field of Victorian magazines and has been expanded by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker's *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*. In the U.S., the Modernist Journals Project (M.J.P.) at Brown University commenced work in 1995, with the stated aim of developing a multi-faceted resource 'for the study of modernism and its rise in the English-speaking world, with periodical literature as its central concern.' The M.J.P. covers the period from 1890 to 1922 and extends its range to wherever English language periodicals were published.⁸³ Associations and journals such as the *Victorian Periodicals Review*, *American Periodicals*, *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, *Journal of European Periodical Studies* and *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* have been established to publish and propagate the work of researchers in this area. In Ireland, the Newspaper and Periodicals History Forum of Ireland was established in 2008 to facilitate contact between researchers and writers in newspaper, periodical, journalism and printing

⁸³ <http://modjourn.org>.

history. It also organizes an annual conference and recently published *Periodicals and journalism in Twentieth-century Ireland: Writing against the Grain*.⁸⁴

In 2006, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes proclaimed the 'Rise of Periodical Studies', a new area for scholarship 'within or alongside the larger field of print culture'. Latham and Scholes declared that 'one of the key elements for the creation of periodical studies is already falling into place: the assembly and dissemination of a core set of objects.' The proliferation and accessibility of digital archives, most notably the M.J.P., would hasten the second essential element: 'the creation of typological descriptions and scholarly methodologies.'⁸⁵ So, a decade ago now, a great step forward in periodical studies seemed inevitable. And yet, in 2009, Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker wrote that magazines represented an unexplored place on the map⁸⁶ and as recently as 2013, a Special Session of the American Modern Language Association Convention in Boston, the annual gathering of teachers and scholars in the field of language and literature studies, considered the question: 'What is a journal? Towards a theory of Periodical Studies.' And that, indeed, is the question. What is a journal? What is a 'little magazine'? Are the terms periodical, journal, miscellany, review, magazine or, the despairing catch-all of 'magazine-journal' interchangeable? Why has a definition so preoccupied and eluded scholars and critics for as many years as magazines have been published? Is a definition possible or, indeed, necessary?

⁸⁴ Felix Larkin and Mark O'Brien, *Periodicals and Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Writing against the Grain* (Dublin, 2014).

⁸⁵ Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies' in *PMLA*, vol. 121, no. 2 (Mar. 2006), pp 517-31. *PMLA* is the journal of the Modern Language Association of America.

⁸⁶ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (eds), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Vol. 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford, 2009), p. 5.

Definitions

The origins of the term 'little magazine' are, like the very term itself, contested. The term has been linked to *The Little Review*, founded in Chicago in 1914, which published criticism, art and literature, though one study claims that the founding editor Margaret Anderson and her financial backers chose the name simply to ally it to the popularity at the time of the little theatre movement.⁸⁷ The term 'little' has also been used to describe 'their marginal existence, their minority sense of themselves, their shaky finances and small readerships', even if, as Malcolm Bradbury also admits, little magazines represented the vanguard of writing, 'the new voices and needed campaigns'.⁸⁸ The M.J.P. defines little magazines as a 'reaction' to the mass magazines that began at the end of the 19th century, and it uses 'little' as a type of magazine, alongside bibelot, popular, mixed, professional and religious in its directory.⁸⁹

Bartholomew Brinkman's work on *The Chap-Book* (Chicago, 1894-98) resists such easy generalizations. He has argued that *The Chap-Book*, rather than setting its face against mass magazines unashamedly aped the business models of the mass magazines in terms of increasing circulation and attracting advertising, while endeavouring to maintain high literary and artistic standards.⁹⁰ Peter Denman has wearily – and I would argue unfairly – defined little magazines in a series of negatives:

⁸⁷ Ian Hamilton, *The Little Magazines: A Study of Six Editors* (London, 1976), p. 12.

⁸⁸ Malcom Bradbury. 'Modernism and the Magazines' (http://malcolmbradbury.com/criticism_little_magazines.html) (20 Feb. 2013).

⁸⁹ Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (Yale, 2010), p. 32. See also <http://modjournal.org>.

⁹⁰ Bartholomew Brinkman, 'A "Tea-pot Tempest": The Chap-Book, "Ephemeral Bibelots," and the making of the modern little magazine' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2010, pp 193-215.

It is not run for financial profit but for the promulgation of ideas, debate and imaginative literature; contributors and editors are usually not paid; the magazine is not a learned journal and does not exist to disseminate knowledge within any particular academic or scientific discipline.⁹¹

The financial records of *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Capuchin Annual* show the concerted and tireless efforts of the editors, advertisement and subscription salespeople to generate revenue. In the case of *The Dublin Magazine*, several subscription agencies acted on its behalf, including The Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies in New York⁹² and Continental Publishers and Distributors in London.⁹³ In fact, Estella Solomon attempted to sell advertising space in *The Dublin Magazine* to clients in London in November 1927, advising the editor (and her future husband) Seumas O'Sullivan that she needed 'a few more advertisement order forms. I've done a frightful lot of tramping around.'⁹⁴

Elizabeth Dickins' study of the political and literary weekly periodical, the *Nation and Athenaeum* (London, 1921-31)⁹⁵ acknowledges that intellectual weeklies were often unprofitable but that is not to discount the efforts that were made to redress this. Dickins' study shows that in 1924 the *Nation and Athenaeum* earned 39 per cent of its revenue from advertising and that this revenue stream had increased by

⁹¹ Peter Denman, 'Ireland's little magazines' in Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay (eds), *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals* (Mullingar, 1987), p.136

⁹² Note from the Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies, North Cohocton, New York, enclosing a cheque for 7s. 6d. for a subscription to Fordham University Library, New York, 14 April 1942 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4638/1904a).

⁹³ Subscription order from Continental Publishers and Distributors, London, renewing a subscription from Radio Free Europe in Germany, 23 August 1951 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4640-2545).

⁹⁴ Estella Solomon to Seumas O'Sullivan, November 1927 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4633/797).

⁹⁵ *The Nation and Athenaeum* merged with the *New Statesman* in 1931 and became known as *The New Statesman and Nation*.

1928, while circulation revenue remained static.⁹⁶ In the event, profits may not have been either achieved or achievable but that is not to say that the business model was predicated on financial unsustainability. Profit margins and the promulgation of ideas are not mutually exclusive.

Equally, it would be incorrect to argue that all periodicals operated models of sustainability and harboured hopes of financial success. Michael Rozendal has shown how the editors of *Direction* (USA, 1937-45) blurred the boundaries in the ‘mass’ versus ‘little’ debate:

Direction is not a literary and artistic magazine in any “precious” sense. It believes in a mass audience but will make no compromise to secure it. It believes in low-cost magazines run on a non-profit basis.⁹⁷

As Rozendal shows, this unlikely formula sustained the magazine for almost eight years. In the midst of such varied typologies, many scholars revert to a 1947 description by Hoffman, Allen and Ullrich:

A little magazine is designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency is not acceptable to the money-minded periodicals or presses. Little magazines are willing to lose money, to court ridicule, to ignore public taste, willing to do almost everything – steal, beg, undress in public – rather than sacrifice their right to print good material.⁹⁸

Peter Brooker argues that ‘little’ in Hoffman *et al*’s description alludes to ‘a limited group of intelligent readers’ and he cites the influences of modernist critical

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Dickins, “‘Permanent books’”: the reviewing and advertising of books in the *Nation and Athenaeum*’ in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, pp 165-84.

⁹⁷ Michael Rozendal, ‘An engaged mass audience? The provocations of a popular front slick, *Direction* (1937–1945)’ in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 3, no.2, 2012, p. 201.

⁹⁸ Frank Hoffman, Chares Allen, and F. Ullrich Crolyn, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* (Princeton 1947, revised 1967). Cited in Wolfgang Gortschacher, *Little Magazine Profiles: The Little Magazines in Great Britain 1939-1993* (Salzburg, 1993), p. 1.

orthodoxy, as expressed by T.S. Elliot's view that his literary review would appeal to 'the intelligent reader ... any intelligent person with literary taste.'⁹⁹ Of course, all magazines will attempt to define their readership as a club, a community, a group apart, and for the very prosaic reason that engagement by the readers in the magazine is vital to the survival of the magazine. As Richard Kearney notes, the purpose of a magazine is 'dialogue and by extension, community.'¹⁰⁰ Victoria Bazin, in her work on Marianne Moore's editorship of *The Dial* (Chicago, 1925-29) notes that: 'A certain cultural cachet was cultivated in the promotional material for *The Dial*, constructing the reader not as an indiscriminating consumer but as a citizen of the arts.'¹⁰¹ Consider, too, some Irish examples: Seán O'Faoláin's reference to forming a 'nucleus' of readers around Frank O'Connor, Peadar O'Donnell and himself in *The Bell*;¹⁰² or Father Senan Moynihan's declaration that members of the Association of Patrons of *The Capuchin Annual* 'are almost become an army. For their sakes and for Ireland's I would have the Annual the noblest and most beautiful standard to which an army ever rallied.'¹⁰³ The less lofty and more successful women's magazine *Model Housekeeping* published in Dublin during the 1930s – 'the biggest 3d woman's magazine in Great Britain or Ireland'¹⁰⁴ – carefully nurtured its readers, referring to them as 'our loyal family.'¹⁰⁵ As Margaret Beetham argues, periodicals assume a 'consistent, implied reader' through 'all

⁹⁹ Brooker, Thacker, *Modernist Magazines vol. I*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Kearney, *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture* (Dublin, 1988), p. 267.

¹⁰¹ Victoria Bazin, 'Hysterical Virgins and Little Magazines: Marianne Moore's editorship of *The Dial*' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2013, p. 57.

¹⁰² Cited in Kelly Matthews, *The Bell and Irish Identity 1940–1954: Representation and Transformation* (Dublin, 2012), p. 1-2.

¹⁰³ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 599.

¹⁰⁴ 'Our Monthly Chat' in *Model Housekeeping* (May 1934), p. 359.

¹⁰⁵ 'Our Monthly Chat' in *Model Housekeeping* (Nov. 1934), unpaginated.

aspects of the periodical: price, form and tone ... the periodical and the audience help create each other'.¹⁰⁶

Malcolm Ballin attempts to navigate through the seemingly impenetrable genre of periodicals by categorizing his sample as Reviews (the voice of authority, citing *The Dublin Magazine* as an example); Miscellany (more likely to express dissidence, citing *The Bell*, *Ireland To-day* and *The Capuchin Annual*); or Little Magazines (counter culture, citing *Envoy* as an example).¹⁰⁷ However, all of the Irish periodicals cited here might just as easily be reordered into any of the three categories. All demonstrated elements of authority, dissidence and counter-culture at some point over their lifespan. This is the flaw in Ballin's methodology: periodicals must be considered in their entirety, over their full lifespan, to understand how internal changes such as a new editor or external shocks such as paper shortages impact on the development and direction of the periodical. Ballin's methodology of selecting 'representative' editions from early, middle and end periods of their production is problematic as such a sampling may be anything but representative.

This methodological problem is clearly illustrated in Ballin's work on *The Capuchin Annual*. He selects the 1950 and 1970 editions as representative. In fact, the 1950 edition of *The Capuchin Annual* was published towards the end of Father Senan Moynihan's 25-year tenure as Editor when his editorial control was gradually being eroded. The selection of an edition published during the 1940s – when Father

¹⁰⁶ Cited in Dickins, "Permanent books", *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, p. 172.

¹⁰⁷ Ballin, *Irish Periodical Culture*.

Senan and *The Capuchin Annual* were at the height of their influence - would have been far more illuminating. In his coverage of the 1970 edition, Ballin fails to note the change in editor, though attention to such detail is one of his stated objectives.

Margaret Beetham, whose approach to Victorian women's magazines informs this study, argues simply that all magazines are miscellanies, characterised by heterogeneity: 'a journal that consists of only one type of writing is not a true magazine'.¹⁰⁸ If some commentators agonize about definitions, others simply refuse to engage and use several terms interchangeably. Frank Shovlin, whose work on Irish literary periodicals remains the benchmark, uses the terms 'periodical', 'literary magazine' and 'cultural journal' throughout his study without defining how or if one term is different from another;¹⁰⁹ Kelly Matthews opts for 'magazine-journal' as a catch-all description of *The Bell*;¹¹⁰ and Niall Carson, in his study of *The Bell*, acknowledges the problem of defining a 'little magazine' but elegantly sidesteps any effort at a definition himself.¹¹¹

The term 'little magazine' has also been used to describe the material characteristics of a periodical: the format of pages, the number of pages or the size of its circulation. And this, as Patrick Collier so aptly describes it, is the 'severely deforming imprecision of "little magazines" as a category.'¹¹² Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman argue convincingly that 'we must stop talking, writing, and

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman (eds), *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester, 2001), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*.

¹¹⁰ Matthews, *The Bell*.

¹¹¹ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*.

¹¹² Patrick Collier, 'Modernism in the Magazines: a Review' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2010, p. 249.

thinking as if the category of “little magazines” represented something real in the textual world’. Instead, they propose a more precise categorization based on duration, amount of advertising, circulation, types of content and range of contributors.

Scholes and Wulfman make a further point that is particularly relevant to much of the current work on twentieth century Irish periodicals – the attachment of ‘literary’ to the word ‘magazine’ combines a generic and qualitative signification that ‘may misrepresent an individual magazine’s total contents or divert our attention from literary works that appear in “non-literary” magazines.’¹¹³ As previously noted, Frank Shovlin’s seminal work on Irish periodicals was titled *The Irish Literary Periodical* and he conceded that his study showed a bias towards contributions of a literary nature. Tom Clyde introduced his bibliography as a guide and ‘high-level’ overview of the history and development of Irish literary magazines.¹¹⁴ Both Clyde and Shovlin include sections on *The Dublin Magazine*, *Ireland To-Day* and *The Bell* in their studies of ‘literary’ magazines. Yet a broader editorial remit was an avowed objective of the editors of these magazines – *The Dublin Magazine* (after 1926) carried the tagline ‘A Quarterly Review of Literature, Science and Art’; the sub-head to *Ireland To-Day* was ‘Social, Economic, National, Cultural’; and Anthony Cronin (a former editor of *The Bell*) has argued that though it is often referred to as a literary review, *The Bell* did not primarily exist to publish new writing.¹¹⁵ Indeed, Seán O’Faoláin himself appeared to regret that *The Bell* had

¹¹³ Scholes & Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines* pp 53-61.

¹¹⁴ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. ix.

¹¹⁵ Anthony Cronin, ‘Foreword’ in Matthews, *The Bell*, p. ix.

not been more literary and published a greater number of articles on ‘literature, aesthetics and technique’.¹¹⁶

The Capuchin Annual is not generally regarded as a ‘literary periodical’ (and does not merit even a mention in Shovlin’s study) and yet it published Roibeard Ó Faracháin’s first collection of poetry and the poet’s work appeared in each edition from 1935 to 1939.¹¹⁷ Ó Faracháin also contributed to *Ireland To-Day* (1936-7) and to *The Bell* throughout the 1940s. Benedict Kiely contributed articles to every edition of *The Capuchin Annual* from 1942-48, as well as three articles to *The Bell* (1947-48 and 1951-54). Maurice Walsh, the Irish novelist and author of the short story *The Quiet Man* (which was later made into the iconic film) contributed several stories to both *The Capuchin Annual* from 1931-42 and to *The Bell* in 1940-41 and, in fact, was a member of the Editorial Board of *The Bell*.

The poet Pearse Hutchinson (later co-editor and founder of the literary journal *Cyphers* and member of Aosdána) contributed to *The Capuchin Annual* (1945/46, 1946/47, 1948) and to *The Bell* (1944-47 and 1954). Seamus de Faoite, acclaimed by Beckett as a writer of genius, contributed two short stories (*The Long Dusk* in 1944 and *The Big Garden* 1945-6) and one play (*Brendan’s Well* in 1946-7) to *The Capuchin Annual*, while also writing for *The Bell* (1941, 1947-48 and 1951-54). Francis MacManus, writer and Radio Éireann broadcaster, contributed short stories and poems to *The Capuchin Annual* (1935-38) and to *The Bell* (1945-52).

¹¹⁶ Seán O’Faoláin ‘Signing Off’ in *The Bell* (Apr. 1946), p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Benedict Kiely, ‘Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street’ Draft article to Margaret McDonnell, 119 Morehampton Road, Donnybrook, 17 Mar. [year not given] (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

The writer Donagh MacDonagh was a regular contributor to *Ireland To-Day* in the 1930s, before writing for *The Bell* (1940-42, 1947-48 and 1951) and *The Capuchin Annual* (1942-46). The Belfast novelist and short story writer Michael McLaverty contributed to *The Capuchin Annual* (1939-43), *The Bell* (1941 and 1951-52) and *Ireland To-Day* (1936-38). Another relatively neglected Irish periodical is *Motley*, which was edited by the playwright Mary Manning and published by the Gate Theatre in Dublin from 1932 to 1934. It focused on theatre and was ostensibly a publicity vehicle for the Gate, yet it also published work by Padraic Colum, Francis Stuart, and Frank O'Connor. Scholes and Wulfman's cautionary note should be well heeded in the Irish context.

There is a compelling reason why much of the work on periodicals, in Ireland and internationally, has shown a bias towards literary content. The field has, in the main, been led by literature scholars - in the case of Irish periodical study Shovlin, Clyde, Ballin, Matthews and Carson and internationally Margaret Beetham, Peter Brooker, Andrew Thacker, Ann Ardis, Sean Latham, and Robert Scholes, for example, have worked primarily in literature studies, before in some cases, developing broader research interests in culture and media. In fact, the Board of Advisors of the Modernist Journals Project is also noteworthy in this regard as it is composed exclusively of literature scholars.¹¹⁸ Felix Larkin's and Mark O'Brien's collection of essays on periodicals in twentieth-century Ireland is an avowed attempt to redress the concentration on the journal as a literary miscellany rather

¹¹⁸ <http://modjournal.org/about.html>.

than as a vehicle for news and commentary by focusing on the ‘journalistic rather than on the literary or cultural aspects of the titles under review.’¹¹⁹

Methodologies

If agreement on definitions has been problematic, it is hardly surprising then that agreement on – or indeed, proposals for – methodologies for the study of periodicals have also proven elusive. Consensus has been achieved in one respect at least – that devising a scholarly framework for the study of periodicals is problematic. Beetham refers to the large and untidy field of enquiry, and the inherent problem of finding a structure that would represent the diversity of Victorian women’s magazines in the absence of an agreed typology devised by scholars.¹²⁰ Shovlin shares Mark Parker’s concern at the lack of a ‘conceptual framework for the study of literary magazines’.¹²¹ Matthews concedes that there are few theoretical models for considering the periodical as a literary genre or for studying the magazine as a self-contained literary text.¹²²

Some models have been proposed. Gerry Smyth and T. G. Ashplant suggest that ‘cultural artefacts’ – which they define as anything produced by human activity, whether written texts, visual texts, buildings and/or other material objects – should be examined using the systems of ‘Production’ (authorship, mode of publication, and its contemporary historical and cultural context), ‘Signification’ (the formal conventions within which the artifact was produced, for example, literary language or style of painting) and ‘Reception’ (how it was received by

¹¹⁹ Larkin & O’Brien, *Periodicals and Journalism*, p. 11.

¹²⁰ Beetham & Boardman, *Victorian Women’s Magazines*, pp 2-6.

¹²¹ Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, pp 8-9.

¹²² Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 3.

contemporaries and to the various meanings attached to it later in changing historical circumstances). This methodology, Smyth argues, provides a means of framing the research, analysis and interpretation of the cultural artefact. There is certainly much here that it is useful to the study of periodicals, most notably in setting 'Reception' as a primary mode of investigation, as this is an element that has been notably under-represented in much of the work on twentieth-century Irish periodicals.¹²³

Peter Brooker takes as his starting point Jerome McCann's proposal for a division between the linguistic codes of a text (the semiotics and semantics of the actual words) and the bibliographic codes (typefaces, bindings, format, price, etc).¹²⁴ Brooker suggests adding a subset of periodic codes – that is, layout, typefaces, price, size, periodicity/schedule, use of illustrations, colour, use and placement of ads, quality of paper and binding, networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, payment practices for contributors, editorial arrangement, type of material published. Brooker goes further and argues that we should distinguish between periodical codes internal to the design of a magazine [paper, layout] and the magazine's external relations [distribution in a bookshop, support from patrons] as 'it is often the relationship between the internal and external codes that are most significant'. He cites advertising as a good example of an internal and external code – 'indicating on one hand an external relationship to an imagined readership and a relationship to the world of commerce while also operating in

¹²³ Gerry Smyth and T. G. Ashplant, *Explorations in Cultural History* (London, 2001), p. 5.

¹²⁴ Jerome McCann, *The Textual Condition*. (Princeton:Princeton University Press, 1991).

their placement on the page or position in the magazine as a whole as part of the magazine's internal code.' There is, he concludes, a world of difference between a magazine that only advertises bookshops tucked away on the back pages and a magazine that runs advertising on its front cover – and here he gives the example of an advertisement for Remington Portable Typewriters on a front cover of *The Adelphi*.

While there is much here that is useful, the argument here will be that it is self-evident that magazines should be studied in their entirety, taking into account all content (editorial and advertisements), production values (paper, printing, binding, design, layout), and strategies for distribution and developing a readership. The imposition of codes and subsets of codes overcomplicates what is a very simple construct – a magazine is simply greater than the sum of its parts and the researcher ignores at her peril any element in its production. The 'world of difference' between placing advertisements on the front cover or on the back pages, which Brooker and Thacker single out for particular attention, may be as simple as the difference between the commercial acumen of one editor or financial backer over another or even more prosaically, the difference between the skill of one sales person over another. The imposition of a rigid set of 'codes' on periodicals, which are by their very nature fluid and constantly evolving, runs the risk of losing sight of the wood for the trees.

This study shares Ann Ardis' concern about a 'taxonomy or typology of periodical genres that would assume or impose a kind of formal stability over time that the

periodicals I am studying, for example, simply did not have.’¹²⁵ There is further consensus in international research on periodicals and it provides the bedrock for this study - that magazines should be studied in their entirety, from cover to cover, over their entire lifespan. Latham has argued consistently that periodicals should be studied as cultural objects, autonomous objects of study rather than as ‘containers for discrete bits of information’.¹²⁶

The Irish context

Within the broader cultural history of Ireland, the study of twentieth-century Irish periodicals remains relatively sparse and has shown a bias towards periodicals as ‘containers for discrete bits of information’ though there are notable exceptions such as Clair Wills’ account of social and cultural life in Ireland during the Emergency.¹²⁷ Brian Fallon¹²⁸ and Brian Kennedy¹²⁹ have provided interesting if broad brushstrokes on twentieth-century cultural history.

Terence Brown’s *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History* remains the landmark survey though it was first published over three decades ago and was, in Brown’s words, ‘a preliminary mapping of the territory’.¹³⁰ In the preface to the second edition in 2004 (which extended the period under review to 2002), Brown noted that the field of Irish studies had burgeoned and more work on the cultural history of the period had appeared, but he was ‘sufficiently happy with the general

¹²⁵ Ann Ardis. ‘Towards a Theory of Periodical Studies’ Roundtable opening statement, MLA Convention 2013, Special Session 384 Friday, 4 Jan. 2013 (http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/files/2012/12/mla2013_ardis.pdf) (18 Oct. 2013).

¹²⁶ Latham & Scholes, ‘Periodical Studies’ in *PMLA* vol. 121, no. 2 (Mar. 2006), p. 517.

¹²⁷ Clair Wills, *That Neutral Island* (London, 2007).

¹²⁸ Brian Fallon, *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture 1930-1960* (Dublin, 1999).

¹²⁹ Brian P. Kennedy, *Dreams and responsibilities: the State and the Arts in Independent Ireland* (Dublin, 1990).

¹³⁰ Brown, *Ireland*, p. xi.

thesis... propounded in 1981 to allow it substantially to stand.'¹³¹ Brown's focus on *The Bell* remained unchanged, and he drew heavily from Seán Ó Faoláin's editorials to illustrate his argument about major social changes in the 1940s.

For almost a decade, the work of Shovlin, Clyde, Ballin and Bryan Fanning together provided the most comprehensive picture of twentieth-century Irish periodicals.¹³² Clyde and Shovlin each published their work in 2003, followed by Ballin and Fanning in 2008. Clyde provided a useful descriptive bibliography of periodicals published in Ireland from the eighteenth to the twentieth century; Shovlin provided a more detailed analysis of six twentieth-century periodicals and set the standard for a more focused study of selected periodicals;¹³³ Ballin extended the remit to look at periodicals published in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales; and Fanning selected a diverse sample of five periodicals (*The Bell*, 1940-45; *Christus Rex*, 1947-70; *Studies*, 1951-86; *Administration*, 1953-86; and *Crane Bag*, 1977-84) arguing that, considered together, they provided a broad sense of the intellectual politics that played out in Ireland in the decades following independence. This body of work has been considerably strengthened in recent years – certainly in terms of work on *The Bell* - by Kelly Matthews' *The Bell and Irish Identity* (2012); Felix Larkin's and Mark O'Brien's (eds.) *Periodicals and journalism in Twentieth-century Ireland* (2014); Niall Carson's *Rebel by Vocation: Seán O'Faoláin and the*

¹³¹ Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), preface to the second edition.

¹³² Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodicals*, Ballin, *Irish Periodical Culture*, Fanning, *Quest for Modern Ireland*, Denman, 'Ireland's little magazines' in Hayley & McKay (eds), *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*.

¹³³ Shovlin selected *The Irish Statesman*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Bell*, *Ireland To-Day*, *Envoy* and *Rann*.

Generation of The Bell (2016)¹³⁴ and, less specifically, by Frances Flanagan's *Remembering the Revolution* (2015),¹³⁵ though here again, *The Bell* dominates as a source. What these studies share, aside from an over-reliance on *The Bell*, is a bias that is out of step with the study of periodicals internationally – that is, a reluctance to interrogate the material bibliographic production and prosaic commercial realities of periodical publishing. Brooker has noted that the physical material of the periodical itself is crucial to reaching an understanding of the texts and images in it.¹³⁶ Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman's anthology of Victorian women's magazines is based on the presumption that all elements of the magazine should be considered – masthead, cover, prose, fashion feature, poetry, advice, readers' letters, political journalism, reviews, illustrated biography, the personal interview, advertisements, competitions and inducements to buy.¹³⁷

One of the guiding principles of the Modernist Journals Projects is that it will only use copies of journals that have their original advertising intact. Scholes and Latham have argued that 'the culture of the past is alive in those advertising pages – as alive as in the texts they surround'. There has been, they continue, 'a distinctly modern bias against the commercial aspects of aesthetic production' but 'if we really wish to know the past and not just a few monuments preserved from it, we must study the way that art and commodity culture influenced each other.'¹³⁸

Recent work has explored this theme. Victoria Bazin, for example, in her study of *The Dial* analyzed the role of advertising in the development of that periodical and

¹³⁴ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*.

¹³⁵ Frances Flanagan, *Remembering the Revolution* (Oxford, 2015).

¹³⁶ Brooker & Thacker, *Modernist Magazines* Vol. I, p. 5.

¹³⁷ Beetham & Boardman, *Victorian women's magazines*, p. 7.

¹³⁸ Latham & Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', in *PMLA* vol. 121, no. 2 (Mar., 2006), p.520.

in the development of its readership and argued that *The Dial's* position in the marketplace, its relationship with its competitors and the marketing strategies it pursued 'informed and on occasion determined editorial decisions'.¹³⁹

This convergence of editorial and commercial interests is a theme that has been neglected in much of the current work on Irish periodicals. Given the modest scale of the periodical publishing sector in Dublin and, as Carson has shown, the intimate and overlapping networks, it is surely self-evident that culture and commerce rhymed, at least on occasion. Matthews's stated aim is to present a holistic criticism of *The Bell* 'as a publication in its entirety, comprising editorials, articles, stories, poems, illustrations, advertisements and letters'.¹⁴⁰ But, in fact, Matthews' analysis of the advertisement content is limited to an observation that *The Bell* was fortunate to have a few faithful advertisers, and only two are name-checked. One of these is Pye Radio, 'whose adverts covered nearly every back cover of the magazine' and Matthews mentions in passing that the principal of Pye Radio, J.P. Digby, also contributed articles on inland fisheries to *The Bell*.¹⁴¹ Coincidence or *quid pro quo*? Matthews does not pursue this.

Shovlin writes that attention to material bibliographic production is essential to a better understanding of the place of periodicals in Irish cultural history, and undoubtedly he does more than any other writer to introduce issues such as cover design, illustrations, and paper quality, but he provides little insight on the role of

¹³⁹ Bazin, 'Hysterical Virgins and Little Magazines' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 2013, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 68.

advertising among his six selected periodicals, mentioning only the financial difficulties common to all periodicals (paper and production costs, subscription renewals, etc). Carson touches briefly on the production standards of *The Bell* and offers a limited comparison of cover prices among peer periodicals, before making the intriguing claim that *The Bell's* editorial board had to sign over its remaining shares to Joe McGrath's deputy Eamon Martin for £360 in order to ensure paper supplies.¹⁴² McGrath had, of course, shared a history of I.R.A. involvement with O'Faoláin, Peadar O'Donnell and Frank O'Connor, made his fortune with the Irish Hospital Sweepstakes, and invested in *The Bell* at the outset, but this claim by Carson raises intriguing questions about ownership and commercial influence at *The Bell* that are not pursued.

Similarly, scant attention is paid in much of the work on Irish periodicals to circulation and, again, this is out of step with research internationally. Admittedly, circulation records may not survive for some periodicals, but that is not universally the case. In the case of *The Bell*, which has attracted the lion's share of recent research, Carson claims that it must be considered a runaway success in its early years, with its circulation figures 'reputedly' reaching 5,000 copies, and Matthews concurs on this figure of 5,000. Both Carson and Matthews cite O'Faoláin as the source of this circulation number. By February 1943, *The Bell* itself claimed a circulation of 5,500.¹⁴³ Neither writer apparently sought to verify the veracity of O'Faoláin's claims. Eason's in Dublin was the dominant distributor of magazines in Ireland at the time and its records (for the April recording period each year) show

¹⁴² Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 4.

¹⁴³ 'Memo for businessmen' in *The Bell* (Jul. 1941) p. 54.

that 1,607 copies of *The Bell* were distributed in 1941 and, following a price increase from 1s. to 1s. 6d, 1,183 copies were distributed in 1942, 1,261 copies in 1943; 1,534 copies in 1944; 2,067 in 1945; 1,924 copies in 1946; and 1,500 copies in 1947. In addition, in October 1945, 160 copies of *The Bell* were supplied by Eason's to Belfast and in October 1947, 109 copies of *The Bell* were supplied to Belfast.¹⁴⁴ Matthews has claimed that as many as 1,000 copies of *The Bell* were 'sent abroad' [and] this meant *The Bell* could project its version of Irish identity far beyond the country's natural borders into the hearts and minds of English, American and European readers.¹⁴⁵ But to whom were they sent? If we take Eason's distribution figure of 2,067 for April 1945 (the highest number of distributed copies recorded 1941-47), add the 160 copies of *The Bell* that were supplied by Eason's to Belfast in October 1945, and accept Matthews' unproven claim of 1,000 copies sent abroad, we can account for a total number of 3,227 distributed copies in 1945. How then may we account for the shortfall of 2,323 copies? It seems unlikely there would be such a high number of subscriber copies, but this, for the moment, remains to be proven.

The impact of digitization

Internationally the headlong rush towards the panacea of digitization continues apace. As previously noted, the M.J.P. is leading this charge in the US, claiming that it now contains sufficient data (close to 2,000 individual and intact magazine issues) 'to perform a strong distant reading of modernist periodical culture, allowing scholars to examine historical trends we might not apprehend by reading

¹⁴⁴ News circulation figures 1868- 1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

¹⁴⁵ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 38.

the magazines alone'.¹⁴⁶ One Irish periodical, *Dana* (Dublin, 1904-05) is included in the M.J.P. at present, and five others have been identified for future digitization: *The Arrow* (Dublin, 1906-9), *The Irish Review* (Dublin, 1911-14), *Samhain* (1901-8) and *The Shanacie* (Dublin, 1906-7). All are categorized as 'little'. Chatham Ewing has published some interesting work on *Perspective* (Louisville, 1947-77), a quarterly that published short stories, poetry, reviews, and translations and, in its early years, articles on the visual arts. Using the periodical and archival records for just one full year (1948), Ewing has used social network analysis to map connections between the editors of *Perspective*, writers, frequency of publication and journals most strongly associated with *Perspective*. His research, he argues, uncovers strong associations among specific editors, writers and journals that can 'serve as a point of departure for further research by exposing patterns that might not otherwise have been apparent.'¹⁴⁷ Amidst much excitement about applying text mining, S-curves and N-grams to the study of periodicals, even the most committed exponents of digitization sound warning notes. Jeffrey Drouin counsels against the 'sometimes exaggerated hype of digital humanities' and urges scholars to remember that the accuracy of the analytic tool depends on the quality of the data it operates on¹⁴⁸ and Latham warns that 'the usefulness of a digital archive depends heavily on our ability to find things in it.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Jeffrey Drouin, 'Close- and distant-reading modernism: network analysis, text mining, and teaching *The Little Review*' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2014, pp 110-35.

¹⁴⁷ Chatham Ewing, 'Perspective: social networks and historical contexts' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2014, pp 1-26.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffrey Drouin, 'Social Network Analysis of Magazine Culture' (<https://magmods.wordpress.com/2010/10/21/social-network-analysis-of-magazine-culture/>) (6 Feb. 2016).

¹⁴⁹ Latham & Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies' in *PMLA* vol. 121, no. 2 (Mar. 2006), p. 517.

All this may, of course, seem self-evident but as the number of digital archives continues to increase, accurate and nuanced modes of searching will become ever more important. In Ireland *The Capuchin Annual* has been digitized and *The Shan Van Vocht* (Belfast, 1896-99) has been released by the UCD Digital Library.

Conclusion

Substantial and valuable research has been undertaken on Irish periodicals, most notably on *The Bell*. However, there has been a bias towards the literary content of periodicals, understandably so as much of the work in this area has been led by literature scholars. The perhaps inevitable consequence of this bias has been the lack of attention to the material bibliographic production and prosaic commercial realities of periodical publishing. The advertisement content of Irish periodicals and the convergence of culture and commerce in the pages of a periodical have been notably under-researched and, in this area, Irish research is out of step with international research on periodicals. As for the question posed at the start of this paper: what is a journal? The only consensus is that there is no consensus and, in fact, definitions matter less than the methodology. For the sake of clarity and consistency, the term 'periodical' will be used in preference to any other in this study as one of the few uncontested aspects of these periodicals is that they were published periodically. All other categorizations are imprecise or, as Patrick Collier so aptly describes it, 'severely deforming.'¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Collier, 'Modernism in the Magazines' in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2010, p. 249.

This study will provide an historical analysis based on duration of publication, amount of advertising, types of content, bibliographic material, range of contributors, marketing, distribution, circulation, and funding, with due attention to contextualization and the importance of a guiding editorial intelligence in commissioning, crafting and organizing the material in any one issue. Terence Brown's recent magisterial work on *The Irish Times* has shown the influence of individual editors on the development of that paper and his approach will inform this study, as will Margaret Beetham's thesis that periodicals should be read as complex forms.

3. The periodical publishing market

*'Of Life itself that gaily runs
Away on an uncharted sea
Of thought, of purpose, of cream buns
Of gardens, dreams and vanity.'*¹⁵¹

A primary concern of this thesis is the interrogation of the commercial realities of publishing, of which distribution was a major element. This thesis analyses extant data recorded by Eason & Son, both to interrogate the distribution of the periodicals under close review here and to contextualize these periodicals within the broader periodical publishing market in Ireland, centred on Dublin, at that time. Eason & Son in Dublin dominated newspaper and magazine distribution in Ireland in the period under review,¹⁵² but there were also regional distributors. This chapter will consider briefly the operation of News Brothers in Cork and Porters in Derry, to provide a nuanced perspective of the scale of Eason's operation and its pre-eminence within the distribution market at the time. Exceptionally successful Irish periodicals such as *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland's Own* and the market leaders in the dominant religious and women's interest sectors will be considered alongside noteworthy imported periodicals to provide a context for considering how Irish intellectual and literary periodicals navigated this competitive landscape.

News Brothers in Cork was owned by the Tivy family - Mr H. F. Tivy, Mr G. L. Tivy and Miss E. B. Tivy. The company name derived from News & Son Ltd., who were

¹⁵¹ *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* (Mar. 1935), p. 4.

¹⁵² L. M. Cullen, *Eason & Son: a history* (Dublin, 1989). Cullen has charted the operation of Eason's business, though his analysis does not focus substantially on the distribution of periodicals.

the proprietors of *The Cork Constitution*. A souvenir brochure produced by News Brothers to mark the reopening, by Jack Lynch, T.D. and Minister for Finance, of their showrooms on 21 June 1965, records that the News Brothers story began in two small rooms above *The Cork Constitution* on Marlboro Street in Cork. The initial business was that of concessionaries for railway advertising on the Cork, Bandon and Macroom Railways, but by 1912 the company had expanded and moved to larger premises at No. 20 Bowling Green Street. In 1918 it acquired No. 6 Bowling Green Street, in 1919 it acquired No. 21 Bowling Street and in 1959 it acquired Nos. 13 & 14 William Street. News Brothers took over and published the *Cork Holly Bough* in 1922, when *The Cork Constitution* ceased publication before selling the title on to the *Cork Examiner* in 1935.¹⁵³

News Brothers' distribution operation was centred on south-west Cork, where it had an advantage over Eason's in that newspapers and periodicals distributed from Dublin to south-west Cork were subject to a second carriage charge as they had to be transported across Cork to a second terminus. Cullen suggests that Eason's left Cork and News Brothers 'severely alone' and that this suggested a reluctance to attempt potentially destructive competition.¹⁵⁴ However, correspondence between J. C. M. Eason and H. F. Tivy suggests another motivation – Eason's was negotiating with the Tivy family to take over News Brothers. Although the negotiations were not concluded until 1958, discussions between J. C. M. Eason and H. F. Tivy can be dated to at least as early as 1927. In a letter from H. F. Tivy to J. C. M. Eason on 7 December 1927, Tivy requested a quarter of an

¹⁵³ Souvenir of Official Reopening of Showrooms, 21 Jun. 1965, News Brothers Limited (EAS/A1/9/2/1/2).

¹⁵⁴ Cullen, *Eason & Son*, p. 354.

hour with Eason to 'learn a little more clearly what is in your mind about Cork' so that he might reflect on it and revert to Eason with 'the outline of some proposal'. Tivy also noted, in the same letter, that David Allen & Sons had approached him 'quite unasked' with an offer to purchase the Billposting department of News Brothers. He assured Eason that 'we have put them off for the present – but if we were making any deal for the other side of the concern with you it would probably suit us very well to sell the BP to them. It would not interest you, I think?' Tivy included a postscript to the letter: 'All this is very Private of course.'¹⁵⁵ On 3 July 1929, J. C. M. Eason wrote to Tivy to offer his condolences on the death of Tivy's father and apologized for the lack of communication 'in continuance of our conversation some weeks ago', though he assured Tivy that 'I have not forgotten the matter nor do I intend to let it drop'.¹⁵⁶ Nor did he. The negotiations continued, with correspondence dating from the 1950s indicating that matters had still not been settled over the intervening two decades when, perhaps, the outbreak of the Second World War and the Emergency relegated such commercial concerns to the background. An Eason's memo dated 2 August 1956 noted that the gap between what the Tivys were expecting and what Eason was prepared to offer was so wide that there was little point in considering the matter any further.¹⁵⁷ The wrangling seemed to centre not only on the price to be paid for the Preference and Ordinary Shares held by the Tivy family but on the annual annuities to be paid to Mr G. L. Tivy and Miss E. B. Tivy – a draft letter from Eason's solicitor to George L. Tivy, dated 22 August 1958, proposed that 'in consideration of past service of

¹⁵⁵ H. F. Tivy to J. C. M. Eason, 7 Dec. 1927 (EAS/A1/9/2/2/2).

¹⁵⁶ J. C. M. Eason to H. F. Tivy, 3 Jul. 1929 (EAS/A1/9/2/2/2).

¹⁵⁷ Memo, 2 Aug. 1956 (EAS/A1/9/2/2/2).

Mr. George L. Tivy and Miss E. B. Tivy the Company shall grant to each of them annuities namely the sum of £1,000 yearly to the said George L. Tivy for his life... and to Miss E. B. Tivy for her life the sum of £150 yearly.¹⁵⁸ The arrangements were finally agreed in November 1958 and an Eason's memo dated 11 January 1960 noted that the capital invested in News Brothers was represented by £15,000 issued shares, with £9000 paid in excess.¹⁵⁹

Porters in Derry had a similar advantage over Eason's in supplying the north-west region. Goods could be more economically supplied from Derry to the north west, which enabled Porters to establish themselves in that city during this period.¹⁶⁰ In fact, it appears that Porters also courted News Brothers, presumably to extend its area of influence from the north to the south west of the country. An Eason's memo dated 15 March 1956 noted Mr Tivy was still considering selling the business and, while Eason's declared that 'our money is as good as anyone else's', it also recorded that Mr Doig from Porters had visited Tivy and that Tivy had received a letter from Stanley Porter 'who is interested'.¹⁶¹ However, this approach by Porters does not appear to have progressed any further and within two years Eason's had bought News Brothers. Croker & Co. in Waterford operated a wholesale business in the 1920s and 1930s for Sunday newspapers, which may have included a small number of English and daily newspapers, but this wholesale business was acquired by Eason's in 1933.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Draft letter to George L. Tivy, 22 Aug, 1958 (EAS/A1/9/2/1/1).

¹⁵⁹ Memo, 11 Jan. 1960 (EAS/A1/9/2/1/2).

¹⁶⁰ Cullen, *Eason & Son*, p. 352.

¹⁶¹ Memo, 15 Mar. 1956 (EAS/A1/9/2/1/2).

¹⁶² Cullen, *Eason & Son*, p. 354.

Despite the existence of these regional competitors, Eason’s was the dominant distributor in Ireland. A handwritten Eason’s memo, dated 9 November 1935, in the context of analyzing the proportion of imported magazines to ‘home products’ suggests that one-fifth should be added to any total of imports to provide for News Brothers and purchases of other booksellers.¹⁶³ Eason’s, then, by its own analysis accounted for 80 per cent of the distribution of imported magazines. Cullen suggests that one reason for Eason’s dominance was due to its negotiation of a flat rate carriage charge from the railway companies, which was based on the weight of the parcel and not the distance travelled.¹⁶⁴ According to a February 1934 report,¹⁶⁵ in that month alone Eason’s in Dublin distributed more than 160,000 copies of 190 individual Irish and imported periodicals. The sector leaders are shown in Table 1.

	Irish	Imported
Religious	59,026	1,014
Humorous*	22,500	1,885
Women’s interest**	9,165	57,022

* This Irish figure relates exclusively to *Dublin Opinion*

**Fashion/Ladies and Fiction/Home categories.

The periodicals ranged from weeklies to quarterlies and the price points also varied greatly: the cover prices ranged from 1d. to more than 1s. The periodicals were categorised by Eason’s under subject headings such as film, educational,

¹⁶³ Eason’s memo, 9 Nov. 1935 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

¹⁶⁴ Cullen, *Eason & Son*, p. 352.

¹⁶⁵ Report, Feb. 1934 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

agricultural, juvenile, and trade, craft, and engineering. These categorizations were fluid: the subject headings changed in later reports and some periodicals were categorised oddly – for example, the English periodical, *Horizon*, which carried the tag line ‘A Review of Literature and Art’ was not categorised in the Literary group but listed instead under Miscellaneous.¹⁶⁷ Eason’s categorisation of ‘Literary & Reviews’ is of most relevance to this thesis, as it includes distribution data for *The Dublin Magazine*, *Ireland To-Day*, *The Bell*, *Commentary*, and *Envoy*, and this data will be analysed in subsequent chapters.

Newspaper distribution was a core part of Eason’s business. Although an analysis of newspaper distribution is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is relevant to note one aspect of newspaper distribution. Cullen noted that several newspapers bypassed Eason’s and distributed at least part of their print run directly to the market in the hope of obtaining some advantage over their competitors. He estimated that Eason’s distributed about one-quarter of the *Irish Independent* and a smaller percentage of the *Irish Times* in the inter-war period. In 1948, J. C. M. Eason estimated that Eason’s was distributing between one-quarter and one-third of Dublin daily newspapers in the Dublin area.¹⁶⁸ The *Irish Independent* claimed, Cullen noted, a circulation of 90,000 in 1926/27,¹⁶⁹ so it might be expected that Eason’s distributed about 22,000 copies. However, Eason’s records show that in April 1931 it distributed 44,107 copies. Distribution fell to 38,362 copies in April 1935, but this was still significantly more than one-quarter of the circulation

¹⁶⁷ Eason’s distributed 12 copies of *Horizon* in April 1941 and 84 copies in April 1942 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

¹⁶⁸ Cited in Cullen, *Eason & Son*, p. 355.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 352.

claimed by the *Irish Independent*. Eason's distributed 10,708 copies of the *Irish Times* in April 1931, falling to 9,700 copies in April 1935. *The Irish Press* was founded on 5 September 1931 and distribution data at Eason's begins in April 1932 when it distributed 23,914 copies, rising to 26,737 in April 1935.¹⁷⁰ Might this newspaper model be extrapolated for periodicals - did Eason's distribution account for between one-quarter and one-half of the circulation for a listed periodical? This model can be tested by looking at circulation figures for one of the most successful periodicals of the period. *Dublin Opinion* was a monthly, illustrated satirical magazine, priced at 3d. and published from 67 Middle Abbey Street in Dublin from 1922–68. It was founded by cartoonists Arthur Booth and Charles E. Kelly and the writer Tom Collins in 1922. The masthead for *Dublin Opinion* included the tag line, 'The National Humorous Journal of Ireland'. The front cover carried eye-catching colour illustrations and black-and-white cartoons appeared on every spread throughout the magazine during 1935, although the paper and production qualities were generally low. The tone was humorous but with serious intent – Charles E. Kelly later remarked: 'true humour is not idle words ... but has a useful function as a corrective of folly, pomposity and injustice'.¹⁷¹ The tram strike in Dublin was a recurring theme throughout April, May and June 1935 – for example, a full-page cartoon in the April 1935 issue, carried the tag line: 'For those who have to walk in every day, those outlying districts will soon become known as the 'sub-urbs'.¹⁷² In the May 1935 issue, a cartoon suggested that one of the exhibits at the

¹⁷⁰ News circulation figures 1868 – 1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

¹⁷¹ Charles E. Kelly, 'May we laugh please?' in *The Furrow* 4:12 (Dec. 1953), p. 701. Cited in Larkin & O'Brien (eds) *Periodicals and Journalism*, p. 124.

¹⁷² *Dublin Opinion* (Apr. 1935), p. 38.

Spring Show should be 'a tramcar in full working order'.¹⁷³ In the April 1935 issue, the reviewer bemoaned the lack of new Irish plays:

The stuff of Irish life these days is the stuff of drama: where's the play about the migrants from the Gaeltacht to Meath? Where's the play about the new civil service that has so swamped the pre-Treaty service? And where is the play about the new national teacher with his bilingual and other problems? ¹⁷⁴

In the September issue, Sean O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* at the Abbey Theatre is mentioned twice – first in a rather mild-mannered verse:

And Sean O'Casey's *Silver Tassie*
Has been produced at the crowded Abbey
And some of us thought its silver brassy
Tarnished and rather shabby¹⁷⁵

However, the unnamed theatre reviewer was rather more scathing: 'We found the *Silver Tassie* an objectionable, pretentious and depressing play. An unpleasant play about unpleasant people in unpleasant circumstances.'¹⁷⁶ *Dublin Opinion* was very successful at securing advertising, which ran on the cover section and throughout the magazine. Full-page advertisements for Kennedy's Bread, Ovaltine, Nugget Boot Polish, Wills' Gold Flake cigarettes, Poplins Ties, Jacobs Family Cocoa, Clerys, and E.S.B. Showrooms featured throughout 1935. The advertisements are notable for two reasons. First, the type of advertising placed in *Dublin Opinion* indicates that a family readership was being targeted – or at the very least, that advertisers believed that *Dublin Opinion* provided a family readership. Second, the published advertising rates indicate the importance of this revenue stream - a full-page advertisement could be secured for £18 (the addition of two colours increased the

¹⁷³ *Dublin Opinion* (May 1935), p. 83.

¹⁷⁴ *Dublin Opinion* (Apr. 1935), p. 54.

¹⁷⁵ *Dublin Opinion* (Sept. 1935), p. 226.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid*, p. 232.

rate to £22 and a three-colour advertisement carried a rate of £30).¹⁷⁷ Undoubtedly, the primary reason for the success of the advertising effort was due to the circulation figures for *Dublin Opinion*. The April 1935 edition of *Dublin Opinion* included a half-page advertisement, with the headline ‘See how we’ve grown!’ The advertisement claimed a circulation of 3,000 copies for its first issue in 1922 and a circulation in December 1934 of 41,130 copies per issue.¹⁷⁸ In the July 1935 edition, the entire inside front cover was allocated to a similar advertisement, with the tag line: ‘Sound reasons why you should advertise, guaranteed net sales of 41,130 – the largest circulation of any monthly journal in Ireland’.¹⁷⁹ This was not an instance of publisher hyperbole. The advertisement states that these ‘net-paid-for sales’ were guaranteed by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (A.B.C.) in London ‘of which we are members’.¹⁸⁰ The A.B.C. records for July-December 1934 confirm that the net sales of *Dublin Opinion* for that period were indeed 41,130 copies per issue.¹⁸¹ How then do A.B.C.-certified sales for *Dublin Opinion* compare with the numbers distributed by Eason’s Dublin? Extant Eason’s data for February 1934, April 1937 and April 1939 facilitate some comparative analysis (Table 2):

Table 2. *Dublin Opinion* circulation 1934-39

	1934	1937	1939
A.B.C. audited net sales	37,553	34,921	34,433
Distributed by Eason’s Dublin	22,500	24,000	22,000

A.B.C. audited net sales per issue January-June 1934, January-June 1937, January-June 1939.¹⁸²

Eason’s recorded data February 1934, April 1937 and April 1939.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ *Dublin Opinion* (Apr. 1935), p. 36.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Dublin Opinion* (Jul. 1935), inside front cover.

¹⁸⁰ *Dublin Opinion* (Apr. 1935), p.36.

¹⁸¹ Net sales of *Dublin Opinion* 1930-1957 (Audit Bureau of Circulations). Provided by the A.B.C. by email to this writer, 31 Jul. 2014.

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Monthly trade statistics 1931 – 1973 (EAS/A1/6/1/3/5).

It should be noted that Eason's' figures are for distributed copies only, and they do not show returns or net sales. The net sales related to a distribution of 22,000 copies, for example, would of course be lower. However, the fact remains that Eason's in Dublin was distributing the bulk of *Dublin Opinion* copies to the market. But how to account for the difference between the numbers distributed by Eason's and the A.B.C.'s record of net sales? Eason's in Belfast distributed some Dublin periodicals and News Brothers in Cork and Porters in Derry may also have distributed some copies of *Dublin Opinion* outside Dublin. Eason's in Dublin supplied *The Dublin Magazine* to at least one outlet in New York, the Irish Industries Depot Inc. on Lexington Avenue,¹⁸⁴ so it may also have distributed some copies of *Dublin Opinion* there.

There is evidence that at least one Dublin periodical adopted the newspaper model of bypassing Eason's and supplying directly to the market. An invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Hodges Figgis bookshop in Dublin records the supply of six copies of *The Dublin Magazine* on 1 July 1927 and 1 October 1927, followed by six copies in January, April, July and October 1928 and six copies in January, April, July and October 1929.¹⁸⁵ An invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Eason's records supply of 72 copies of the April-June issue and 72 copies of the July-September 1927 issue.¹⁸⁶ These records show, therefore, that 72 copies of the July-September 1927 issue of *The Dublin Magazine* were supplied through Eason's and six copies of

¹⁸⁴ Note from The Irish Industries Depot Inc, 780 Lexington Avenue, New York, 'We get copies of The Dublin Magazine through Eason & Co Dublin as they come out'. The note is unsigned and undated, but the writer also requests five copies of *The Lamplighter and Other Poems* by Seumas O'Sullivan – 'autographed if possible'. *The Lamplighter and Other Poems* was published in 1929, so the New York order may be reasonably dated after 1929 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/926).

¹⁸⁵ Invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Hodges Figgis bookshop in Dublin, 1927 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/933).

¹⁸⁶ Invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Eason's, 1927 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/807).

that same issue were supplied directly to Hodges Figgis. As *The Dublin Magazine* supplied a modest number of copies directly to a vendor in Dublin, it is reasonable to assume that *Dublin Opinion* and other periodicals may also have taken this route to market in Dublin. However, given the transport logistics and costs associated with supplying directly to shops outside Dublin, the low numbers involved and in light of Eason's' preferential flat rate carriage charge with the railway companies, it is also reasonable to surmise that direct supply, in substantial numbers, to bookshops outside Dublin was unlikely.

The discrepancy between the A.B.C. net sales and Eason's' distribution figures in the case of *Dublin Opinion* may be partly offset by subscription sales. The sales figures recorded and authenticated by the A.B.C. would also have included sales by subscription. Regrettably, the A.B.C. does not hold copies of historical certificates prior to 2000, so a breakdown of the net sales figure produced for *Dublin Opinion* is not available. However, many of the periodicals published in Dublin 1930-39 were available by subscription. Distribution by subscription provided clear advantages to a publisher. A subscriber base allows the publisher to more accurately set the print run of the periodical, based on these advance sales and so reduce wastage, an important financial consideration. A subscriber base is an important sales tool for advertising, as it provides useful geographic data and 'proof' of a core audience. Most importantly, the subscriber pays in advance, usually for one year, providing clear cash flow advantages. Subscription sales also eliminated the need to provide the distributor with a discount off the retail price of the periodical - in an invoice dated 24 March 1926, 50 copies of the April issue and

50 copies of the May issue of *The Dublin Magazine* were supplied to Eason's, at 2s. 6d. per copy (the retail price) on a sale or return basis, less 33% discount.¹⁸⁷ An invoice in 1927 records the sale to Eason's of 72 copies of the April-June issue on 1 April and 72 copies of the July-Sept issue on 1 July, supplied at 2s. 6d. per copy, less 33% discount.¹⁸⁸ Both the 1926 and 1927 invoices noted here also record returns (unsold copies): 37 copies returned in June and July 1926 and 11 copies returned from July-October 1927. This is another peril of retail distribution: the supply of copies through a distributor on a sale or return basis means that unsold copies will eventually be returned to the publisher and their cost deducted from the original sale. As noted, *The Dublin Magazine* was supplied direct to Hodges Figgis bookshop in Dublin throughout 1927-9, but this arrangement was also subject to a levy – a discount of £7 10s. was deducted from sales in 1927.¹⁸⁹

Subscription sales therefore provided clear financial advantages. To return to the example of *Dublin Opinion* and *The Dublin Magazine*: the former offered one-year subscriptions at 4s. 6d.¹⁹⁰ and the latter was available by subscription at the published rate of 10s 6d.¹⁹¹ The *Dublin Opinion* business records are not extant, but the records of *The Dublin Magazine* shed some light on the operation of a subscription model for periodicals. Admittedly, *The Dublin Magazine* was an entirely different type of periodical from *Dublin Opinion*. It was founded and edited by Seamus O'Sullivan and priced at 2s. 6d., placing it among the more expensive

¹⁸⁷ Invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Eason's, 24 Mar. 1926 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/712).

¹⁸⁸ Invoice from *The Dublin Magazine* to Eason's, 1927 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/807).

¹⁸⁹ T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/933.

¹⁹⁰ *Dublin Opinion* (Feb. 1935).

¹⁹¹ *The Dublin Magazine* (Jan.-Mar. 1930).

periodicals distributed by Eason's. The masthead stated that it was 'A quarterly review of literature, science and art'. Despite the differences between *The Dublin Magazine* and *Dublin Opinion*, analysis of the former's subscription strategy is instructive. Several subscription agencies acted on behalf of *The Dublin Magazine* – in London, for example, Wm. Dawson & Sons Ltd.,¹⁹² and W. H. Smith Subscriptions Department¹⁹³ sent subscription orders to O'Sullivan in Dublin. What is noteworthy about these orders is that each order was for 8s. 11d, though the published subscription rate was 10s. 6d. - the difference may be attributed to the agency's commission for securing the order. And it was clearly a competitive market, as indicated in a letter from William Jackson Booksellers on 20 February 1930:

We find that we now have 16 subscriptions to your journal. Would you consider allowing us a little extra discount on these as we have had to work hard to obtain these subscriptions by circulating by means of our Bulletins and by letter... It means we make practically nothing out of handling your magazine.¹⁹⁴

The Dublin Magazine also promoted subscriptions directly to its readers. A subscription rate of 10s. 6d. was published on the contents page and regular subscription notices were published – for example, a quarter-page notice ran in the advertisement section at the back of the January-March 1931 issue; a half-page subscription reminder ran in the April-June 1931 issue; and a full-page advertisement appealed to readers to take a Christmas subscription for friends home and abroad in the October-December 1932 issue. A full-page subscription advertisement at the back of the January-March 1935 issue listed 'selected'

¹⁹² Subscription order from Wm. Dawson & Sons Ltd., Cannon House, Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Circus, London, for Mrs A. O. Leighton, Box 256, Rosemont, P.A., U.S.A., Jan.-Dec. 1932 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/1051).

¹⁹³ Subscription order from W. H. Smith Subscriptions Department, Strand House, London, for Mr. Kyuya Nakatani, Tokyo, Jan. 1932 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/1054).

¹⁹⁴ William Jackson Booksellers to *The Dublin Magazine*, 20 Feb. 1930 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/943).

contributors including Thomas Bodkin, Lord Dunsany, D. L. Kelleher; Brinsley McNamara, Frank O'Connor; Lennox Robinson, and James Stephens.¹⁹⁵

It is not possible to provide a definitive subscriber base for *The Dublin Magazine*. However, several mailing lists survive, though they are undated and it is unclear whether some of those listed received complimentary copies. In a handwritten note, entitled 'Dublin Magazine List of Names - Home', 146 names and addresses are listed.¹⁹⁶ The list included editors of other publications and several bookshops, but individuals are also listed – for example, Austin Clarke, Bridge House, Templeogue and Maurice Walsh, Avoca Road, Blackrock. The inclusion of Ernie O'Malley on this list helps to date the document. O'Malley's address is listed as Burrishoole Lodge, Newport, Co. Mayo. O'Malley returned to Ireland in 1935, following his marriage to Helen Hooker, and from 1938 onwards they settled primarily at Burrishoole Lodge.¹⁹⁷ Other mailing lists have survived: 'Dublin Magazine Home' lists 148 names and addresses in Ireland, the U.K. and the U.S.;¹⁹⁸ 'Home List Dublin Magazine' lists 155 names and addresses in Ireland, the U.K. and the U.S.¹⁹⁹ Several names recur on both lists – for example, Ernie O'Malley, Francis MacManus and Maurice Walsh. The inclusion of Padraic Fallon on a distribution list of 148 names and addresses helps to date that document.²⁰⁰ Fallon's address at 7 Rowe Street, Wexford, was crossed out and a new address at Prospect House, Clonard, Wexford, was hand written beside his name. Fallon moved from Dublin to

¹⁹⁵ *The Dublin Magazine* (Jan.-Mar. 1935).

¹⁹⁶ 'Dublin Magazine List of Names - Home', undated (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/4214).

¹⁹⁷ Richard English, 'O'Malley, Ernest Bernard (Ernie)' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6885>)

¹⁹⁸ 'Dublin Magazine Home', undated (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/4215).

¹⁹⁹ 'Home List Dublin Magazine', undated (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/4216).

²⁰⁰ 'Distribution list', undated (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/4217).

Wexford in 1939, but at least one biographer has dated his move to Prospect House as 1948.²⁰¹ These surviving lists can, then, reasonably be dated between 1938 and 1948. Interestingly, a *Dublin Magazine* lodgment book (for the Royal Bank of Ireland in Rathmines) records a lodgment made on 24 January 1940: Mr. G. B. Shaw is written alongside the sum lodged - 10s 6d (the cost of an annual subscription).²⁰²

The objective here has been to use the business records of *The Dublin Magazine* to illustrate the various methods of distribution and circulation development available to publishers of periodicals - distribution through a central distributor, direct sales to vendors, subscription agencies and individual subscriptions. It would be reasonable to posit that *Dublin Opinion* and other periodicals also utilized all of the distribution options available to them. And yet, Eason & Son in Dublin was still responsible for the bulk of *Dublin Opinion's* circulation, certainly for the periods where a comparative analysis is possible, January-June 1934, January-June 1937, and January-June 1939. The records held in the Eason & Son Archive in Dublin may not be definitive, but they may be regarded as indicative of circulation trends during the period under review.

If *Dublin Opinion* was the outstanding performer in terms of circulation in the 1930s, which other Irish periodicals are worthy of note? Unsurprisingly, Catholic periodicals were among the most widely distributed periodicals. The 1926 Census

²⁰¹ Tom Feeney, 'Fallon, Padraic', in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/quicksearch.do#>).

²⁰² Bank lodgment book, 24 Jan. 1940 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/1738).

recorded that 92.6% of the Free State population was Catholic.²⁰³ Half a million people attended a Pontifical High Mass in the Phoenix Park in Dublin during the 1929 Centenary of Catholic Emancipation; and one million people attended mass, also in the Phoenix Park, at the culmination of the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin in 1932.²⁰⁴ In a memo dated 6 November 1935, Eason's analyzed the proportion of imported to 'home' magazines for February 1934. According to this account, Eason's distributed 1,014 copies of imported religious magazines and 59,026 copies of domestic religious magazines. The next most widely distributed domestic category was humorous, with 1,885 copies of imported magazines and 22,500 copies of domestic magazines – as shown here, this latter distribution figure related exclusively to *Dublin Opinion*.²⁰⁵

In an Eason's report dated May 1942 and headed 'Magazines – Religious Group' 54 magazines are listed, though not every title was distributed in every year recorded (including 1931, 1934, 1937). Furthermore, it is not stated whether the numbers in this report represented an average over the year or related to a specific month. However, a comparison between the figures listed for 1934 in this report and those recorded separately for February 1934, reveals very little difference between the reports.²⁰⁶ The great majority of these religious periodicals carried cover prices of 1d or 2d. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* carried a substantial cover price of 2s., though only 38 copies were distributed, which was the lowest distribution figure for any religious periodical listed. Two of the listed periodicals

²⁰³ 1926 Census, cited in Brown, *Ireland*, p. 20.

²⁰⁴ Kennedy, *Dreams and responsibilities*, p. 23.

²⁰⁵ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²⁰⁶ *ibid*.

carried cover prices at the higher end of the spectrum and distribution figures are provided for 1931, 1934, and 1937. *The Catholic Bulletin* and *Irish Rosary* each sold at 6d. and were published and printed in Dublin. According to the February 1934 report Eason's distributed 1,092 copies of *The Catholic Bulletin* and 910 copies of *Irish Rosary*. In fact, fourteen of these 'Religious, etc' periodicals had a distribution figure above 1,000 copies in February 1934. However, the most widely distributed periodical in this group was *The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart* (published from the Irish Messenger Office, 5 Great Denmark Street in Dublin): 11,280 copies of this 2d. periodical were distributed through Eason's in February 1934. The next most widely distributed periodical in this category in the February 1934 report was *The Christian Family* (2d.) It was published by Veritas in Dublin and Eason's distributed 10,000 copies in 1934/5.

A later Eason's report, 'Magazines – Religious Group' dated May 1942, listed supply numbers in dozens, for 1931, 1934 and 1937.²⁰⁷ There are minor discrepancies between the numbers listed for 1934 in the February 1934 report and the May 1942 report and it is not stated whether the numbers in the later report represented an average over the year or were related to a specific month. However, the discrepancies are not sufficiently significant to distort the circulation trends. For example, the earlier February 1934 report showed a distribution figure of 11,280 for *The Irish Messenger*; the May 1942 report recorded a distribution figure of 11,352 for *The Irish Messenger* in 1934. The 1934 report showed a supply figure of 1,092 for *The Catholic Bulletin*; the 1942 report recorded 972 copies in

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*

1934. The distribution figures listed for *Irish Rosary* were 910 copies in the 1934 report and 840 copies in the 1942 report,²⁰⁸ and this trend was maintained through much of the 1940s, with 960 copies in 1945, 900 copies in 1947, falling to 744 copies in 1948, which may in part be attributable to the price increase that year from 6d. to 1s.²⁰⁹ *The Irish Messenger* maintained its position as the most widely distributed religious periodical, by Eason's, throughout 1937 and 1939 – Eason's recorded that 12,240 copies were distributed in 1937 and 12,600 copies in 1939, though, again, it is not stated whether the numbers listed represented an average over the year or were related to a specific month. As a later report illustrates, *The Irish Messenger* continued to dominate the religious publications market throughout the 1940s – Eason's distributed 12,600 copies in 1945, 13,503 in 1946, 13,212 in 1947, and 13,296 in 1948. The next most widely distributed religious title was *Annals of St. Anthony (2d.)* – 3,468 copies were distributed by Eason's in 1945, rising to 4,246 by 1948.²¹⁰ The distribution figures for *The Irish Messenger* are all the more remarkable when it is considered that it actually increased its circulation through Eason's in the 1940s, despite the privations of the Emergency and the paper shortages caused by the German invasion of Norway in 1940, which decimated the supply of wood pulp and curtailed Irish paper supplies.

The Irish Messenger was published by the Apostleship of Prayer, which was founded by a group of Jesuit seminarians in France in 1844. It was printed on poor quality paper, over approximately fifty-eight pages, with a self-cover printed in two

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

colours. The editorial content was aimed at the entire family - the January 1935 issue, for example, carried articles on managing small children, the 'Young Crusaders' Corner' for children, the missions in China, and two short stories – both set in modest households and both notable for the mild-mannered, redemptive tone of the writing and message. One of the more unique features was the inclusion of several pages dedicated to Thanksgivings from readers, such as:

Able to give up life of sin.
Two cousins enter convent.
Wife able to leave mental home.²¹¹

The Irish Messenger is also noteworthy for its ambitious subscription strategy. In the January 1935 issue, readers were advised:

In no way can you better or more effectively carry on the work of promoting devotion to the Sacred Heart than by using your very best endeavours to promote the reading of the 'Messenger' which is sure to carry in to every house it enters fervent devotion to the Sacred Heart, with all that this devotion stands for, a lively faith, and an unbounded confidence in the power of prayer. Hence each Promoter is asked to secure five new subscribers and each reader to supply to his or her Promoter the name, address and yearly subscription of at least one new subscriber to the Messenger for 1935.²¹²

The outside back cover of the same issue advised that orders of 100 and more could be supplied at 1s. 8d. and bound copies of *The Irish Messenger*, in red cloth and with gold lettering, would be an ideal Christmas gift for friends abroad. In comparison, *The Irish Rosary* was a monthly magazine conducted by the Dominican Fathers, and published from St. Saviour's Priory in Dublin. It had higher production values than *The Irish Messenger* and was printed on good quality paper with a distinctive two-colour cover that listed several articles from the issue. It carried

²¹¹ *The Irish Messenger* (Jan. 1935), p. 42.

²¹² *ibid.*, p. 1.

limited advertising, such as half-page advertisements for the Sirema electric safety razor from Siemens-Schuckert Ltd. in Dublin and Heating and Ventilation from Musgrave & Co., at 19 Eustace Street, Dublin – the tag line claimed that Musgraves had the notable distinction of heating the principal churches in Ireland for 50 years.²¹³ *The Irish Rosary* had a higher cover price of 6d. and was clearly aimed at a more affluent readership. Travel articles featured regularly throughout 1935 – for example, ‘Reminiscences of India’s Coral Strand’ by Pat O’Shaughnessy;²¹⁴ ‘By Rail Across the Andes’ by Seamus P. MacCarthy;²¹⁵ and ‘A Day in Madeira’ by Thomas Kelly.²¹⁶ An article in Irish was included in every issue, but the short stories tended to be very ‘English’ in tone and setting, which strikes an odd editorial note – for example, a serial entitled ‘The Little Portion’ by Cecily Hallack ran throughout 1935, based around the experiences of an English couple in Sussex, and notable for the gently romantic tone aimed, one must assume, at a female readership.

The plight of the unemployed and, more specifically, the threat of Communism featured strongly throughout the 1930s in *The Irish Rosary* – for example, in ‘The Communist Trap for Youth’ by G. M. Gedden;²¹⁷ in an editorial entitled ‘The Drift to the Left’;²¹⁸ and in an odd article entitled ‘Log of a Labourer by a Dublin Unemployed.’ Although the writer claimed to be a labourer living in one of the most poverty-stricken parts of Dublin, he was clearly well educated - for example, he referenced ‘outrageous’ Johann Adam Weishaupt, the German philosopher and

²¹³ *The Irish Rosary* (Jan. 1935), inside front cover.

²¹⁴ *The Irish Rosary* (Mar. 1935), p. 207.

²¹⁵ *The Irish Rosary* (Jun. 1935), p. 453.

²¹⁶ *The Irish Rosary* (Sept. 1935), p. 674.

²¹⁷ *The Irish Rosary* (Jan. 1935), p. 51.

²¹⁸ *The Irish Rosary* (Apr. 1935), p. 241.

founder of the Order of the Illuminati, before calling for the establishment of a Catholic lay organization that would rival the political lectures organized by the Communists. A clue, perhaps, to the occupation of the author is suggested at the end of the article: 'here in Ireland almost everything is left to the priest'.²¹⁹

Also priced at 6d., *The Catholic Bulletin* was published by M. H. Gill & Sons in Dublin, a fact prominently displayed on the front cover. The production standards were unremarkable and the majority of the advertisements were related to religious affairs – advertisers in the January 1935 issue included Monaghan Boarding School, Convent of St Louis, and St Brigid's Guest House, 9 Henrietta Street, Dublin (under the care of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul) which offered special accommodation for nuns and postulants. Several advertisements were allocated to M. H. Gill & Sons' products and services – for example, a full-page advertisement promoted its expertise in printing books, magazines, church notices, ordination and mortuary cards and a separate advertisement in that same issue offered special terms for quantities of M. H. Gill & Sons' altar wax candles. However, there was a notable exception to the general type of advertisement included in *The Catholic Bulletin* - the inside front covers of the March, April and May issues in 1935 featured advertisements for Wills' Gold Flake cigarettes. Clearly aimed at women, the advertisement featured an illustration of a smiling young woman, dressed in fashionable, modern clothes, with short hair and certainly the suggestion of lipstick. The tag line was: 'Wills' Gold Flake for Happy Smoking'. This advertisement was included in the same issue as an article 'For Mothers and

²¹⁹ *The Irish Rosary* (Feb. 1935), p. 151.

Daughters' on the 'Art of Housewifery' by Bean a'Tighe, which bemoaned societal changes in Ireland:

The older generations of Irish women put more thought and care into their homes. There were no cinemas then, no insatiable craving for amusement; make up and lipstick were unknown; the daily round brought its own interest and excitement to the mothers and daughters, and they were happy and content.²²⁰

This is, in fact, a rather moderate extract from what was a strident and conservative periodical. The entire family was catered to – women by the aforementioned Bean a'Tighe and children by Nead na nÓg, who warned readers:

If you want to be a real child of mine, get some good Republican to tell you all about 1916-22. Have you no Grannies? Is there no fireside talk? Ah, I forgot – that wretched cinema is helping to destroy home life and the education that only a home can give.²²¹

The men of the family could, presumably, enjoy the sports pages (Irish games and athletics only), alongside a digest of news compiled from diverse sources including the *Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, *The Times*, and *The Nation*. The Very Rev. James McGlinchy exhorted readers 'to embrace offensive and defensive measures against all movements and doctrines that attack or oppose religion... Catholics must look out for the danger and be ever ready and willing to combat it.'²²²

In the wake of the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929 the Academy of Irish Letters was founded in 1932 by, among others, W. B. Yeats and George Bernard Shaw. One of its objectives was to oppose the increasing implementation of censorship in Ireland. Unsurprisingly, the work of the Academy provoked much

²²⁰ *The Catholic Bulletin* (Jan. 1935), p. 83.

²²¹ *ibid.*, p. 80.

²²² *ibid.*, p. 66.

comment in the religious periodicals. *The Catholic Mind* is a good example. It carried a lower price point of 2d. and it was widely distributed in the 1930s: in February 1934, distribution through Eason's was 2,800 copies, three times higher than that of *Irish Rosary*.²²³ However, it had disappeared from Eason's distribution lists by 1939. *The Catholic Mind* was published monthly for the proprietors of the Juverna Press, with an editorial office address at 12 Upper Liffey Street in Dublin. It had a two-colour cover on light gloss paper with lighter stock paper used inside. Companies such as Gunning & Son Ecclesiastical Art Metal Works in Dublin were regular advertisers but it is noteworthy that advertising was also secured from companies that were not directly involved with the business of the religious orders such as the Dublin Gas Company, New Ireland Assurance, Mansion Polish, and Kennedy's Bread – all also regular advertisers with *Dublin Opinion*. In an editorial piece on 'The Catholic Novelist', the unnamed writer proclaimed:

The Irish Academy of Letters has given its benediction to a set of writers who excel in indecency, obscenity, grossness, blatant materialism and blasphemy.²²⁴

The Catholic Bulletin also commented on the Academy. In an editorial entitled 'The Abbey Academy at it again' the writer warned of the 'peculiar people' who had established this Academy 'under Shaw and Yeats, Robinson and Russell'. Yeats was singled out for particular vitriol, the 'posturing petulance of poor old Pollexfen':

They dined themselves, decorated themselves and displayed themselves so effectively that even their own associates in pretentious foolery failed to put up with the fooling farce.²²⁵

²²³ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²²⁴ *The Catholic Mind* (Feb. 1935), p. 2.

²²⁵ *The Catholic Bulletin* (Jan. 1935), p. 13.

The religious periodicals discussed here included articles of specific interest to women – whether through fiction, articles relating to children, or advice on managing the home. There were, of course, entire magazines dedicated to ‘women’s affairs’. In February 1934, Eason’s distributed 40 titles under the category ‘Fiction and Home Magazines’.²²⁶ The vast majority of these titles were imported from England. In its 6 November 1935 analysis of the proportion of imported to ‘home’ magazines distributed in February 1934, Eason’s categorised ‘Fashion/Ladies’ and ‘Fiction/Home’. In the ‘Fashion/Ladies’ category, Eason’s distributed 7,020 copies of domestic magazines and 35,734 copies of imported magazines. In the ‘Fiction/Home’ category, Eason’s distributed 2,145 copies of domestic magazines and 21,288 copies of imported magazines.²²⁷ A separate report for February 1934 recorded that Eason’s distributed more than 1,500 copies of *Good Housekeeping* (London, 1s.), 1,690 copies of *The Strand Magazine* (London, 1s.) and 1,534 copies of *Woman’s Journal* (London, 1s.).

A further 32 titles were listed under the category ‘Fashions & Ladies Journals’. The English publishing company Weldon’s had a stable of titles in this category, including *Weldon’s Bazaar* (4d.), *Weldon’s Good Taste* (4d.), and *Weldon’s Journal* (6d.), which accounted for almost 12,000 copies distributed under this category.²²⁸ Weldon’s was, of course, one of the major English publishing companies of the period.²²⁹ Other major English publishing groups whose periodicals were distributed by Eason’s in Dublin in February 1934 included Amalgamated Press

²²⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²²⁷ *ibid.*

²²⁸ *ibid.*

²²⁹ http://www.magforum.com/glossies/womens_magazine_sales.htm (6 Aug. 2014).

(*Woman & Home*, 6d., 2,000 copies distributed); Odham's (*Ideal Home*, 1s., 260 copies distributed); and National Magazine (*Good Housekeeping*, 1s., 1,560 copies distributed).²³⁰ An Eason's memo dated 7 June 1940 noted that the invasion of Norway had cut off paper supplies from Northern Europe and warned that quantities had been affected by the price increases that had been implemented by a large number of papers.²³¹ The English periodical *Good Housekeeping* illustrates the point. In February 1934 Eason's distributed more than 1,500 copies of *Good Housekeeping* (London, 1s.).²³² A later report, recording distribution figures for 1939-48, indicated that *Good Housekeeping* maintained its distribution numbers through 1939 (1,680 copies) and 1940 (1,716 copies). However, by 1941 the cover price had been increased to 1s. 3d. and the numbers distributed by Eason's fell to 1,224. The cover price was increased to 1s. 6d. by 1948 and the numbers distributed by Eason's fell to 1,032.²³³

It was, however, an Irish periodical that claimed the distinction of being the most widely distributed woman's periodical in the 1930s and 1940s. *Model Housekeeping* was published by Grafton Publishing in Dublin, and according to Eason's records 7,020 copies were distributed in February 1934²³⁴ and 6,000 copies in April 1939.²³⁵ Distribution figures for *Model Housekeeping* held steady throughout the Emergency – in 1940 and 1941, more than 6,000 copies were distributed by Eason's, though it is not stated whether the numbers in this report

²³⁰ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²³¹ *ibid.*

²³² *ibid.*

²³³ *ibid.*

²³⁴ *ibid.*

²³⁵ *ibid.* In April 1946, 8,638 copies were distributed.

represented an average over the year or related to a specific month.²³⁶ A modest price increase from 3d. to 4d. by 1948 did not impact on distribution numbers, as had been the case with the English periodical *Good Housekeeping*. In fact, in 1948 the number of copies of *Model Housekeeping* distributed by Eason's actually increased to 6,972.²³⁷ The (unnamed) editor of *Model Housekeeping* claimed in 1934 that it was the 'biggest' 3d. woman's periodical in Ireland or Great Britain:

The success of *Model Housekeeping* has proved beyond yag or nay that Ireland can hold its own in open competition with the publishing houses of any other country. *Model Housekeeping* is in fact the biggest 3d. woman's magazine in Great Britain or Ireland. It is an exclusively Irish enterprise edited and printed in its entirety in Dublin; controlled and financed by Irish nationals.²³⁸

In November of the same year, the editor wrote:

It is pleasant to record that circulation of our last issue was the highest on record. Before the coming of *Model Housekeeping* it was generally felt that this country was too small to produce a magazine that would stand comparison in size and method of production with the periodicals of the mammoth publishing houses of Great Britain.²³⁹

Model Housekeeping was an impressive and professionally produced publication. Priced at 3d. and available by subscription at 6s. for one year, the cover section was printed in full cover and featured a full-page illustration – floral arrangements dominated most of the covers throughout 1934-35. *Model Housekeeping* cleverly and carefully catered for its target readership of housewives – the subtitle on the front cover proclaimed it to be 'Ireland's National Woman's Magazine'. Articles were generally well-written and illustrated, and regular features included recipes, knitting patterns, needlework, fashion, short story serials, interior design, social

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ *ibid.*

²³⁸ *Model Housekeeping* (May 1934), p. 359.

²³⁹ *Model Housekeeping* (Nov. 1934), unpaginated.

pages, children's pages written by Aunt Molly and even a medical advice column by 'a practising lady doctor'.²⁴⁰ A serial entitled 'Romances of well-known Irish families' by Donagh McShane ran throughout 1934 and included the Wingfields of Powerscourt and the Usshers.²⁴¹ Bylines were not included with every article, but when they did appear the credibility of the writer was emphasised – for example, Mrs Evelyn Wallace, a regular contributor to the home and cookery pages in 1934/5, was credited as 'diplomee and lecturer in cookery'.²⁴² *Model Housekeeping* carefully nurtured its readership: the editor referred to the readers as 'our loyal family';²⁴³ in 1934, a discounted motor insurance scheme was launched for 'registered readers';²⁴⁴ and readers were encouraged to submit short stories and articles on housekeeping and crafts.²⁴⁵

However, it was the volume of advertising secured by *Model Housekeeping* that was most impressive. Full-page advertisers in 1934/5 included Gold Flake Cigarettes, Sunbeam Silk Stockings, Atwater Kent Radio, Pim's Department Store, Wincarnis, 4711 Eau de Cologne, Atkinsons Poplin Ties, Jacobs, Ovaltine, Hoover, Valor Oil Heaters, Blue Band Margarine, Balbriggan Ladies Artsilk and Wool Underwear, Pond's Cream, and Cunard White Star Cruises. Smaller advertisements also appeared for Beckers Teas, Shaw's Bacon, Findlater's Fish, Hiltonia Mattresses, Kellogs All-Bran, Fruitfield Marmalade, Singer Sewing Machines and West & Son Jewellers. Potential advertisers were often the subject of flattering

²⁴⁰ *Model Housekeeping* (Feb. 1934), p. 235.

²⁴¹ *Model Housekeeping* (Mar. 1934), p. 258, the Usshers (Jul. 1934), p. 498.

²⁴² *Model Housekeeping* (Feb. 1934), p. 204.

²⁴³ *Model Housekeeping* (Nov. 1934), unpaginated.

²⁴⁴ *Model Housekeeping* (May 1934), p. 370.

²⁴⁵ *Model Housekeeping* (Aug. 1934), p. 535.

editorial articles – for example, C. Powell Anderson’s ‘Who’s Who’ social diary in March 1934 included items on Mr J. T. Molloy, managing director of Clery’s and Mr Brian D. O’Kennedy, managing director of O’Kennedy Brindley Advertising Agency²⁴⁶ and in June 1934, it was noted that Miss S. McKenna, secretary and manager of Arks Advertising had ‘an intimate knowledge of the requirements of all the leading magazines and papers and can tell advertisers of all classes how to advertise to reap the best results from their expenditure.’ Miss S McKenna had, the writer added, ‘a cool competent bearing combined with natural charm’ ...as well as blue eyes and fair hair.²⁴⁷

In 1935, a tag line began to appear across the bottom of full-page advertisements: ‘Only the best goods are advertised in *Model Housekeeping*’. An advertisement for Wincarnis ‘Wine of Life’ promised to restore colour and vitality to women, a claim supported by recommendations from over 2,000 doctors. In case that was not sufficiently reassuring, a tag line ran across the bottom of the page: ‘If it’s advertised in *Model Housekeeping*, that’s as good as a guarantee’.²⁴⁸ In April 1935, a free 20-page supplement entitled *Irish Homes and Gardens* was included for readers and this became a regular section at the centre of the magazine, printed on toned paper and using different coloured ink to differentiate it from the remainder of the magazine. The editorial tone of authority and respectability was carefully set with the lead article in the first supplement written by Mr H. Allberry, president of the Royal Society of Architects of Ireland. The supplement

²⁴⁶ *Model Housekeeping* (Apr. 1934), p. 305.

²⁴⁷ *Model Housekeeping* (Jun. 1934), p. 422.

²⁴⁸ *Model Housekeeping* (Mar. 1935), p. 249.

was an inspired marketing device. It focused on interior design, gardens and the development of new housing in Dublin. Advertisers flocked to it, and it enabled *Model Housekeeping* to secure advertising beyond its traditional base – advertisements from building suppliers, landscaping companies and, interestingly, for new housing developments such as those at Rainsfort, Sandford Road, Ranelagh; Wilfield Road, Ballsbridge; Blackwell's Estate, Crumlin; Rathfarnham Park Estate; and Hampstead Hill Estate, Glasnevin. *Model Housekeeping* knew its market and served it well. The editor's references to family, the editorial bylines stressing the writers' qualifications, the reassuring notes on advertisements all served to promote an image of trustworthiness and respectability. Little wonder, then, that *Model Housekeeping* outstripped its competitors.

A second woman's magazine is worthy of note here. *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*, incorporating *Irish Sketch* and *Lady of the House*, was priced at 3d. and published monthly by Wilson Hartnell in Dublin. In February 1934, 2,144 copies were distributed by Eason's.²⁴⁹ In April 1937, 2,470 copies were distributed and in April 1939 3,770 copies were distributed.²⁵⁰ As was the case with *Model Housekeeping*, *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* retained its readership through the Emergency – Eason's distributed 2,832 copies in 1940 and 1941 and even the inevitable price increase (by 1948, the cover price had increased from 3d. to 4d.) did not impact on numbers – in 1948 Eason's distributed more than 2,800 copies of *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*

²⁵¹ *ibid.*

In the October 1940 issue of *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*, W. J. Flynn wrote that the founder, managing director and editor of *Lady of the House* in 1890 was H. Crawford Hartnell, whose stated objective for *Lady of the House* was ‘the elevation of social life, the strengthening of home ties, the beautifying of family surroundings and the revival of Ireland’s national tradition and interest in historical records.’²⁵² *Lady of the House* was incorporated into *Irish Sketch* in 1925, and in 1932 *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*, incorporating *Irish Sketch* and *Lady of the House* was launched. The aims of the original founder were, Flynn wrote, adopted by *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*. H. Crawford Hartnell was the editor until his death in 1935 and he was succeeded as editor and manager by Noel Hartnell.

The Irish Tatler and Sketch was lavishly illustrated with photographs but the use of colour was limited to the front cover. It was available by subscription at 5s., which included an extra Christmas edition. *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* knew its market and catered exclusively for it. In the January 1932 issue, photographs were published of Sir Standish O’Grady Roche celebrating his coming of age and of Lord and Lady Bellew at their ‘magnificent’ Irish home.²⁵³ In that same issue, J. S. Richardson, editor of the *Dancing Times* in London provided ‘London ballroom notes’, written especially for *The Irish Tatler and Sketch*, and illustrated by a photograph of Mr Henry Jacques (entertainment manager at Café de Paris in London) and Mavis Deeming that ‘shows the best way to hold one’s partner when dancing on the crowded restaurant or hotel floor’.²⁵⁴

²⁵² W. J. Flynn, ‘Half a century of illustrated Irish journalism - Reign of the Lady of the House’ in *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Oct. 1940), pp 15-22.

²⁵³ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Feb. 1932), p. 6-9.

²⁵⁴ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Jan. 1932), p. 28.

In the February 1932 issue, the Marquess and Marchioness of Waterford were photographed at the meet of the Waterford hounds and the engagement was announced of Miss Josephine Miller Andrews and Mr Savell Ormrod Hicks.²⁵⁵ Engagements, weddings, hunt balls, and tennis tournaments were the editorial staples, meticulously photographed and recorded. The advertisements, too, complimented the editorial content and were placed throughout and not limited to sections at the front or back of each issue: advertisements from Slynnes & Co. of Grafton Street, Switzers, Clery's Fashion Salons, Slynness Wedding Gowns, Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes, New Ireland Assurance, and Dixon and Hempenstall Spectacles appeared regularly. However, there were occasional glimpses of Irish society and culture beyond the hunt balls. Art Notes, by 'D. R.' provided coverage of modernists such as Mainie Jellett and Evie Hone as early as January 1932²⁵⁶ and in June 1932, in a review of an exhibition by Harry Kernoff, 'D. R.' concluded that: 'Mr Kernoff is still in the experimental stage and his evolution is slow... his head is ahead of his hand and his charcoal portraits were unpleasant.'²⁵⁷ In March 1932, 'D.R' wrote in his regular 'Random Jottings' column: 'As we go to press, there seems to be only two things which we really care about. The first is: which Party gets into power as a result of these momentous elections; the second is the Sweepstake Draw on March 14th.²⁵⁸ The following month, after the election, 'D.R' noted that 'We are inclined to think that the British press expected instant civil war when the Fianna Fáil party was returned but everything is much quieter than any

²⁵⁵ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Feb. 1932), p. 13-16.

²⁵⁶ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Jan. 1932), p. 25.

²⁵⁷ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Jun. 1932), p. 7.

²⁵⁸ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Mar. 1932), p. 5.

of us imagined'.²⁵⁹ A book review section, by Seamus MacCall, took a sharper tone. In a note highlighting a first novel promised from Frank O'Connor, MacCall writes that a previous book (*Guests of the Nation*) by O'Connor 'just missed greatness through the author's own smallness.'²⁶⁰ In May 1932, MacCall wrote:

Bit by bit we are piling up a national literature. I mean, in this instance, a literature of the life of the nation; that is a series of books from which a foreigner or other stranger to the real Ireland can acquire a real and thorough understanding of the flow of historical and other circumstances in which the Irish nation has been moulded.²⁶¹

Presumably MacCall was referring here to his own book, *And so began the Irish nation*, which was published by Talbot Press in Dublin in 1931. Articles by MacCall and 'D.R.' gradually became more infrequent and by 1936, the editorial tone was unremittingly anodyne, as illustrated by G. H. Burrows in 'Random Jottings': 'Social life in Germany one may say is jolly.... Most of them seem happy under the dictatorship and the grouzers do not have a chance to make themselves heard.'²⁶²

Model Housekeeping and *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* had respectable circulation figures and secured a high volume of advertisements from companies that wanted to target women specifically. It was hardly surprising, then, that the publishers of Ireland's most successful periodical saw an opportunity to extend into a new market. In January 1935, an advertisement was published in *Dublin Opinion* announcing a new periodical to be published in March. *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* would be the rather cumbersome title of this new periodical and the advertisement promised a guaranteed circulation of 50,000 and listed full-

²⁵⁹ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Apr. 1932), p. 5.

²⁶⁰ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Mar. 1932), p. 9.

²⁶¹ *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (May 1932), p. 11.

²⁶² *The Irish Tatler and Sketch* (Jan. 1936), p. 5.

page advertisement rates of £20.²⁶³ An advertisement in the March issue of *Dublin Opinion*, declared that *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* was on sale:

The journal for which every feminine reader in Ireland has been waiting: high-class monthly magazine, brilliantly produced and illustrated. The happenings of the moment from the Feminine angle.²⁶⁴

Articles on sport, hobbies, careers, current art and literature as well as ‘frocks, frills, femininities’, home, health and happiness were promised, and all for a cover price of 3d., which positioned it in direct competition with *Model Housekeeping*. The publishers of *Dublin Opinion* did not explicitly claim ownership of this new periodical. However, the office address published in *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* was 67 Middle Abbey Street, the address of *Dublin Opinion*. A note in *Eason’s Monthly Bulletin* in January 1935 announced the imminent publication of *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal*, noting that it would be published from the *Dublin Opinion* offices and that ‘the publishers are confident that there will be a very big demand’.²⁶⁵

In format and design *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* bore striking resemblances to *Dublin Opinion*. As was the style with *Dublin Opinion*, a full-page colour illustration graced the front cover of the first issue, the design of which was credited to Sean Coughlin, one of the regular illustrators for *Dublin Opinion*. In the first issue, a full page was entitled ‘About Ourselves’ and the publishers chose to introduce the magazine in verse (a dominant editorial device in *Dublin Opinion*):

²⁶³ *Dublin Opinion* (Jan. 1935), p. 403.

²⁶⁴ *Dublin Opinion* (Mar. 1935), p.2.

²⁶⁵ *Eason’s Monthly Bulletin* (Jan. 1935), p. 5.

Our Magazine of frills and frocks
Of all the various things that face
The hand that now the cradle rocks
Now trumps the opposition's ace.

Of Life itself that gaily runs
Away on an uncharted sea
Of thought, of purpose, of cream buns
Of gardens, dreams and vanity,

Of health and home, of fireside clime
Of tables laid with tea-ware blue
Must introduce itself in rhyme
A Magazine for home and You.²⁶⁶

And it was surely more than coincidental that several of the advertisements in the inaugural March issue of *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* also appeared in the March issue of *Dublin Opinion*. The E.S.B., All-Electric Installations at 37 Merrion Square, and the National University of Ireland each ran identical advertisements in both periodicals. The first issue also included advertisements for Gaeltacht Industries Depot, Dublin Gas Company, Hiltonia Mattresses, Wincarnis, the National Spa and Hydro at Lucan, and a half-page advertisement for Gold Flake cigarettes. However, the absence of major advertisers such as Sunbeam Silk Stockings, Hoover, Blue Band Margarine, Singer Sewing Machines, and Pond's Cream (all of whom advertised in *Model Housekeeping*) was ominous. The editor was not named and the editorial vision was confused. This was, after all, 'the journal for which every feminine reader in Ireland has been waiting'. It may be assumed, then, that the reader turned with bated breath to one of the first articles in the inaugural issue, entitled 'Ideas for Sandwiches', which advised the reader to: 'Pound the contents of a small tin of lobster to a paste with a little melted butter.

²⁶⁶ *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* (Mar. 1935), p. 4.

Season with salt and pepper. Spread between two buttered slices of bread.²⁶⁷ Ideas for knitting, advice on colour schemes for the home, the first installment of a short story serial, and a spread on fashion and hats did not signal a particularly innovative editorial vision. However, an article from the (unnamed) editor, entitled 'The Feminine World?' did at least indicate some intention to distinguish *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* from the competition. The editor argued that women should contribute more to political life: 'Clever women with constructive and thoughtful minds spend their lives in looking after the details of the kitchen instead of attending to that wider thing, the politics of the kitchen.'²⁶⁸ Having taken the trouble to set out quite a challenging editorial column in the first issue, an article was published in that same issue from Dr J. C. Flood, who warned women that much heartache could be averted if they would only choose jobs that were best suited for them instead of trying to earn a living in the same labour market as men - for example, in industrial or commercial sectors rather than in the professions of law, medicine and teaching:

There are, of course, women who have achieved success in vocations hitherto regarded as purely masculine preserves, but it would be dangerous to draw general conclusions from these examples. Such women are often abnormal either physically or mentally.²⁶⁹

The editorial content did not improve over subsequent issues. *The Modern Girl and Ladies Irish Home Journal* could not match the editorial proficiency of *Model Housekeeping* nor the exclusivity of *Irish Tatler and Sketch*. The contradictions inherent in the title of this new magazine were reflected in the editorial content –

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 22.

a series on careers for women by Grace Dunphy sat uncomfortably beside homely recipes and tips on tennis.

In a clear indication that the proprietors were grappling with the concept of the magazine, the cover design was changed in September 1935. The striking full-page illustrations by Sean Coughlin and Jack McManus were dropped and a small picture of Dundrum Bay was inset on a white cover and cover lines were added: 'Autumn fashions, Latest hairdressing styles'. Notably, there was not a single reference to circulation figures throughout 1935 (and Eason's records do not include distribution date for this title). The jubilant claim in the advertisement in *Dublin Opinion* that 50,000 copies would be sold was not repeated. In the November issue a full-page advertisement was given over to promote bound volumes of *Dublin Opinion* as an ideal Christmas gift. The December issue did not appear and a notice in *Eason's Monthly Bulletin* in January 1936 confirmed that: '*Modern Girl* is discontinued. The last issue is dated November. Agents are asked to return all unsold copies immediately.'²⁷⁰

Ireland's Own (2d.) was a weekly publication, published in Wexford. It is noteworthy because it shared the distinction with *Dublin Opinion* of having an A.B.C.-certified circulation. *Ireland's Own* joined the A.B.C. in 1947 and in that year the A.B.C. recorded average net sales per issue of 23,940 for January–June and 26,387 for July–December. Circulation rose steadily over subsequent years - exceeding 40,000 net sales in January–June 1950 and breaking through 50,000 net

²⁷⁰ *Eason's Monthly Bulletin* (Jan. 1936), p. 6.

sales per issue in July-December 1959.²⁷¹ *Ireland's Own* maintained a steady average distribution figure through Eason's of 14,000 throughout the 1950s.²⁷²

Table 3. *Ireland's Own* circulation 1947-48

	1947	1948
A.B.C. audited net sales	23,940	29,238
Distributed by Eason's Dublin	16,744	19,674

A.B.C. audited net sales per issue January-June 1937 and January-June 1948.²⁷³

Eason's recorded data April 1937 and April 1948.²⁷⁴

Ireland's Own was available by subscription at 14s. 8d. for one year and it had, it was later claimed, subscribers principally in the U.S. but also in several countries worldwide,²⁷⁵ which may account for the discrepancy between the A.B.C. sales figures and the numbers distributed by Eason's in the 1940s. *Ireland's Own* was founded in 1902 by John Mellifont Walsh, son of Edward Walsh, the proprietor of *The People* newspapers and former Mayor of Wexford known for his outspoken advocacy of tenants' rights. John Mellifont Walsh also launched *The Dublin Saturday Post* in 1910 and he succeeded his father as the proprietor of *The People* Newspapers.²⁷⁶ However, for at least some of the period under review, *Ireland's Own* was printed by Alex Thom in Dublin and former editor Gerard Breen recalls that it had a Dublin office at Lower Ormond Quay for at least some of the period from 1930 to 1960. The advertisement manager, Matthew Kavanagh, was based in this Dublin office, as was the accountant and director M. J. Kearney.²⁷⁷ *Ireland's*

²⁷¹ Net sales of *Ireland's Own* 1947-1960 (A.B.C., provided by email to this writer 21 Sept. 2015).

²⁷² News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²⁷³ Net sales of *Ireland's Own* 1947-1960. (A.B.C., provided by email to this writer 21 Sept. 2015).

²⁷⁴ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²⁷⁵ Austin Channing, 'History of *Ireland's Own*', in an advertising supplement in *The People* Newspapers Jan. 1988, provided by email to this writer by Gerard Breen, former editor of *Ireland's Own*, 5 Oct. 2015.

²⁷⁶ Email correspondence with Gerard Breen, 7 Oct. 2015.

²⁷⁷ Email correspondence with Gerard Breen, 26 Sept. 2015.

Own carried substantial advertising. In an advertising supplement published in *The People Newspapers* in January 1988, Austin Channing, managing editor of *Ireland's Own*, claimed that *Ireland's Own* was a 'marketing paradox':

It is neither a HIS or HERs magazine and, as shown in an Omnibus survey earlier this year, its appeal spans all the social categories... Readers of *Ireland's Own* range from the very young to the very old.²⁷⁸

The advertisements that appeared in 1930 support Channing's claim. Oxo, Sunny Smile Toffee, Slyne Fashion, and Vita-Leo treatment for bad legs all appeared in the January and February issues of *Ireland's Own* in 1930. *Ireland's Own* carried the tag line: 'Journal of Fiction, Literature and General Information' on the front cover. In the first issue published in November 1902, the Editor declared:

Ireland's Own is intended to counteract the influence and displace a great portion of the vicious and undesirable literature that reaches this country weekly. It will not be by any means run on narrow lines, but will be broad and instructive – a journal that may be taken and perused with advantage by all persons in Ireland no matter to what station of life they belong, its aim being to instruct, elevate and afford recreation to the people.²⁷⁹

The editorial content catered for the entire family – the January 1930 issue, for example, included 'The tragic history of the Tone family as told by Wolfe Tone himself'; 'The Mystery of the Smugglers' (serial); Children's Page by Una; and weekly fashion talks by the London correspondent, who cautioned that 'a woman with a calm, well-featured face and rather large head spoils her whole effect when she insists on dressing her hair in a fluffy way.'²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Cited by Gerard Breen, in a talk given to Rosslare Historical Society. Text provided by Gerard Breen to this writer by email 7 Oct. 2015.

²⁸⁰ *Ireland's Own*, 25 Jan. 1930.

There were, of course, many other periodicals distributed by Eason's throughout the 1930s, but none matched the distribution figures achieved by the market leaders, *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland's Own*, nor the sectoral success of religious and women's periodicals. Eason's 'Trade and Craft' category listed 53 periodicals in February 1934.²⁸¹ *Irish Builder* (3d.) was the most widely distributed periodical in this category, with 507 copies distributed in April 1937 and 1,482 copies distributed in April 1939. *Irish Shoe Trade Journal* (3d.) had a higher distribution of 780 copies in April 1937 but no copies are recorded for April 1939.²⁸²

Professional or sectoral periodicals were also distributed by Eason's. There were, for example, three periodicals related to nursing: the most widely distributed of these was *Irish Nursing World* (3d.), with 383 copies distributed in April 1937 and 260 copies in April 1939. *Irish Nursing News* (3d.) managed only 117 copies in April 1937 and 52 in April 1939, and *Irish Nurses Magazine* (2d.) had distribution through Eason's of only 26 copies in April 1937 and 13 copies in April 1939.²⁸³ The agriculture sector, too, was served by several periodicals. *Irish Free State Farmer* (1d.) was listed in Eason's Agriculture category in 1937 only and a distribution figure of 1,040 copies was recorded; *Irish Farm Life* (1d.) was listed under 'Literary & Reviews' in April 1939 only, with 962 copies distributed. *Irish Farmers Paper* (2d.) was listed in April 1941 and April 1942, with distribution of 3,250 copies and 1,703 copies, respectively.²⁸⁴ The juvenile market was well served and though it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that in February 1934, the Irish

²⁸¹ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

²⁸² *ibid.*

²⁸³ *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*

titles, *Girl's Life* (2d.) and *Our Boys* (2d.), dominated their market. Eason's distributed 3,900 copies of *Girl's Life*, and only 193 copies of the English competitor, *Girl's Own* (6d.), and 7,826 copies of *Our Boys*, compared with 130 copies of the English *Boys' Own* (6d.) though the substantial difference in price was surely a contributory factor in the dominance of the Irish periodicals.²⁸⁵

This analysis of the Irish periodical publishing market reveals a highly competitive and crowded market. The heady success of *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland's Own* and the sectoral dominance of women's magazines suggests an audience that, when it strayed from the ubiquitous religious magazines, sought relief in popular culture. How and where periodicals that were self-avowedly more intellectual fit within this market will be considered in the following chapter.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

4. The market for intellectual and literary periodicals

*'Whatever may have swamped Ireland, it is not culture,
English or any other sort.'*²⁸⁶

The Irish Free State in the 1930s is not generally regarded as a hotbed of culture and creativity. Economic protectionism, societal conservatism, cultural censorship, and the pervasive influence of the Catholic Church were undeniable restraints. The 1926 Census recorded that 92.6% of the Free State population was Catholic²⁸⁷ and one million people attended mass in the Phoenix Park at the culmination of the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin in 1932.²⁸⁸ Clair Wills has noted the range of conservative legal changes introduced after 1922, such as the banning of divorce, prohibiting the sale and importation of contraceptives, and limiting the role of women in the 1937 constitution.²⁸⁹ In terms of publishing, the Censorship of Publications Act in 1929 and the 1933 imposition of tariffs on imported newspapers and magazines were intended to protect the population from 'indecent and prurient' literature and journals.²⁹⁰ Literature was not the only artform to guard against: jazz was regarded as a particular menace. *The Irish Monthly* decried the 'soul destroying noise of jazz'²⁹¹ and Aodh de Blacam warned that 'those whose ears are attuned to the *O Salutaris* ought to find small pleasure in jazz.'²⁹²

²⁸⁶ Frank O'Connor, 'Ireland reads – trash!' *Irish Press* 9 Mar. 1937, p. 8.

²⁸⁷ 1926 Census, cited in Brown, *Ireland*, p. 20.

²⁸⁸ Kennedy, *Dreams and responsibilities*, p. 23.

²⁸⁹ Wills, *That Neutral Island*, p. 24.

²⁹⁰ Richard S. Devane, M. H. Macinerny, Michael Tierney, P. J. Hooper and Thomas F. O'Rahilly, 'Suggested Tariff on Imported Newspapers and Magazines' in *Studies*, vol. 16, no. 64 (Dec. 1927), pp 545-63.

²⁹¹ *The Irish Monthly* Nov. 1931, vol. lx, no. 701, p. 726.

²⁹² *The Capuchin Annual (1930)*, p. 56.

And yet, pleasure was undeniably found in jazz and in popular culture. Terence Brown suggests that countryside, city and town alike were 'addicted' to Hollywood films in 1930s.²⁹³ In the case of Dublin, David Dickson presents a compelling picture of a city dominated by Anglo-American culture - the average daily attendance at Dublin's 34 cinemas in 1934/5 was 30,000 and largely American-inspired popular music dominated the 54 licensed dance halls in Dublin city, augmented by 39 similar venues in County Dublin.²⁹⁴ By way of contrast, Dickson notes the official neglect and straitened budgets of national cultural institutions such as the National Library and National Gallery.²⁹⁵

As noted previously, radio was becoming an increasingly popular medium. The launch of Radio 2RN in Dublin on 1 January 1926 has been described as a 'Gaelic League night out.'²⁹⁶ Dr Douglas Hyde gave the opening address and the two-hour programme was dominated by traditional Irish music. There is a suggestion that the arrival of sponsored programmes in the 1930s drew complaints about the promotion of 'crooners and jazz' at the expense of indigenous Irish music.²⁹⁷ However, a survey of some of programming schedules through 1936 indicates that such sponsored programmes were hardly dominant. For example, of ten hours' programming published for Radio Éireann on 28 April 1936, one hour was allocated to 'gramophone, variety and dance records' and one hour to an unidentified 'sponsored programme'. The remaining time was given to

²⁹³ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 141.

²⁹⁴ David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014), pp 495-96.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 497.

²⁹⁶ Nicholas Carolan, 'From 2RN to International Meta-Community: Irish National Radio and Traditional Music' in *Journal of Music*, 1 Jan. 2005 (<http://journalofmusic.com/focus/2rn-international-meta-community-irish-national-radio-and-traditional-music>) (18 Feb. 2016).

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*

programmes such as Father Mathew Feis prize winners, ‘music in Irish literature’ from the Station Orchestra including several Carolan tunes for strings; Céilidh from Abbey Hall, Roscrea; a play in Irish *An Gradh agus An Garda*; and a children’s hour debate in Irish ‘Is liberty worth the spilling of blood’?.²⁹⁸ The programme for 30 November 1936 again allocates one hour to an unidentified ‘sponsored programme’, with the remainder of the day featuring a special St Andrew’s Day programme with the Irish Radio Orchestra and Caledonian Male Voice Choir, ‘Around the counties’ (jigs and reels from Sligo and Limerick), and Thornton and Earls ‘songs at piano’.²⁹⁹

The societal ‘addiction’ to Anglo-American culture was reflected in magazine reading habits, notwithstanding, as shown in the previous chapter, the success of domestic magazines such as *Dublin Opinion* and *Model Housekeeping*. English women’s magazines dominated the import market, but Eason’s also distributed, in smaller numbers, American film and fan magazines such as *Motion Picture*, *Picture Play* and *Screen Secrets*. All this suggests, then, that the 1930s was a decade where cultural battle lines were clearly drawn – conservative Ireland, defender of Catholic morality ranged against the corrosive incursions of alien modernity. Commentators such Thomas Bodkin and Thomas McGreevy decried the state of Irish culture. Terence Brown has argued there was an ‘almost Stalinist antagonism to modernism, surrealism, free verse, and symbolism combined with prudery and deep reverence for past’³⁰⁰ and Dublin in the 1930s was a place to leave.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ ‘To-Day’s Programmes’, *Irish Times*, 28 Apr. 1936.

²⁹⁹ ‘To-Day’s Programmes’, *Irish Times*, 30 Nov. 1936.

³⁰⁰ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 135.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

This chapter suggests that the picture was not quite so clear cut. Frank Shovlin, in his close study of six twentieth-century Irish periodicals, also contends that the early decades of the Free State should not be dismissed as an ‘artistic dark age’ and he focuses on the literary content of his selected periodicals to prove his thesis.³⁰² The previous chapter analysed the periodical publishing market, and this chapter will contextualise Irish intellectual and literary periodicals within that landscape, focusing on circulation and taking into account relevant developments in the daily press and the presence of imported periodicals, to provide a more nuanced analysis. As Evangelhia Stead has argued: ‘Alternative forms of cultural capital such as the so-called “little reviews” make sense when seen in an overall media system, in relation to mainstream forums.’³⁰³

Analysis of periodicals categorized by Eason’s as ‘Literary & Review’ and distributed by Eason’s throughout the 1930s and 1940s indicates that between the behemoths of domestic Catholic periodicals and imported Anglo-American magazines, there was a niche market for intellectual publishing, based in Dublin, that provided a congregation point for writers and intellectuals and illustrates the ebb and flow of intellectual culture through those decades. This was undoubtedly a niche market and readership, as the distribution data illustrates, but it was consistent and it was well served. It suggests that Dublin in the 1930s was a more vibrant intellectual centre than the literature indicates. Further, the 1930s should be regarded as a vital gestation period for the ‘new vitality in Irish culture’ that,

³⁰² Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, pp 4-6.

³⁰³ Evangelhia Stead, ‘Reconsidering “Little” versus “Big” Periodicals’ in *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.2 (Winter 2016), p. 12.

Wills has argued, marked the years of The Emergency.³⁰⁴ The generation of writers who, Niall Carson argues, gathered around Sean O’Faoláin at *The Bell* in the 1940s had, in fact, previously congregated around other periodicals in the 1930s such as *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley* and *Ireland To-Day*. Several of these writers had found an advocate in M. J. MacManus, the literary editor of the *Irish Press*, and an ally in Alec Newman, the deputy editor at the *Irish Times*. O’Faoláin himself had honed his editorial skills by contributing to and dissecting the operation of *The Dublin Magazine* and *Ireland To-Day* throughout the 1930s. In fact, there is one suggestion that O’Faoláin was also the editor of *Irish Digest*,³⁰⁵ which was launched in 1938 and was the most widely distributed ‘Literary & Review’ periodical by Eason’s in April 1939, with 4,920 copies distributed³⁰⁶ – a circulation that *The Bell* never managed to replicate. If, as has been argued, *The Bell* was founded to ‘kick start Ireland into culture’, then it could only do so – to continue the motoring analogy - because the parts had been oiled and serviced throughout the 1930s.

What, then, was the market for intellectual publishing in the 1930s? An article by Father Richard Devane in *Studies* is noteworthy if obviously agenda-driven. Devane was a Limerick-born Jesuit priest, who had been active in vigilance work in Limerick, campaigning against evil literature and responsible for the introduction of a licence to regulate cinema shows. He served as director of two retreat houses in Dublin – at Rathfarnham Castle and Milltown Park – from the early 1920s until

³⁰⁴ Wills, *That Neutral Island*, p. 425.

³⁰⁵ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 39.

³⁰⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

his death in 1951 and he was committed to the moral protection of the young by legislative means. To that end he was involved with progressing acts such as film censorship (1923), censorship of publications (1929), legal redress for mother and offspring in irregular unions (1930), and public dance halls (1935).³⁰⁷ Writing in *Studies* in 1927, he called for a tariff on imported newspapers and magazines to address the ‘dominating influence of an alien press:’

At the sacrifice of much sweat and blood we have won a considerable measure of political and economic freedom; but we are still, in no small degree, intellectual slaves. A glance at the counter of any newsagent's shop or, better still, at one of the printed lists of newspapers and journals supplied by the general distributors to their agents throughout Ireland will convince even the most sceptical that we are in a condition of mental bondage, that we purchase from our former masters practically all the food consumed by our minds.³⁰⁸

Devane’s article is noteworthy because it articulates the Irish-Ireland perspective on the role of publishing in the cultural life of the Free State. The article was published with comments from Rev. M. H. McInerney (editor of the *Irish Rosary*), P. J. Hooper (senator and former editor of the *Freeman’s Journal*), Thomas F. O’Rahilly (professor of modern Irish at T.C.D.) and Michael Tierney (T.D. and professor of Greek at U.C.D.). Each commentator was broadly supportive of Devane’s call for tariffs and his argument that:

In Ireland to-day there is a stirring of the waters, a revival of economic and literary thought. It is the natural concomitant of political freedom, and it is the duty of the State to foster it... We are at present engaged in an heroic effort to revive our national language, national customs, national values, national culture. These objects cannot be achieved without a cheap, healthy and independent native press.³⁰⁹

Devane’s article is also noteworthy because it pre-dates the Censorship of

³⁰⁷ Maurice Cronin, ‘Devane, Richard’, in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>).

³⁰⁸ Devane, Macinerny, *et al*, ‘Suggested Tariff’ in *Studies* vol. 16, no. 64 (Dec. 1927), p. 545.

³⁰⁹ *ibid*, p. 552.

Publications Act 1929, the foundation of the *Irish Press* in 1931, and the introduction of taxes on imported newspapers and periodicals in the budgets of 1932 and 1933 – each of which was influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the arguments propounded in Devane’s article. Cumulatively, these developments dramatically altered the publishing landscape in Ireland.

The Censorship of Publications Act 1929 galvanized writers such as O’Faoláin and Frank O’Connor into vociferous opposition. Brown argues that much of the Act was targeted at imported publications rather than at Irish literary work and that Ireland was not alone in wishing to limit the influx of cheap periodicals and newspapers – in 1926 eleven other countries had already enacted legislation to address the problem of obscene publication.³¹⁰ Notwithstanding this, the use of the Censorship Act as a blunt instrument (from 1930 to 1939, 1,200 books and 140 periodicals were banned)³¹¹ engendered deep and lasting bitterness among many of the writers affected by it. The introduction of taxes on imported newspapers and periodicals in the budgets of 1932 and 1933 did not provoke the same level of outcry. Those taxes were an element of the government policy of protectionism and stimulation of indigenous industries. Ironically, it was one such indigenous industry that protested most vociferously at the introduction of these taxes. The June 1932 issue of *The Irish Retail and Newsagents Gazette* ‘*The Only Official Organ of the Trade in Ireland*’ reported on a protest meeting, representing 2,000 newsagents, at Wynn’s Hotel in Dublin. The *Gazette* reported that speakers at the meeting claimed that the sale of English newspapers represented 80% of the trade

³¹⁰ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 59.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

of retail newsagents and the 'prohibitive tariff' would force many of the 2,000 newsagents out of business. Speaking at the meeting, Mrs R. S. Motyer suggested that there should be a boycott on handling English newspapers for a week or two so that 'the Ministers might be brought to their senses'. Mr H. M. Hughes, managing director of Dublin Wholesale Newsagency in Dublin complained bitterly at the sudden implementation of the tariff, which meant that wholesalers had to negotiate the new customs regime with only hours' notice. Mr J. C. Eason acknowledged that Eason's had cut its imported periodicals order by 50% but urged the representatives at the meeting to be patient and 'let the water find its own level'. Nonetheless the meeting adopted a resolution calling on the Minister for Finance to withdraw the tariff as 'the imposition of tax on English newspapers and periodicals will lead to dismissal of staff and for some close their business.'³¹²

The protest was to no avail. The August 1932 issue of the *Gazette* concluded that after two months of tariffs the effect on newspapers and periodicals was 'even worse than any of us ever estimated' and trade was at a standstill.³¹³ The tariff had a significant effect, and sales of English daily newspapers in Ireland fell by at least one-third.³¹⁴ Mark O'Brien has noted that the new tariff did not have a substantial effect on sales of the *Irish Times*, which was still perceived as Unionist, but sales of the *Irish Independent* rose from 123,000 in 1935 to 134,000 in 1937 and 140,000 in 1939.³¹⁵ However, it is interesting to note that the volume of Dublin dailies distributed by Eason's in Dublin did not change significantly in the aftermath of the

³¹² *The Irish Retail and Newsagents Gazette*, Jun. 1932, pp 2-6.

³¹³ *The Irish Retail and Newsagents Gazette*, Aug. 1932, p. 1.

³¹⁴ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 495.

³¹⁵ Mark O'Brien, *De Valera, Fianna Fáil and the Irish Press* (Kildare, 2001), p. 55.

tariff. Eason's recorded in April 1931 that its average daily distribution figures were 44,107 copies of the *Irish Independent*, 10,708 copies of the *Irish Times*, and 12,170 copies of the *Evening Herald*. In April 1934, after the imposition of the tariffs, the distribution numbers were: *Irish Independent*, 37,889; *Irish Times* 9,526; and *Evening Herald* 12,995. The picture had not altered dramatically by April 1939: *Irish Independent*, 40,870; *Irish Times* 9,189; and *Evening Herald* 16,141.³¹⁶ These distribution numbers should be considered in the context of the distribution model utilized by several Dublin newspapers, as outlined in the previous chapter, whereby several newspapers bypassed Eason's and distributed at least part of their print run directly to the market. Despite J. C. Eason's assertion that Eason's had cut its periodical imports order by 50%, the available distribution data suggests that this was not the case across the board. For example, Eason's distributed five magazines produced by Weldon's, the English publishing house, and aimed at the home and fashion market. Of these *Weldon Bazaar* and *Weldon Illustrated Dress* were the most widely distributed. In 1931, before the introduction of tariffs, Eason's distributed 2,160 copies of *Weldon Bazaar* (4d.) and 1,680 copies of *Weldon Illustrated Dress* (4d.). In 1934, in the aftermath of the tariffs, Eason's distributed 2,364 copies of *Weldon Bazaar* (4d.) and 2,100 copies of *Weldon Illustrated Dress* (4d.).³¹⁷ Undoubtedly some imported titles were more severely affected.

The effect on *John Bull* (2d.) is instructive. It was one of the most widely distributed magazines by Eason's in Dublin, and was singled out as an 'objectionable weekly'

³¹⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³¹⁷ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

by Father Richard Devane in the context of his call for the introduction of tariffs.³¹⁸

John Bull was a weekly magazine, founded by Horatio Bottomley, 'celebrity, newspaper proprietor, demagogue and politician,'³¹⁹ and notable for the overarching (English) nationalism of its content and tone. David Nash has argued:

A particular feature of *John Bull* was that its journalism regularly identified those who it claimed were enemies of England, which the character of John Bull disapproved of. This Englishness, by default, set these cultural ideas above those of the other nations of Europe and interestingly managed to blot out or overwrite Scottish, Welsh and Irish identities - in John Bull's hands English quickly became British and stayed that way.³²⁰

And yet, at a time in Ireland when the dominant pre-occupation of the regime was 'self-definition against Britain – cultural and political'³²¹ and the preoccupation with cultural identity was one that enlivened debate outside of politics, too, the archly English *John Bull* was among the most widely distributed magazines by Eason's in Dublin. In April 1932 Eason's in Dublin distributed 3,584 copies of *John Bull* but by April 1934 the number distributed had fallen to 1,995 copies, representing a 44% decrease in the numbers distributed over the pre- and post-tariff period of 1932-34. The effect on *John O'London's Weekly* (2d.) another popular English import, was less drastic but significant nonetheless. It was launched in 1919 by Wilfred Whitten, the paper's founding editor. The intention was to attract a new, post-war public who generally lacked a formal education in English literature. The combination of popular weekly paper and literary periodical was clearly successful and it has been claimed that 100,000 copies were sold each

³¹⁸ Devane, Macinerny, *et al*, 'Suggested Tariff' in *Studies* vol. 16, no. 64 (Dec. 1927), p. 546.

³¹⁹ David Nash, 'John Bull Spirit' in *History Today*, Jan. 2015 (<http://www.historytoday.com/david-nash/john-bull-spirit>) (30 Sept. 2017).

³²⁰ *ibid*.

³²¹ Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 516.

week during the 1930s.³²² However, the number of copies distributed by Eason's in Dublin fell by 27% over the pre- and post-tariff period of 1932–4.³²³

On 5 September 1931, the *Irish Press* was launched onto the Irish market. Pre-publication promotion claimed that it would be the 'biggest event in Irish journalism for a decade'³²⁴ and it was, indeed, a game changer in the market for Irish daily newspapers. O'Brien has noted that sales of the *Irish Press* rose from 95,000 in 1935 to 100,000 in 1937 and 110,000 in 1939,³²⁵ although Eason's in Dublin distributed, on average only 26,737 copies of each issue of the *Irish Press* in April 1935, April 1937, and April 1939.³²⁶ The history of Éamon de Valera and the *Irish Press* has been well documented.³²⁷ De Valera identified a need for a national newspaper that would provide an outlet for the Republican and later, specifically, the Fianna Fáil viewpoint and act as a counterpoint to the *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent*. O'Brien has argued that the *Irish Press* was founded 'to articulate a radical populist discourse but after 1932 election it became an organ of defense for Fianna Fáil'³²⁸ and Catherine Curran has suggested that the *Irish Press* was founded 'in response to an immediate and pressing need for a mass circulation daily to assist in Fianna Fáil's struggle for hegemony against the ideas of the ruling party Cumann na nGaedheal.'³²⁹ Around the first editor Frank Gallagher gathered a

³²² Jonathan Wild, 'Insects in Letters: *John O'London's Weekly* and the New Reading Public'. Article emailed to this writer by Jonathan Wild, 24 Mar. 2015.

³²³ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³²⁴ *The Irish Retail and Newsagents Gazette*, Jun. 1931, p. 13.

³²⁵ O'Brien, *De Valera*, p. 55.

³²⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³²⁷ For example, O'Brien, *De Valera*, Ray Burke, *Press Delete: the Decline and Fall of the Irish Press* (Dublin, 2005), Catherine Curran, 'Fianna Fáil and the Origins of the Irish Press' in *Irish Communications Review* vol. 6, 1996, David Robbins, *The Irish Press 1919-1948* (M.A. Thesis, Dublin City University, 2006).

³²⁸ O'Brien, *De Valera*, p. 69.

³²⁹ Curran, 'Fianna Fáil', *Irish Communications Review* vol. 6, 1996, p. 7.

group of journalists and writers such as Liam MacGabhann, Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, William Sweetman, Dorothy Macardle, and Cearbhall O Dalaigh. O'Brien notes that many of the staff shared a Republican background, although there is at least one suggestion that it was a more eclectic bunch comprising 'Republicans, out-of-work barristers, communists, and former *Freeman's Journal* hacks.'³³⁰ What is of most relevance here is that through the latter half of the 1930s the mass circulation *Irish Press* provided an outlet for debates on Irish culture and literature, driven by M. J. MacManus, the literary editor from 1935 until his death in 1951, when he was succeeded by Benedict Kiely. MacManus was a journalist, who worked in Fleet Street in London from 1910 to 1916, the author of books such as *A Jackdaw in Dublin* (1924), and collections of verse including *Connaught Songs* (1927), illustrated by Seán O'Sullivan, and he was also president of the Bibliographical Society of Ireland (1938–41).³³¹

On 2 March 1937, MacManus launched a new series in the *Irish Press*, entitled 'The Future of Literature in Ireland'. Under the headline, 'Is Ireland Swamped Culturally?' MacManus reiterated the basic premise of Devane's article published eight years previously, and claimed that Ireland was still swamped by imported English literature and that only 'literature of sturdy native growth' could stop it. However, in contrast to Devane, MacManus argued that the imposition of the 'artificial dams' of censorship and tariff would not stem the flow:

Like everything else in Ireland, literature is passing through a transition period. A transition period is a testing time, a time of groping and

³³⁰ 'An editor with a good ear for news', Obituary for William (Bill) Sweetman, *Irish Times* 19 Jun. 1999.

³³¹ Carmel Doyle and Lawrence William White. 'Michael Joseph (M. J.) MacManus' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (dib.cambridge.org).

striving, a time when an effort is being made to establish new forms and to set up new standards.

MacManus provided an astute overview of the landscape of cultural endeavour, arguing that there was a Right and a Left 'with a few names poised uneasily between'. The Right had pursued Daniel Corkery's thesis on Anglo-Irish literature 'not merely enthusiastically but fanatically' and pushed it farther than Corkery had ever intended, notable for its tendency towards 'insular racialism and a Calvinistic puritanism'. The Left argued that it was possible to be both an Irish writer and be aware of European and English culture, but MacManus noted that 'they become soured when, writing of and for their own people, they find appreciation abroad and hostility at home and resent a censorship that 'at times appears to add eccentricity to arbitrariness.' MacManus posed the question 'are there any visible signs of an awakening of Ireland's artistic consciousness?' but left it to other 'writers and thinkers' to develop the theme.³³²

And so they did. MacManus' series ran over seven issues of the *Irish Press* through March and April of 1937 and included contributions from O'Faoláin, Frank O'Connor, Francis MacManus, Daniel Corkery, Aodh de Blacam and the playwright T. C. Murray – an astute representation of the Left, Right and uneasy middle of Irish cultural life in the 1930s. It is a group that is illustrative of the fluidity of intellectual publishing at the time: O'Faoláin and O'Connor, of course, are intrinsically associated with *The Bell*, but both writers also contributed to *Motley*, *The Dublin Magazine* and *Ireland To-Day*; MacManus was a regular contributor to

³³² M. J. MacManus, 'Is Ireland Swamped Culturally?' in *Irish Press* 2 Mar. 1937, p. 8.

The Dublin Magazine and *The Capuchin Annual*; Corkery and de Blacam contributed to *The Capuchin Annual* and *Ireland To-Day*, and their work was reviewed in *The Dublin Magazine*, as was T. C. Murray's. Each contributor to MacManus' series used the platform to expound their views on the state of Irish culture. MacManus argued that 'the predominant literary force is, and it seems will be, the Faith';³³³ de Blacam declared that 'there is no mind so narrowed and impoverished, so alien to the culture of Christendom as that which ignores ancient wells of culture in our own country – and especially in the Irish language';³³⁴ and O'Faoláin rehearsed what would become a defining mantra of *The Bell*: 'Irishmen of our times have begun to feed on Irish life, avidly, packing it into their books.'³³⁵ MacManus' series in the *Irish Press* provided a national, mass circulation platform for this debate, and he also used his platform in the *Irish Press* to regularly review issues of *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual* and *Ireland Today*.

The *Irish Times*, under the editorship of Robert Marie Smylie and the deputy editorship of Alec Newman, had in the mid-1930s also provided a more modest, if more consistent, outlet for Irish writers, and specifically Irish poets, in 'A Fortnightly Series', which ran throughout 1934/5. Brown has noted that there was a 'greater awareness of Irish cultural achievement' at the *Irish Times* under Smylie and Newman, and that the fortnightly series promoted work by younger poets

³³³ Francis MacManus, 'Faith – The greatest literary force' in *Irish Press* 7 Apr. 1937, p. 8.

³³⁴ Aodh de Blacam, 'Irish letters: As safe as the Irish nation' in *Irish Press* 25 Mar. 1937, p. 8.

³³⁵ Seán O Faoláin, 'Let Ireland pride – in what she has' in *Irish Press* 2 Apr. 1937, p. 8.

such as Patrick Kavanagh,³³⁶ although it also included work by more established poets such as Seumas O'Sullivan and Padraic Colum.³³⁷

The *Irish Press* also provides glimpses of the broader cultural life in Dublin at the time. On 16 October 1936, the *Irish Press* recorded the Dublin Literary Society's first meeting of the season at Lincoln Chambers, presided over by its president Professor W. A. Magennis, noting that its programme would include lectures by Lennox Robinson, R. Dudley Edwards, and Aodh de Blacam.³³⁸ In the 20 April 1937 issue, Oliver St. John Gogarty encouraged readers to visit the R.H.A. Exhibition ('art was the expression of beauty in the energy of a nation') and the Lord Mayor of Dublin praised the standard of submissions to the Annual Photographic Society of Ireland Exhibition at Dawson Hall.³³⁹ On 21 March 1938, it reported that the Irish Film Society had presented films of the Olympic Games in Berlin, *The Old Italian Straw Hat* by Rene Clair and a French silent version of *The Count of Monte Cristo* to a large audience at Jury's Hotel the previous night.³⁴⁰ The *Irish Press*, therefore, provides tantalizing glimpses of contemporary debates and cultural life in Dublin, beyond the cinemas and dance halls, as deemed sufficiently interesting and worthy of reportage in a national daily newspaper. Alongside the *Irish Times*, it provided an occasional platform for the work of Irish writers. However, for a consistent focus and a more nuanced perspective, we must turn to the periodicals that catered exclusively for the type of readership that MacManus at the *Irish Press* and Newman at the *Irish Times* sought to attract in the 1930s.

³³⁶ Brown, *Irish Times*, p. 144.

³³⁷ 'A Fortnightly Series', in *Irish Times*, 26 Jan. 1935, p. 7.

³³⁸ 'Dublin Literary Society' in *Irish Press*, 16 Oct. 1936, p. 3

³³⁹ 'R.H.A. Exhibition' and 'Exhibition of Photographs', *Irish Press*, 20 Apr. 1937, p. 16.

³⁴⁰ 'Interesting Films', in *Irish Press* 21 Mar. 1938, p. 4.

‘Whatever may have swamped Ireland, it is not culture, English or any other sort,’ declared Frank O’Connor in the *Irish Press*.³⁴¹ As noted previously, the periodical market in Ireland was swamped by imported fashion, popular fiction, home and film magazines. However, there was also a modest import market in intellectual periodicals. In April 1937 Eason’s recorded 39 periodicals in this category.³⁴² Distribution numbers were admittedly low but what is interesting is the range of periodicals that catered for the ‘literate public’. In February 1934 Eason’s in Dublin distributed 54 copies of *Blackwood’s Magazine* (2s. 6d.), 52 copies of *Cornhill Magazine* (1s. 6d.), 22 copies of *Fortnightly Review* (3s. 6d.), and 12 copies of *Contemporary Review* (3s. 6d.).³⁴³ Distribution numbers were generally consistent in April 1937, when Eason’s distributed 54 copies of *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 34 copies of *Cornhill Magazine*, 21 copies of *Fortnightly Review*, 10 copies of *Contemporary Review*, and 50 copies of *The London Mercury* (2s.). These periodicals were among the leading literary periodicals published in England at the time. *The London Mercury* (1919–39), for example, was founded with the intention:

To serve the cause of creative ideas from whatever source they were drawn, more especially in reference to our own time, and to do what it could to promote an interest in such ideas, whether they were manifested in the stories and poems we published or the books we reviewed, or whether, more broadly, they were shown to be applicable to current practical problems.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ Frank O’Connor, ‘Ireland reads – trash!’ in *Irish Press* 9 Mar. 1937, p. 8.

³⁴² News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁴³ *ibid.*

³⁴⁴ Rolfe Arnold Scott-James, *The London Mercury*, Apr. 1939 (<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/london-mercury>).

The Fortnightly Review (1865-1931) had a glittering provenance. Founded in 1865 by Anthony Trollope and associates including George Eliot and Frederic Harrison, the first editor George Henry Lewes declared that:

The object of *The Fortnightly Review* is to become the organ of the unbiased expression of many and various minds on topics of general interest in Politics, Literature, Philosophy, Science, and Art.³⁴⁵

The Fortnightly Review (despite its title, it was published monthly for most of its run) was an influential periodical that published articles on reforms in education, labour relations, and women's rights, alongside literature, including work from Joyce and Yeats. These periodicals were among the higher priced titles distributed by Eason's, and distribution numbers were relatively consistent over several years, which indicates that there was a modest but stable readership. How, then, did Irish intellectual and literary periodicals compare in terms of circulation? There are no rivals to *Dublin Opinion* here. The Dublin-based *Irish Digest* (1s.) was the most widely distributed periodical in Eason's 'Literary & Reviews' category in 1939, with 4,920 copies distributed³⁴⁶ - compare this with 22,000 copies of *Dublin Opinion* distributed by Eason's in April 1939.³⁴⁷ *Irish Digest* had been launched only in 1938, but a trend in circulation can be charted: 3,440 copies in 1940; 4,382 copies in 1941; 2,796 copies in 1942; and 4,700 copies in 1946.³⁴⁸ The 'Digest' format was clearly popular – *Readers Digest* (1s.), *English Digest* (1s.) and *World Digest* (6d., rising to 9d. in 1941) each achieved distribution figures of 1,000 copies and upwards from 1937-42.

³⁴⁵ Cited in Walter E. Houghton (ed.) *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, vol. II (Toronto, 2013), p. 241.

³⁴⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁴⁷ *ibid.*

³⁴⁸ *ibid.*

Irish Digest was published monthly by C. J. Fallon Ltd, 109 Marlborough Street, in Dublin and it reprinted, in the style of *Readers' Digest*, articles that had first appeared in other publications. The front cover carried colour illustrations of the Charles Stewart Parnell monument and the Daniel O'Connell statue on O'Connell Street in Dublin and the contents of the issue were listed on the front cover, all of this enclosed in a Celtic-style frame. The early issues listed the title of the article and name of the publication in which it first appeared, but the format changed with the January 1939 issue, which began to list the name of the author in place of the title of publication. Production standards were unremarkable – paper quality was poor, it did not carry illustrations and colour was confined to the cover section. Neither an editor nor an editorial board was acknowledged in the first issue, though there has been a suggestion that Seán O'Faoláin fulfilled this role for a time.³⁴⁹ The only editorial note in the first issue was an acknowledgment: 'To the *Readers Digest* of Pleasantville, New York - the *Irish Digest* offers greeting and hereby makes public acknowledgment of indebtedness to it - the prototype of all digests.'³⁵⁰ The selection of articles was rather eclectic: articles were reprinted from Irish and international periodicals though the criteria for selection is not clear. Articles published in the first edition in 1938 included such diverse topics as: 'Ireland's vulnerability in war' (*Studies*); '1171 and all that' (*Dublin Opinion*); 'My cousin Eamon de Valera' (*The Commonweal*); 'Getting on with people' (*The Psychologist*); 'Coming to tea - a short story' (*Cornhill Magazine*); 'Irish music in the shaping' (*Ireland To-Day*); and 'Why Ireland contests the Davis Cup' (*Badminton*

³⁴⁹ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 39.

³⁵⁰ *Irish Digest*, Jul. 1938, p. 111.

and *Tennis Review*).³⁵¹ *Irish Digest* was also available by subscription, at 12/6 for one year post free, and \$3.00 in the U.S. and Canada. Advertising was confined to an eight-page section at the front of *Irish Digest* in 1938, and the first issue included a full page advertisement for Macmillan & Co. Limited, London, which listed Sean O'Casey's *Five Irish Plays*; Frank O'Connor's *Bones of Contention*, and W. B. Yeats *Collected Poems* and encouraged readers to 'apply for Macmillan's special list of books by Irish writers'.³⁵² Other advertisers in 1938 included Canada Life, Paterson's Irish Matches, Punch boot polish, Player's cigarette card scheme, Victor Waddington Galleries, and McCabes Fish and Poultry, Dublin.

The Dublin Magazine is the grand survivor among 'Literary & Reviews'. It was priced at 2s. 6d. (with one-year subscriptions at 10s. 6d.), which placed it on a par with the imported English periodicals. The earliest relevant distribution data records that 72 copies of *The Dublin Magazine* were distributed by Eason's in Dublin in February 1934.³⁵³ Data recorded in April each year shows 72 copies in 1937 and 1939; 60 copies in 1940; 64 copies in 1941, 1942 and 1943; rising to 109 copies in 1944; 108 copies in 1945 and 1946; and falling slightly to 96 copies in 1947 and 1948.³⁵⁴ Notwithstanding the post-war spike in 1944–6, the distribution numbers were relatively consistent over fourteen years. *The Dublin Magazine* was supplied directly to Hodges Figgis bookshop in Dublin throughout 1927–9, and it would be reasonable to surmise that a similarly modest supply was despatched to other bookshops, independently of Eason's. The circulation of *The Dublin Magazine*

³⁵¹ *ibid.*

³⁵² *ibid.*, p.i.

³⁵³ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*

within Ireland was undoubtedly modest, but its very survival when peer periodicals imploded around it should be regarded as a significant achievement. However, longevity is not the only reason for re-assessing *The Dublin Magazine*. At a time when luminaries such as Corkery and O’Faoláin were endlessly debating the virtues of Gaelic Ireland versus a new Ireland ‘fathered by Swift and godfathered by Rousseau,’³⁵⁵ whether Ireland should look inwards or outwards, O’Sullivan was quietly circumventing the noise. *The Dublin Magazine* provided a respected medium for the work of Austin Clarke, A.E., Patrick Kavanagh, Yeats, Padraic Colum, Lennox Robinson, James Stephens, and Frank O’Connor. O’Faoláin contributed too, of course, but it is more telling that he astutely noted the importance of the reputation of *The Dublin Magazine*, as early as 1936 as he developed and refined his ideas on periodicals in advance of the launch of *The Bell*. In a letter to James O’Donovan, the editor of *Ireland To-Day*, on 3 August 1936, O’Faoláin warned O’Donovan against ‘buttering up’ publishers:

Packing up your space with bought reviews lower the interest and merit of the book section and defeat your purpose by making your integrity suspect and your reputation (ie, your quotation value) not worth while... Publishers still are willing to quote *The Dublin Magazine* – exploiting the old Anglo-Irish reputation.³⁵⁶

O’Faoláin also contributed articles to *The Dublin Magazine*, using his review of *The Hedge Schools of Ireland* by P. J. Dowling, to develop his arguments, some five years before the launch of *The Bell*:

Ireland is a country whose national conscience is still being defined. To some it is a revival of an ancient glory... For more of us it is not an old country but a new one, fathered by Swift and godfathered by Rousseau. It is new. It is raw. It is beginning.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Seán Ó Faoláin, *The Dublin Magazine* (Apr.-Jun. 1935), p. 52.

³⁵⁶ Seán Ó Faoláin to James O’Donovan, 3 Aug. 1936 (N.L.I.: James L. O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,987/xi).

³⁵⁷ Seán Ó Faoláin, *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr. – Jun. 1935, p. 52.

O'Sullivan has been dismissed for his avoidance of controversy and political conservatism³⁵⁸ and *The Dublin Magazine* has been summarised as being 'more notable for its sense of an insecure self-regarding coterie remembering past glories and for its academic tone than for literary energy and commitment to coherent vital editorial policy.'³⁵⁹ A reappraisal of O'Sullivan and *The Dublin Magazine* is a theme that runs throughout this thesis but it is illustrative at this point to note the esteem in which he was held by his peers. Padraic Colum wrote to O'Sullivan from New York on 10 August 1942:

Dear Seumas, I am always so happy when I get a copy of *The Dublin Magazine* for what's in it and for the exhibition in yourself of the faith and courage that keep it going. When so many things we relished are going under, it is fine to see that you keep *The Dublin Magazine* going, and what would be left in Ireland if you didn't?³⁶⁰

On 6 January 1945, the novelist Joseph O'Neill wrote to O'Sullivan from 2 Kenilworth Square in Dublin: 'Dublin would be a very empty place without *The Dublin Magazine*... but I wonder if most really know how much they owe you.'³⁶¹ O'Sullivan was a founding member of the Irish Academy of Letters and so was counted among the 'peculiar people' committed to opposing censorship in Ireland.³⁶² He was elected vice-president of the Irish Academy of Letters in August 1949, under George Bernard Shaw as President and with Ernie O'Malley as honorary secretary.³⁶³ In 1956 O'Sullivan invited Samuel Beckett to join the

³⁵⁸ Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 66.

³⁵⁹ Brown, *Ireland*, p.155.

³⁶⁰ Padraic Colum to Seumas O'Sullivan, 10 Aug. 1942 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/1917).

³⁶¹ Joseph O'Neill to Seumas O'Sullivan, 6 Jan. 1945 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/2149).

³⁶² *The Catholic Bulletin* (Jan. 1935), p. 13.

³⁶³ Academy of Letters Council Meeting 29 Aug. 1949 (T.C.D., O'Sullivan/Solomon, MS 4630-49/2435a).

Academy. Although Beckett declined, his letter from Paris on 21 January 1956 indicates his regard for O'Sullivan:³⁶⁴

I am very touched and flattered by your wishing to propose me for election to the Irish Academy of Letters.

To my deep regret I have to tell you that I could not accept membership.

I should be distressed if you were to think of me, because of this, as unfriendly or systematically aloof.

I could not belong and I could not be a credit to any academy.

It is not with a light heart that I forgo the honour, or the chance of the honour, of joining a company of writers presided by you.

Please give my very warm regards to Stella.

With best wishes

Your friend Sam

An analysis of the editorial policy and marketing ambition of *The Dublin Magazine* in subsequent chapters will test the thesis that it was irrelevant to the cut and thrust of cultural life in Ireland in the 1930s and 1940s.

Another periodical notable both for its longevity and relative neglect by researchers is *The Capuchin Annual*, which was published in Dublin by the Irish Province of the Capuchin Franciscans from 1930 to 1977. The first edition in 1930 was priced at one shilling, but the cover price rose rapidly: by 1940 it was priced at five shillings and by 1949 it had reached the princely sum of one guinea. *The Capuchin Annual* was distributed by Eason's in Dublin through its books division but hard data on distribution remains elusive for the moment. Father Senan claimed that the first edition of *The Capuchin Annual* sold out,³⁶⁵ though the print run is unknown, and there is at least one claim that the second edition also sold

³⁶⁴ George Craig, Martha Dow Fehsenfeld, Dan Gunn, Lois More Overbeck (eds) *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, Vol. 2, 1941-1956* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁶⁵ *Fr. Matthew Record*, xxiii, no. 8, pp 300–01.

out.³⁶⁶ However, Father Senan took the unusual step of publishing signed declarations of print runs in *The Capuchin Annual*. In *The Capuchin Annual* (1934), he claimed that ‘15,000 copies are being printed’.³⁶⁷ The number of religious magazines distributed by Eason’s in February 1934 ranged from 1,700 copies of *The Catholic Bulletin* to 11,000 copies of *The Irish Messenger*.³⁶⁸ Therefore, Father Senan’s claim of 15,000 copies in 1934 is not unreasonable, particularly given the extraordinarily high production values of *The Capuchin Annual*. Father Senan published further signed declarations of print runs of 20,000 copies in 1936,³⁶⁹ 21,000 copies in 1937,³⁷⁰ culminating in the declaration of a print run of 25,000, co-signed by Father Senan O.F.M.Cap. and Father Gerald O.F.M.Cap., in *The Capuchin Annual* (1940).³⁷¹ In 1942 Fr. Senan launched the Association of Patrons (A.P.C.A) of *The Capuchin Annual* and within a year more than 2,000 individuals had joined at various subscription rates.³⁷²

Under the editorship of Father Senan, from 1930–1954, *The Capuchin Annual* became, as Patrick Kavanagh described it, ‘an amazing phenomenon of modern political Catholic Ireland’.³⁷³ The first edition in 1930 was a timid enough affair, dominated by articles written by members of the Franciscan community but from 1934 onwards, Father Senan transformed *The Capuchin Annual*. Though the Franciscan ethos endured, within a few years the cultural agenda dominated.

³⁶⁶ ‘Roddy the Rover’ in *Irish Press*, 9 Dec. 1932, p. 6.

³⁶⁷ *The Capuchin Annual* (1934), p. 309.

³⁶⁸ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁶⁹ *The Capuchin Annual* (1936).

³⁷⁰ *The Capuchin Annual* (1937).

³⁷¹ *The Capuchin Annual* (1940).

³⁷² ‘The Association of the Patrons of *The Capuchin Annual*’ in *The Capuchin Annual* (1943), pp.513-33.

³⁷³ Patrick Kavanagh, ‘The Irish Catholic National Front: *The Capuchin Annual* for 1949’ in *Irish Times*, 10 Jan. 1942, p. 5.

Father Senan set himself to the task of building his lifelong friend Thomas McGreevy's 'cultural Republic'.³⁷⁴ His ambition was that *The Capuchin Annual* would be at the epicentre of national cultural life and that it would be 'Ireland's cultural ambassador'.³⁷⁵ Irish Ireland was the dominant theme throughout Father Senan's editorship: he nurtured the talents of writers such as Benedict Kiely and Pearse Hutchinson and artists such as Jack B. Yeats and Sean O'Sullivan, and utilized lengthy photographic features to present his vision of Ireland to the world.

If *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Capuchin Annual* provide the background to the rich tapestry that was intellectual and literary periodical publishing in Ireland during this period, then *Motley* and *Ireland To-day* provide bursts of colourful relief. *Motley* was launched in 1932, as a publicity vehicle for The Gate Theatre. It was printed initially by Fodhla Printing and later by Powell Press in Dublin, priced at 6d. and ran to sixteen pages. Production standards were unremarkable, with an illustration on the front cover by Micheál MacLiammóir and occasional black and white publicity shots of actors and stage sets at The Gate on the inside pages. The first issue was entirely dedicated to the promotion of The Gate, with articles by Lord Longford on The Gate as a national asset that could 'claim to be an international theatre in the best sense of the word but has shown itself to be also a national theatre'; by Hilton Edwards on the reasons for founding The Gate; a roll call of Gate performances to date; and, oddly, a Letters page (though this was the inaugural issue) featuring two letters – the first expressing appreciation of The Gate and the second from Ms Brenda Love in Ranelagh enquiring whether

³⁷⁴ Cited in Diarmuid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2004), p. 359.

³⁷⁵ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 609.

photographs of the ‘beautiful actor’ Micheál MacLiammóir were available: ‘I would just love to have one and so would lots of my friends!’ *Motley*, then, might be summarily dismissed as a marketing tool, were it not for the fact that under the editorship of playwright Mary Manning it became a platform for Irish writers, introduced film criticism and advocated for repertory film, and was an often caustic critic of cultural life in the Free State, ‘the New Ireland of Tariffs and Compulsory Tillage, which seems to have ousted every other thought from the Irish mind’.³⁷⁶ Manning published contributions from P. S. O’Hegarty, and Mainie Jellett, poetry from Blánaid Salkeld, Padraic Colum and Irene Haugh, and theatre and cinema reviews from Owen Sheehy Skeffington in Paris and W. J. K. Mandy in London. O’Faoláin took the opportunity to rehearse and refine his thesis, some seven years before the launch of *The Bell*:

Anglo-Ireland is what we are, whatever we may become. It is the Dublin of Joyce and O’Casey, the Galway of O’Flaherty, the Limerick of Kate O’Brien, the Meath of McNamara, the Cork of Frank O’Connor, the Donegal of Peadar O’Donnell, the Belfast of Ervine... it is the Ireland we see about us with our eye.³⁷⁷

The broader political climate did not escape Manning’s sharp wit. In February 1933, an editorial declared that Ireland was ‘becoming more and more like a crazy musical comedy (words by Lewis Carroll, music by Stravinsky) with new parties forming and unforming daily and new armies marching and counter marching fortnightly’.³⁷⁸ *Motley* was, as would be expected, sold from The Gate Theatre, but it also had broader distribution through Eason’s in Dublin, with 100 copies

³⁷⁶ *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p. 9.

³⁷⁷ Seán O’Faoláin, ‘Letter from a novelist to an idealist’ in *Motley*, Nov. 1933, p. 3.

³⁷⁸ *Motley*, Jan. 1933, p. 8.

distributed in February 1934³⁷⁹ and in London, at Beaumont (booksellers), 75 Charing Cross Road from February 1933.³⁸⁰ *Motley's* brief run ended in 1934 but as a window on the cultural and political life of Dublin in the early 1930s it merits analysis alongside periodicals such as *Ireland To-Day*, the other bright spark in Dublin publishing in the 1930s.

Ireland To-Day was launched in June 1936, with a cover price of 1s. and one-year subscription of 14s., and it ran to 78 pages. The editor of *Ireland To-Day* claimed:

We have given all Ireland the first lay monthly magazine that has dealt with Social, Economic, National and Cultural matters, together with a strong literary intrusion of story, poems and a much appreciated book section. Its reception has been wide and encouraging.³⁸¹

The editor has been identified subsequently as James (Jim) O'Donovan, an employee of the E.S.B. and former I.R.A. director of munitions and chemicals during the Civil War. Contributors included Owen Sheehy Skeffington on foreign affairs, Liam O'Laoghaire on film, and Eamonn O Gallcobhair on music, alongside literary contributions from Padraic Gregory, Francis Hackett, Frank O'Connor, and Lennox Robinson. The first issue of *Ireland To-Day* was welcomed by M. J. MacManus in the *Irish Press* as 'excellent ... challenging, provocative, and stimulating', produced not by 'a clique of bored, morose and disgruntled intellectuals' but instead by hard-hitting, young writers 'keenly interested in the changes of our time'.³⁸² Initially, it seemed to have hit on a winning formula and by February 1937, Eason's was distributing 1,040 copies of *Ireland To-Day*. However,

³⁷⁹ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁸⁰ *Motley*, Feb. 1933.

³⁸¹ *Ireland To-Day*, Jan. 1937, p. 3.

³⁸² *Ireland To-Day*, in *Irish Press*, 23 Jun. 1936, p. 2.

by the subsequent reporting period in February 1939 *Ireland To-Day* had ceased publication. It should be noted here that the ubiquitous O'Faoláin was the books editor at *Ireland To-day*. If O'Faoláin used the *Irish Press*, *The Dublin Magazine* and *Motley* to rehearse what would become his editorial mantra in *The Bell*, he used his time at *Ireland To-Day* to hone his editorial vision. His correspondence with O'Donovan is notable for the relentless critique of O'Donovan's editorial and managerial skills. On 6 August 1936, O'Faoláin wrote to O'Donovan in relation to the third issue of *Ireland To-Day*: 'Won't you hold out some hope that it may become, quickly, a little less evasive, general, abstract and untopical?'³⁸³ Later that same month, O'Faoláin was rather more forthright:

I am quitting my official connection after the September issue. I do this because I have decided that (unless you have some drastic reforms in mind) there is no hope of seeing the magazine become virile. There are too many equivocations in this Ireland for me to help a further one. We need to build up an image, for the public –which simply is dying for need of leadership – of a manly, cultivated, fearless, decent-living, quick-witted, cant-hating, tradition-fearing (for the time being) Irish individual. He is our norm. Your magazine should typify him.³⁸⁴

The Second World War sounded the death knell for literary magazines in London, and 1939 was notable for what Robert Hewson has termed the 'grand slaughter of magazines'³⁸⁵ when *The Criterion*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *New Verse*, *Twentieth Century Verse* and *London Mercury* all closed within a few months of each other, although *Cornhill Magazine* re-emerged in 1944 as a quarterly publication and was distributed by Eason's in Dublin from 1944 to 1946.³⁸⁶ *Horizon*, founded in 1940 in London was the notable exception to Hewson's 'grand slaughter'. Again, the

³⁸³ Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan 6 Aug. 1936 (N.L.I., James L. O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987/xi).

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Robert Hewson, *Under Siege: Literary Life in London 1939-45* (London, 1977), p. ii.

³⁸⁶ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

market in Ireland was modest – Eason’s distributed just 12 copies of *Horizon* in 1941. The number soared in 1942, with 84 copies distributed in April that year, a consequence perhaps of a surge in interest occasioned by the ‘Irish Number’ of *Horizon*, published in January that year.³⁸⁷

In Ireland, 1940 heralded the era of *The Bell*, the most researched and acclaimed twentieth-century periodical. It was launched in October 1940, priced 1s., by O’Faoláin and Peadar O’Donnell, with the iconic clarion call: ‘Gentile or Jew, Protestant or Catholic, priest or layman, Big House or Small House – *The Bell* is yours.’³⁸⁸ Much has been made of the claim that the first issue of *The Bell* in October 1940 sold out on the day of publication: ‘At this early stage of production *The Bell* must be considered a runaway success, its circulation figures reaching at least 5,000 copies.’³⁸⁹

By February 1943, *The Bell* itself claimed a circulation of 5,500.³⁹⁰ Such claims should be treated with caution. Eason’s distribution data for the April reporting period each year shows that 1,607 copies of *The Bell* were distributed in 1941 and, following a price increase from 1s. to 1s 6d., 1,183 copies were distributed in 1942; 1,261 copies in 1943; 1,534 copies in 1944; 2,067 in 1945; 1,924 copies in 1946; and 1,500 copies in 1947.³⁹¹ In addition, 160 copies of *The Bell* were supplied by Eason’s to Belfast in October 1945, and in October 1947, 109 copies.³⁹² Brown has

³⁸⁷ *Horizon* (Irish Number), Jan. 1942.

³⁸⁸ Seán Ó Faolain, *The Bell* Oct. 1940, p. 8.

³⁸⁹ Carson, p. 50; Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 37.

³⁹⁰ ‘Memo for businessmen’ in *The Bell* Jul. 1941. Cited in Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 68.

³⁹¹ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁹² *ibid.*

argued that the print run of *The Bell* was probably 3,000 copies each month and this seems more accurate.³⁹³

Another Irish periodical is worthy of note here. *Commentary*, which was included in Eason's 'Literary & Reviews' category, was launched in November 1941. Priced at 6d., it was printed by the Spartan Printing Company in Dublin and ran to sixteen pages. *Commentary* was conceived as a journal for the Picture Hire Club, based at Trueman's Gallery on Molesworth Street and the first issue carried the tag line 'A causerie for artists, actors, picture lovers, playgoers and writers', though this tag line was quietly dropped from subsequent issues. The editor was Sean Dorman and the Officers of the Picture Hire Club were listed as Dermot O'Brien, Hilton Edwards, Lady Glenavy, Maud Gonne McBride and Lennox Robinson (Dorman's uncle). Dorman set out his stall in the first issue:

What is *Commentary*? It is a magazine that proposes to deal, in the main, with the affairs of art, artists, and art lovers but it is hoped to find space, in this and subsequent issues, for the other arts and the other art lovers. Plans must necessarily be cautious and editorial promises reserved, until time has shown who will support us and who will not.³⁹⁴

In the December 1941 issue, Dorman claimed that the November issue had sold out and they had printed twice as many copies. In April 1942, he claimed that the previous two issues had sold out: 'Our circulation now ranks above that of a number of well-known Dublin literary periodicals. Make sure of your copy by placing a regular order.'³⁹⁵ However, as Dorman gleefully recalled some years later: 'No mention of which periodicals or how we knew what their circulations were!

³⁹³ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 191.

³⁹⁴ *Commentary*, Nov. 1941, p. 2.

³⁹⁵ *Commentary*, Mar.- Apr. 1942, p. 16.

Perhaps just a piece of sharp salesmanship in the blessed days before the Trade Descriptions Act!³⁹⁶ Dorman claimed that the circulation of *Commentary* in April 1942 was 875 copies,³⁹⁷ but in April 1942, Eason's recorded that it distributed 480 copies of *Commentary*.³⁹⁸ The discrepancy may be partly explained by Dorman's sales of *Commentary* 'by hordes of small boys ...who were allowed to keep a penny a copy for themselves' in the foyers of the Gaiety, Olympia and Gate Theatres in Dublin and through the Opera House in Cork. In return, Dorman gave the theatres half-page advertisements in *Commentary*.³⁹⁹ Dorman also distributed *Commentary* through outlets such as the Ritz Café on Middle Abbey Street and Jack's Antiques on Molesworth Street, which would not have been part of Eason's distribution network.⁴⁰⁰ In April 1945 Eason's recorded that it distributed 1,131 copies of *Commentary* and this increased to 3,107 copies in the April reporting period in 1947, making *Commentary* more widely distributed than *The Bell* for that period.⁴⁰¹ However, Eason's report in April 1948 does not include any distribution figures for *Commentary*.

Commentary followed the trajectory of *Motley*. Launched primarily as a publicity vehicle for The Picture Hire Club, *Commentary* broadened its remit under Dorman's editorship. His presence became ever more prominent issue on issue and, not content to limit himself to editor's letters, he contributed lengthy articles, included photographs of himself, and gradually increased the prominence of his

³⁹⁶ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 118.

³⁹⁷ *ibid.*

³⁹⁸ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

³⁹⁹ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 119.

⁴⁰⁰ *Commentary*, Jun. 1942.

⁴⁰¹ News circulation figures 1868-1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

name on the front cover. Despite the editorial ego running apparently unchecked, *Commentary* is notable for publishing articles by Lennox Robinson, Mainie Jellet, Jack B. Yeats and Basil Rakoczi of The White Stag artists and for developing an audience, however short-lived, that was more extensive than *The Bell*.

Envoy was launched in December 1949, and it carried the tag line 'An Irish Review of Literature and Art'. On 28 December 1949, a statement from *Envoy* to the printer Cahill & Co. recorded that 2,500 copies of the first issue had been printed, for which payment of £158 was due.⁴⁰² Of this initial print run, Eason's took 1,500 copies.⁴⁰³ The editor of *Envoy*, John Ryan, also engaged regional distributors: on 11 November 1949, he wrote to News Brothers in Cork to announce the forthcoming first issue of *Envoy*: 'I would be glad to know if your firm would undertake the disposal of an initial order of 500 copies on a sale or return basis for the first two months.'⁴⁰⁴ The reply was apparently not very encouraging but later that month News Brothers grudgingly agreed to take 300 copies: 'You can make the quantity 300, but we feel that we shall have a considerable quantity for return'.⁴⁰⁵ The caution was justified: the returns from News Brothers were 130 copies 'and there are, no doubt, some to come back from our Agents'. News Brothers reduced the order for the January issue to 50 copies⁴⁰⁶ and in June 1950, the order was reduced again, to 40 copies.⁴⁰⁷ Efforts to distribute through Porter & Co., were even less successful – on 18 April 1950, a note was sent to 'Messrs Envoy Ltd':

⁴⁰² Unsigned letter to Cahill & Co., 28 Dec. 1949 (Southern Illinois University Carbondale: Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, *Envoy* records 1949-1951, Ms 43-7-2).

⁴⁰³ Eason & Son to John Ryan, 23 Nov. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-3).

⁴⁰⁴ John Ryan to News Brothers Ltd., 11 Nov. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

⁴⁰⁵ News Brothers Ltd. to John Ryan, 23 Nov. 1949, (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-6).

⁴⁰⁶ News Brothers Ltd. to John Ryan, 29 Dec. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-6).

⁴⁰⁷ Telegram from News Brothers to the publisher, *Envoy*, 14 Jun. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-6).

Kindly cancel our supply of *Envoy*. We have boxed this publication out to our customers and they only returned them to us as they cannot get sale for this particular type of book here.⁴⁰⁸

Ryan also supplied two dozen copies of the first issue to the A.P.C.K. for distribution in Limerick. On 4 January 1950, Ryan wrote to the manager as he had not received any sales details: 'We sold out our entire edition in Dublin and have hope, therefore, that we were also successful in Limerick.' Two dozen copies of the second issue were duly dispatched, though the results are unknown.⁴⁰⁹ The first issue of *Envoy* sold well in at least one shop in Belfast: on 8 December 1949, David McLean wrote to Ryan to 'send on another three dozen copies.'⁴¹⁰ In his letter to the manager of the Munster & Leinster Bank on 14 September 1950, Ryan claimed that the 'circulation' of the first issue had been 1,500 copies,⁴¹¹ but it is unclear whether he was referring to net sales. There is no record of Eason's returns of the first issue, so it is possible that all 1,500 copies supplied to Eason's were sold out - *The Bell* and *Commentary* had, after all, made similar claims. However, the evidence is that the distribution through Eason's declined dramatically. A statement dated 19 September 1950 tells an ominous tale: of a reduced provision to Eason's of 1,000 copies of the June 1950 issue, 365 had been returned and of 1,000 copies of the July 1950 issue supplied, 474 had been returned.⁴¹²

Ryan alluded to the problem of returned copies in his memoir, recalling that 'the weight and bulk of these unwanted copies of *Envoy* constituted a major headache,

⁴⁰⁸ C. Porter & Co. Ltd. to Messrs Envoy, 18 Apr. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-6).

⁴⁰⁹ John Ryan to The Manager, The A.P.C.K., 4 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

⁴¹⁰ David McClean to John Ryan, 8 Dec. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-5).

⁴¹¹ John Ryan to D. Connolly, Munster & Leinster Bank, 14 Sept. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁴¹² Statement from Easons & Son to Envoy Publishing, 19 Sept. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

though I finally wheedled the Red Cross into taking much of it.' He vividly recalled how Patrick and Peter Kavanagh had devised an unusual strategy to address the problem of returned issues of the short-lived *Kavanagh's Weekly*:

The answer was to *burn*. Soon the flat in Pembroke Road came to resemble the stokehold of the *Ile de France*, as Paddy and brother Peter, stripped to the waist, fed a seemingly inexhaustible supply of returned *Weeklies* to the fireplace. Though heat and smoke were intolerable stoke they must, though bale followed bale, as the newspaper remorselessly continued to arrive at the door.⁴¹³

Eason's distribution data shows a modest audience for imported and domestic intellectual and literary periodicals through the 1930s. The abrupt withdrawal of many English intellectual periodicals from the Irish market in 1939 heralded a period of growth among Irish intellectual and literary periodicals despite paper shortages and the closure of international markets throughout the Emergency. Clair Wills' argument that the growth of a confident Irish cultural sphere was one of the most striking outcomes of the Emergency is certainly valid in the periodical publishing sphere, as the increased distribution of *The Bell* and *Commentary* indicate. As Wills notes, the restrictions of the Emergency kept rival material out but conversely it also introduced a new creative energy into Ireland, as, for example, artists Basil Rakoczi and Kenneth Hall, critics Charles Sidney and Theodore Goodman, and the writer T. H. White made their home in Ireland for the duration of the war - it should be noted, too, that each of these individuals contributed to the periodicals under review here.

⁴¹³ John Ryan, *Remembering How We Stood* (Dublin, 1987), p. 102-3.

However, the 'kick starting' of Ireland into culture began earlier than the Emergency. An audience for *The Bell* and *Commentary* in the 1940s had been nurtured and developed through the 1930s by *The Dublin Magazine*, *Motley*, *The Capuchin Annual*, and *Ireland To-Day*; by imported periodicals such as *Cornhill Magazine* and *Fortnightly Review*; by M. J. MacManus at the *Irish Press* and, to a lesser extent, by Alec Newman at the *Irish Times*. In 1940 *The Bell* launched into a market that had been primed for it, just as nine years later, *Envoy* would step into the vacuum created by the suspension of *The Bell* in 1948. It should be noted that in April 1941 – the first recorded period since its launch in October the previous year - Eason's distributed 1,607 copies of *The Bell*. In 1949, Eason's distributed 1,500 copies of the inaugural issue of *Envoy*. The similarity in distribution numbers suggests that, in Eason's commercial judgement, the readership of the suspended *Bell* would be transferable to *Envoy* or would, at the very least, be relevant to the new title. This also complicates the picture of a post-war decline in cultural activity, as argued by Wills, at least in the context of intellectual and literary publishing.

Of course, writers who could access and work in international markets after the years of the Emergency would do so – writers will seek outlets for their work, it was ever thus. Wills offers the closure of *Irish Writing*, *Kavanagh's Weekly*, and *Envoy* in the early 1950s in support of her argument, but it should be noted that each of these titles was launched in the post-war period too, in 1946, 1949 and 1952, respectively. *Irish Bookman* could be added to this group, too, as it was founded in 1946. *The Bell*, of course, suspended publication in April 1948 but resumed in November 1950. *The Dublin Magazine* continued until 1958 and *The*

Capuchin Annual was published, albeit as a less impressive publication in the post-Father Senan period, until 1977. *Commentary* ceased publication in December 1946, and Dorman's explanation for this centred on the lack of advertising support:

With the end of the war and the return of better paper supplies, the newspapers and the women's magazines were able to reinflate to their previous sizes, to suck away most of the advertising from the smaller publications and *Commentary* was doomed.⁴¹⁴

Six years later, John Ryan would also single out advertising - and specifically the lack of it - as one of the reasons for the demise of *Envoy*, in a blistering editorial directed at 'the power-drunk moguls of big-business, and... that contemporary harrow - the advertising agency.' Wills attributes the decline of these periodicals to the 'dissipation of the wartime atmosphere' but the very prosaic commercial realities of publishing were just as pertinent.

⁴¹⁴ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 122.

5. Editorial preoccupations

*'To present a mirror image of Ireland to-day is not our function'*⁴¹⁵

This analysis of the editorial preoccupations of *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley* and *Ireland To-day* from 1930 to 1939 will consider how - or, indeed, whether - these periodicals engaged with contemporaneous events of the day. This chapter will be structured around two periods, 1932-4 and 1936-7. The first period will encompass events such as the 1932 General Election, the Eucharistic Congress, and the foundation of the Irish Academy of Letters; the latter period will consider coverage of the Spanish Civil War and the 1937 Irish Constitution. This is not intended to be a definitive survey of the Free State in the 1930s, but rather to provide some context for an analysis of the editorial content of the editions of *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley* and *Ireland To-day* that were published during this period.

In June 1936, James O'Donovan wrote in his first (unsigned) Editorial in *Ireland To-Day*: 'To present a mirror image of Ireland to-day is not our function but that of the daily press.'⁴¹⁶ A survey of editorials, articles and readers' letters to *The Irish Times*, which had a broadly Anglo-Irish, Dublin-based readership, and the *Irish Press*, whose readership was broadly Catholic, Nationalist and provincial during this period, will provide this 'mirror image'.

⁴¹⁵ *Ireland To-Day*, Jun. 1936, p. 4.

⁴¹⁶ *ibid.*

On 15 February 1932, an editorial in the *Irish Times* entitled 'To-morrow's choice' issued a stark warning regarding the imminent General Election in the Free State:

To-morrow the electors of the Irish Free State will be required to take the most momentous decision that ever has confronted them. The issues that underlie the general election are vital to the interests of every citizen of the Free State; for they are nothing less than the life and death of the community.⁴¹⁷

The editorial warned that while President Cosgrave and his colleagues had 'striven manfully to build up a decent economy', Fianna Fáil was offering 'a policy of sheer negation' that would appeal to the 'younger and irresponsible elements throughout the country'. The *Irish Times's* stance was clear: 'Everybody who has a vote ought to exercise it on behalf of the Treaty's supporters.' In case the point had not been sufficiently made, the editorial on the day of the election appealed to the 'thirty per cent of the electorate which has not voted in former elections' to make a choice 'between security and peril, between peace and disorder, between progress and delay... You may be sorry for the rest of your lives.'⁴¹⁸ Not surprisingly, the *Irish Press* ran a concerted campaign to promote Fianna Fáil, with regular coverage of meetings held by Éamon de Valera and Sean Lemass, details of candidate selections, and front page appeals for contributions to a General Election Fund to 'Help Fianna Fáil to Win'.⁴¹⁹ Cosgrave was denounced for his adherence to a 'materialist philosophy' that had brought Europe to the brink of ruin and was a 'fundamentally unjust and un-Christian policy which has denied to a vast number of the people of the Free State the right to earn their bread'.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ 'To-morrow's Choice', *Irish Times*, 15 Feb. 1932, p. 8.

⁴¹⁸ 'To-day's Election', *Irish Times*, 16 Feb. 1932, p. 6.

⁴¹⁹ *Irish Press*, 13 Jan. and 18 Jan. 1932.

⁴²⁰ *Irish Press*, 30 Jan. 1932, p. 6.

Cumann na nGaedheal was criticised for cynical election stunts such as reducing the salaries of Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and the Governor General.⁴²¹ The front page of the *Irish Press* on 16 February 1932 covered the final election rallies and announced that 30,000 had welcomed De Valera in College Green, Dublin, where ‘his personal triumph reached its climax’ as the ‘vast audience at the final meeting listened without a single interruption’ when he reminded them that ‘the Irish race in America, Australia and all over the world were waiting and watching for the resumption of a united National march forward’ and urged all ‘to give their undivided allegiance to Ireland’. Of Cosgrave’s final election rally, the *Irish Press* noted perfunctorily that he had addressed his constituents in Cork.⁴²² The dire warnings of the *Irish Times* were no match for the hyperbole of the *Irish Press* coupled with the mood of the country, and Fianna Fáil formed a government, supported by the Labour Party. More significant than the immediate election result, the 1932 General Election heralded sixteen years of Fianna Fáil dominance in Ireland. It was a major watershed in Irish political life.

The fledgling *Motley* was notable for publishing one of the few references to culture in the coverage of the 1932 General Election: ‘We notice none of the candidates in the recent election made any promises or formulated any scheme for the improvement of the cultural life of the country’. The (unnamed) author called on T.D.s to declare their views on establishing State theatres and properly equipped town halls around the country where touring companies can put on good shows: ‘intelligent entertainment might save a lot of mischief making’ in country

⁴²¹ *Irish Press*, 8 Feb. 1932, p. 6.

⁴²² *Irish Press*, 16 Feb. 1932, p. 1.

villages and towns.⁴²³ The lead article in the August 1932 edition, though it carried no byline, returned to the theme of State support, pointing out that the State assisted institutions that improved the nation's cultural life and cited as examples universities and learned societies before coming to the main point: 'It [the State] subsidises the Abbey and the Comhar Drámuíochta... Why not the Gate, which has at least as much cultural value as the Abbey?' The State had provided financial support to the Abbey Theatre since the 1920s – it was, in fact, the first State-subsidised theatre in the English-speaking world. The State also supported financially An Comhar Drámuíochta, which was an initiative to revitalise Irish language theatre. But therein lay the rub for the independently minded Gate. The trade-off for financial support for the Abbey was the Government's insistence, in 1925, that a Catholic should be invited to join the Abbey Board of Directors. George O'Brien, a professor of economics at University College Dublin, was appointed though he admitted that his only qualification for the role was his religion. The case for The Gate was presented in *Motley*:

The supporters of the Gate do not want a theatre pervaded by the philosophy of Fianna Fáil or Cumann na nGaedheal. We would rather carry on as we are. We do not want the outlook of the most ignorant and prejudiced taxpayer forced upon us on the grounds that he who pays the piper calls the tune. But we do need that money badly! So we humbly beg the Government to give us a subsidy and to be content with the most formal control over our policy. Let them trust to our patriotism, sense and taste as we promise to serve the nation well. And what more can any Government demand of its citizens?⁴²⁴

The Government, apparently, demanded more, and the Gate Theatre did not receive State funding until 1971. *Motley* cast a wry eye around the Free State in

⁴²³ *Motley*, Jan. 1932, p. 9.

⁴²⁴ *Motley*, Aug. 1932, p. 2.

the early 1930s, acknowledging that 'Ireland is in transition: the nation is finding its soul. New forces are at work; new ideas are crowding in upon us.'⁴²⁵ 'Processional' noted in January 1933 that Ireland was 'becoming more and more like a crazy musical comedy [words by Lewis Carroll, music by Stravinsky] with new parties forming and unforming daily and new armies marching and counter marching fortnightly'.⁴²⁶ This was, of course, in the context of Fianna Fáil calling a snap General Election, contested by, among others, the newly founded National Centre Party while the I.R.A. and Army Comrades Association (later known as the Blueshirts) clashed at political meetings.

There was no overt coverage of the General Election in *The Capuchin Annual (1933)*, although Father Senan did include a short article entitled 'An appeal to Irishwomen', written by Lily O'Brennan and notable because it reflected Fianna Fáil's policy emphasis on self-sufficiency. Irishwomen were exhorted to wake up: 'The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. Now in Ireland at the present moment the hand that holds the purse strings can save the country'.⁴²⁷ The argument was that Irish women should buy Irish goods and thereby support Irish industry and encourage employment. O'Brennan's article is also notable as it suggests a society behind the electoral triumphalism of Fianna Fáil, with references to 'hunger marches' and mothers with careworn faces, 'the children pinched and dull; the father or son shamefaced or disheartened'. The article was also notable because of the impeccable nationalist credentials of the author: Lily O'Brennan

⁴²⁵ *Motley*, Nov. 1932, p. 2.

⁴²⁶ *Motley*, Jan., 1933, p. 8.

⁴²⁷ Lily M. O'Brennan, 'An Appeal to Irishwomen' in *The Capuchin Annual (1933)*, pp 239-40.

was a writer, playwright, member of Cumann na mBan, 1916 combatant (with the Marrowbone Lane garrison) and sister-in-law of Éamonn Ceannt. The article illustrated two of Father Senan's enduring editorial preoccupations – nationalism and De Valera. Benedict Kiely later recalled that 'Senan's political vision allowed for only one sun, and there were jokes about the number of times Éamonn De Valera's picture appeared in the Annual.'⁴²⁸ This devotion, however, did not dissuade Father Senan (ever the pragmatist) from accepting a full-page advertisement from Cumann na nGaedheal in the 1932 edition, which assured *Annual* readers that President Cosgrove and his government had balanced every budget and honoured every bond:

Good national credit is more essential now than ever. If it suffers, the credit of everybody in the Saorstat will suffer. The Farmer, the Shopkeeper, the Industrialist, and the Worker will all be hit.⁴²⁹

In that same edition of *The Capuchin Annual*, Fianna Fáil placed only a quarter-page advertisement (perhaps concluding that it was preaching to the converted), which declared it would invoke 'the spirt of Irish Patriotism in a sustained effort to solve all our National and Social problems'.⁴³⁰

The 1932 General Election was studiously avoided in *The Dublin Magazine* but O'Sullivan was clearly aware of the developing hegemony of the Irish-Ireland philosophy. In the January–March 1932 edition, he published P. S. O'Hegarty's scathing review of Daniel Corkery's *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature* and damning

⁴²⁸ Kiely, 'Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁴²⁹ *The Capuchin Annual (1932)*, p. 282.

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 280.

indictment of the philosophy that underpinned it. O'Hegarty argued that Corkery's thesis was that only an Irish Catholic Nationalist could write Irish literature:

Need I say any more on this than that this theory of Mr. Corkery's is wrongheaded and damnable. It is carrying bigotry and intolerance into literature. It is a denial of the Irish nation. It is prejudiced and in the real sense ignorant... The book, in fact, is not a book of criticism but a book of propaganda.⁴³¹

O'Hegarty's review may be contrasted with Dorothy Macardle's prominently placed review of Corkery's book published in the *Irish Press* some three months previously, in which she acclaimed Corkery for speaking a whole community's mind 'with that suspicious and exacting vigilance towards an Anglo-Irish writer which the Irish people invariably display':

The whole chaotic problem of Anglo-Irish literature Mr Corkery treats with an intellectual courage and discrimination that are tonic to the mind... Reading criticism of this quality is a release from a burden of bewilderment and a lasting illumination of the mind.⁴³²

In its rather rambling review of Corkery's book, the *Irish Times* argued that Yeats' 'Kathleen Ní Houlihan' had such an emotional impact on Irish audiences because it was written 'out of the heart of his own people'. But the reviewer then argued that Irish writers had to deal with a public that read very little and even when it did read, it was prepared to have its reading material prescribed. In those circumstances what else could the writer do but 'appeal to alien eyes and alien intelligence?'⁴³³

⁴³¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.-Mar. 1932, p. 53-4.

⁴³² *Irish Press*, 31 Oct. 1931, p. 5.

⁴³³ *Irish Times*, 12 Jun. 1931, p. 3.

From the outset, Father Senan's agenda was unabashedly Irish-Ireland and he utilized all editorial devices – prose (in English and Irish), poetry, photography, and art - to promote that agenda. As he later reflected in *The Capuchin Annual*: 'We set out to present Ireland to the world, to show the Irish way of life in all its phases: cultural, intellectual, social and of course spiritual.'⁴³⁴ At least one Irish language article would appear in every edition during Father Senan's editorship and feature articles often carried titles in Irish and English. His editor's Letters, too, appeared under the title of *Focal Scur ó'n Eagarthóir* and in later editions *Leathanach an Eagarthóra*. In the first edition heroic nationalism and Pádraig Pearse were introduced in Milo McGarry's 'Memories of Sgoil Eanna, which concluded: 'May Ireland never forget the debt it owes its founder.'⁴³⁵ Veneration for Pearse in the early years of the Annual extended in later years to embrace De Valera and Fianna Fáil. Daniel Corkery contributed a play entitled *Resurrection*, set at dawn on Easter Tuesday 1916 in a farmhouse on the borders of County Dublin, which concluded with the memorable lines: 'Face them, face them proud, proud! Till their bullets crash in your heart. There'll be no fear in this house any longer.'⁴³⁶ The overarching editorial intent was that a positive image of Ireland should be projected. This is illustrated in two advertisements for *The Capuchin Annual* that appeared in the *Irish Times* in 1940 and invited writers to submit stories in Irish or English, with a view to publication. A proviso was included: 'Morbid stories are not wanted'.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 609.

⁴³⁵ *The Capuchin Annual* (1930), p. 41.

⁴³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴³⁷ The same advertisement was published in the *Irish Times* on 27 Apr. 1940, p. 5, and on 4 May 1940, p. 7.

The extensive and often lavish use of photography in *The Capuchin Annual* should also be noted. It is another factor that sets the Annual apart from other periodicals of the time and was utilised to present the Irish Ireland perspective. Photography in *The Capuchin Annual* served a very clear purpose – it projected a vision of Ireland to its 25,000 readers that was arguably more effective than any prose. In the early years, scenic views such as ‘Evening in Dublin’⁴³⁸ or ‘Killiney Bay’⁴³⁹ would appear randomly, but in later years photographic features became far more extensive. In 1938, ‘Forty pages of Dublin Pictures made specially for *The Capuchin Annual* by T. J. Molloy’ included views of O’Connell Bridge, the Horse Show, the Botanic Gardens alongside a Corpus Christi procession, Michael Collins’ grave at Glasnevin and an All-Ireland Gaelic football match at Croke Park.⁴⁴⁰

1932 also witnessed a second watershed in Irish life – the Eucharistic Congress to mark the 1,500th anniversary of St. Patrick’s arrival in Ireland. Held over five days in June 1932, the Eucharistic Congress attracted thousands of international visitors, 127 special trains were run to accommodate the vast Irish pilgrimage into Dublin,⁴⁴¹ and one million people attended mass in the Phoenix Park.⁴⁴² It has been suggested that one of the reasons for Cosgrave’s dissolution of the Dáil at the end of January was to ensure there would be stability rather than uncertainty during the Congress.⁴⁴³ Regardless of the motivation, it was serendipitous that Fianna Fáil

⁴³⁸ *The Capuchin Annual (1933)*, p. 90.

⁴³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴⁴⁰ *The Capuchin Annual (1938)*, pp 167–99.

⁴⁴¹ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 484.

⁴⁴² Kennedy, *Dreams and responsibilities*, p. 23.

⁴⁴³ Diarmuid Ferriter, ‘Pope and ceremony: how the 1932 congress melded church and State’ in *Irish Times*, 2 Jun. 2012 (<https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/pope-and-ceremony-how-the-1932-congress-melded-church-and-state-1.1063510>) (27 Jul. 2017).

had so recently come to power. The Congress provided the new Fianna Fáil-led Government with the opportunity to emphasise its Catholic credentials and it was more favourably inclined to approve expenditure on the Congress than its predecessor Cumann na nGaedhael: for example, a Cabinet meeting on 2 April 1932 approved expenditure on a cavalry escort with special dress uniform for the arrival of the Papal Legate⁴⁴⁴ and that particular event, featuring the theatricality of the 'Blue Hussars', was one of the highlights of an extraordinary week. The preparatory work of the City Decoration Committee in Dublin was reflected in the bunting, garlands, grottos, and shrines that sprung up around Dublin, most notably in the tenements, noted the *Irish Times*:

There is no street, however poor and drab whose occupants have not contributed of their small resources for its decoration. The paint pot has transformed dull lintels and window-sills; banners of white and gold and blue conceal the bleak brick of decaying Georgian houses; miniature shrines have hidden a multitude of cracked and grimy fanlights.⁴⁴⁵

In the months leading up to the Congress, the *Irish Press* provided detailed coverage of the preparations, under a series of increasingly excitable headlines: 'Special steamer for Legate';⁴⁴⁶ 'Count McCormack: Irish tenor's return for Congress celebrations';⁴⁴⁷ '450,000 people on retreat';⁴⁴⁸ 'Altar on a bridge';⁴⁴⁹ '900 U.S. passengers for Ireland';⁴⁵⁰ Galway arrivals: 1,900 passengers on Cunard vessel'.⁴⁵¹ The coverage culminated in a free forty-eight-page illustrated Congress

⁴⁴⁴ Rory O'Dwyer, *The Eucharistic Congress, Dublin 1939* (Dublin, 2009), p. 21.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Youth in the Slums', *Irish Times*, 21 Jun. 1932, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁶ *Irish Press*, 10 May 1932, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁷ *Irish Press*, 17 May 1932, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁸ *Irish Press*, 4 Jun. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁹ *Irish Press*, 7 Jun. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁰ *Irish Press*, 8 Jun. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁵¹ *Irish Press*, 14 Jun. 1932, p. 4.

supplement on 20 June, that contained a rather eclectic mix of articles on Irish folklore and music, the Shannon Scheme, Irish social policy and the Tailteann Games, contributed by writers such as Daniel Corkery, Dorothy Macardle, Colm O’Lochlainn, Carl Hardebeck and Timothy Corcoran, alongside a full diary of the Congress and double-page map showing the routes of the procession.⁴⁵²

The Capuchin Annual (1933) was published in the hiatus between the relatively timid first edition in 1930 and the landmark edition in 1934 which would herald a period when Father Senan’s editorial flair and ambition began to transform the *Annual* into a cultural *tour de force*. In 1933, Father Senan was still settling into the editorial chair and that edition was dominated (as were the previous two editions) by contributions from the religious community, on topics such as ‘Irish Capuchin missionaries in Nova Scotia’ and ‘The ideals of the liturgy’. In that context, it is hardly surprising that more than forty pages of the total 336 pages in the 1933 edition were allocated to a review of the Eucharistic Congress. Some twenty-four of these pages took the format of a pictorial record of the Congress, under the title ‘Ireland’s Glorious Week’. The opening spread reproduced an extract from the Apostolic Letter, which had been read at the opening of the Congress, below an illustration of Pope Pius XI facing quite an elaborate full-page illustration showing Dr Edward Byrne, primate of Ireland, archbishop of Dublin and sponsor of the congress; Frank O’Reilly, director of organisation (and secretary of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland); Rev. D. T. Moloney; and Cardinal Joseph MacRory, primate of All Ireland. Subsequent pages showed illustrations of the Last Supper

⁴⁵² *Irish Press*, 20 Jun. 1932, p. 1. The *Irish Independent* also produced a Congress Souvenir Supplement.

alongside 'Mass in the penal days', but the focus was on the images of the crowds of participants in processions and at the Mass in the Phoenix Park, street decorations and shrines around Dublin 'The Most Faithful City' and, inevitably, De Valera. A second photograph of De Valera was reproduced in the same Annual, in an article by Desmond Ryan mourning the death of Margaret Pearse, which noted 'Mr Eamonn De Valera, President of the Executive Council delivers panegyric at the graveside'. The photograph is interesting as it illustrated three abiding interests of Father Senan that would recur throughout his editorship – Pearse (and by extension, his family), De Valera, and Father Senan's own public profile. The photograph showed De Valera at the graveside, and alongside him, listening attentively, was Father Senan. He appeared, too, in one of the photographs used in the Congress article. In subsequent years, photographs and cartoons of Father Senan would become ever more prominent within the pages of the *Annual*, culminating in the full-page photographic portrait by Adolf Morath, that was published in the *The Capuchin Annual (1949)*.⁴⁵³

Alice Curtayne contributed a seventeen-page article on 'The story of the Eucharistic Congress' and the inclusion of her article illustrated another of Father Senan's editorial preferences – County Kerry, whether that was represented in the topic or in the origin of the writer. Curtayne was born in Tralee, County Kerry, and she also had impeccable Catholic and journalistic credentials – she had a diploma as a diocesan catechist and she was a published writer. The byline to her article notes that Curtayne was the author of *St Catherine of Siena, St. Anthony of Padua,*

⁴⁵³ *The Capuchin Annual (1949)*, pp 447–96.

A Recall to Dante and St Brigid of Ireland. Curtayne would go on to enjoy a distinguished career.⁴⁵⁴ In *The Capuchin Annual* (1933), she wrote:

Here then is the secret of the Congress splendour that astonished the nations: unanimity. The Great Week's events were a lesson in the power, the security, the triumph of unanimity... It was a great religious function in which everyone took the fullest possible part.⁴⁵⁵

This picture of 'unanimity' was complicated by O'Sullivan. The Eucharistic Congress was not covered editorially in *The Dublin Magazine*. Instead, O'Sullivan chose to include two articles relating to Vilhelm Grönbech: in the July–September 1932 edition, O'Sullivan published an article by Grönbech entitled 'The Soul of Ireland', followed by a review of Grönbech's *The Culture of the Teutons* in the April–June 1933 edition. Vilhelm Grönbech was a Danish intellectual and professor of comparative religions at the University of Copenhagen. In 1922 he had published *Religious Currents in the 19th Century*, which declared:

We, the children of the nineteenth century, are a generation without a religion, therefore we have but a single thought: how can we find a god and a devil, a heaven and a hell - all those things which made earlier times great? We know that the old god is dead and gone.... We can date his departure around the year 1770. He died when men found it necessary to prove his existence.⁴⁵⁶

In 'The Soul of Ireland', published in English for the first time in *The Dublin Magazine* in the immediate aftermath of Eucharistic Congress, Grönbech

⁴⁵⁴ Alice Curtayne's work includes *St Catherine of Siena* (1929), *Patrick Sarsfield* (1934), *Lough Derg: St. Patrick's purgatory* (1944), *The Trial of Oliver Plunkett* (1953), *Saint Brigid of Ireland* (1954), and *Francis Ledwidge: A Life of the Poet (1887-1917)* (1972). <https://projectalicecurtayne.wordpress.com/alice-curtayne/> Alice Curtayne also contributed articles to various magazines and newspapers including the *Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, *Irish Press*, *The Spectator*, and *The Standard*. During the 1950s and early 1960s she made five lecture tours around the U.S.A., speaking on Irish life, history, and literature. In 1959 she received an honorary doctorate in humane letters from Anna Maria College in Paxton, Massachusetts. For further biographical details, see <https://projectalicecurtayne.wordpress.com/alice-curtayne/> and Frances Clarke, 'Alice Curtayne' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (dib.cambridge.org).

⁴⁵⁵ Alice Curtayne, 'The Story of the Eucharistic Congress' in *The Capuchin Annual* (1933), p. 74.

⁴⁵⁶ Quoted by Basil Willey, 'Review of Religious Currents in the 19th Century' in *Modern Language Review*, vol. 60, no. 3 (Jul., 1965), pp 438.

presented his interpretation of the history of the Celts 'or, to designate them more accurately, the Irish': 'The Celts finished their role as a nation before the history of Europe began, and they seem to have been broken as a spiritual power when Rome forced the Irish church down into vassalage.' It was a view somewhat at odds with the triumphalism of Congress Week. Grönbech also presented an interesting version of the beloved legend of Cú Chulainn:

When he comes home, hot from the battle, no one can approach him, the only remedy is to send the ladies of the royal dun naked against him.⁴⁵⁷

The General Election and the Eucharistic Congress may have been the watershed political and societal events of 1932, but the foundation of the Irish Academy of Letters is also noteworthy. The *Irish Times* in its end-of-year review of 1932 singled out the foundation of the Academy as one of the outstanding events of the year, alongside the Eucharistic Congress, the railway crisis, the Olympic triumphs of Pat O'Callaghan and Robert Tisdall, and the gifting to the State of the Muckcross Estate by Senator Arthur Vincent and his parents-in-law, Mr and Mrs William Bowers Bourn, in memory of the Senator's late wife Maud. It has been argued that the Irish Academy of Letters never gained significant traction in Irish life but it did at least serve as a rallying point for some of the intelligentsia, which had been, as Yeats noted in 1928, 'unorganised and largely terrified, looking on helpless and angry'⁴⁵⁸ and increasingly embittered by the work of the Censorship Board since 1929. The Academy is also noteworthy because it fuelled pages of colourful news coverage in both the mainstream and the religious press. The Irish Academy of

⁴⁵⁷ Wilhelm Grönbech, 'The Soul of Ireland' in *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept. 1932 pp 6-18.

⁴⁵⁸ Letter to Olivia Shakespear, 11 Oct. 1928, in Wade, *Letters*, p. 747, cited in Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, p. 121.

Letters was founded on 18 September 1932 at the Peacock Theatre in Dublin by Yeats and Shaw, among others. One of its objectives was to oppose increasing censorship in Ireland, though Lennox Robinson and even Yeats himself denied that opposition to censorship was the *raison d'être*. The principal aim was to promote creative literature. The invitation claimed that censorship confined Irish writers to the British and American market 'and thereby make it impossible for him to live by distinctive Irish literature.' The Academy would be a voice for Irish writers, or for some of them at least, as only 25 of their number were invited to become Academicians, with an additional ten invited to become Associate Members.⁴⁵⁹

As our votes are counted by dozens instead of thousands and are therefore negligible, and as no election can ever turn on our grievances, our sole authority lies in the authority of our utterance. This, at least, is by no means negligible for in Ireland there is still a deep respect for intellectual and poetic quality. In so far as we can represent that quality we can count on a consideration beyond all proportion to our numbers.⁴⁶⁰

The statement may be self-regarding but, in the context of the press interest it generated, there was some truth in the contention that the Academy could 'count on a consideration beyond all proportion to our numbers'. Not surprisingly the religious press seized on the self-proclaimed 'quality' of the membership. *The Catholic Mind* denounced the writers lauded by the Academy for their 'indecent, obscenity, grossness, blatant materialism and blasphemy.'⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 19 Sept. 1932, p.7. The invited academicians were Austin Clarke, Padraic Colum, Daniel Corkery, St John Ervine, Oliver St John Gogarty, F. R. Higgins, Douglas Hyde, James Joyce, Brinsley McNamara, George Moore, T.C. Murray, Sean O'Casey, Frank O'Connor, Sean O'Faoláin, Peadar O'Donnell, Liam O'Flaherty, Seumas O'Sullivan, Forest Reid, Lennox Robinson, George Russell, Edith Somerville, James Stephens, and Francis Stuart. The ten invited Associates were Lord Dunsany, John Eglinton, Stephen Gwynn, J. M. Hone, Stephen McKenna, Eugene O'Neill, T.E. Shaw, Walter Starkie, L. A. G. Strong, and Helen Waddell.

⁴⁶⁰ *Irish Press*, 19 Sept. 1932, p. 2.

⁴⁶¹ 'The Catholic Novelist' in *The Catholic Mind* (Feb. 1935), p. 2.

The Catholic Bulletin singled out Yeats for his 'posturing petulance' and attacked his associates in 'pretentious foolery'.⁴⁶² The Academy also attracted coverage in the *Irish Press* and the *Irish Times*, ranging across editorials, front-page reports and the Letters pages. In an editorial on 20 September 1932, the *Irish Press* acknowledged that there was an obvious 'cultural need' for such an Academy and for Irish writers to have the 'incentive of recognition in their own land', but it roundly criticized the membership of the new Academy:

Its two founders and the majority of those invited to become founder-members do not in our view express anything distinctively Irish. We do not question their genius or in many of the cases the sincerity with which they use that genius, but they seem to have been chosen more as a result of their success in Britain and America than because of any reflection in their published works of the real Ireland. The name 'Irish Academy of Letters' has been selected by those responsible for this institution. Its first requisite then is that it should be Irish.

The Academy was, the *Irish Press* argued, a group of Anglo-Irish writers, many of whom scoffed at the Irish 'philosophy of life and conduct and appreciation of moral values. Their main point of agreement... is opposition to the Censorship, as if that constituted a proof of literary excellence'.⁴⁶³ The *Irish Times* might have been expected to be more supportive, but it struck a decidedly lukewarm note:

Since we hate the Free State Government's foolish and futile censorship of books we hope that the new Academy will win its battle - but we cannot be very hopeful... Its test as a real academy of letters will come when the censorship has vanished... Then in the parochialisms, suspicions, jealousies and vested interests of Ireland's intellectual life it will discover the true magnitude of its task.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² *The Catholic Bulletin* (Jan. 1935), p.13.

⁴⁶³ *Irish Press*, 20 Sept. 1932, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁴ *Irish Times*, 19 Sept 1932, p. 6.

This latter point was well made, as there was immediate discord among the twenty-five Academicians invited to join, a development anticipated by Yeats, who 'expected infuriated refusals from quite a number and would not be disappointed if he did get those refusals.'⁴⁶⁵ The *Irish Press* took the bait, and gleefully ran a front-page report entitled 'Views of well-known writers'. Oliver St. John Gogarty reportedly claimed the strain of living up to the distinction of being a member would be too much for him: 'For my own part I would prefer to be in the Sweep.' Daniel Corkery was quoted as claiming: 'There are a hundred reasons why I would not touch it. The chief of these is that I could not possibly take it seriously.'⁴⁶⁶ Corkery's remark provoked Lennox Robinson to comment in an article the following day: 'If the Academy could succeed in giving Mr Corkery a sense of humour, it would have justified its establishment already.'⁴⁶⁷ Despite his misgivings, St. John Gogarty accepted the invitation, but Corkery refused to be involved, as did James Joyce, Douglas Hyde and Sean O'Casey. O'Casey's rebuff was particularly abrasive, perhaps influenced by Yeats' rejection of his play *The Silver Tassie* for the Abbey Theatre in 1928. In a letter to *The Irish Times* on 11 October, O'Casey wrote:

The censorship of dull authority embattled in this Irish Academy of Letters will be much more dangerous to the Irish authors of the future than the *Domine dirige nos* censorship exercised by the State and the Church.⁴⁶⁸

Nonetheless, the roll call of founding members who accepted the invitation was impressive and included A.E., James Stephens, Lennox Robinson, Padraic Colum,

⁴⁶⁵ *Irish Press*, 19 Sept. 1932, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁶ *Irish Press*, 20 Sept. 1932, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ *Irish Press*, 21 Sept. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 11 Oct. 1932, p. 4.

Frank O'Connor, Seumas O'Sullivan, Sean O'Faoláin and Peadar O'Donnell. One development in particular kept the Academy in the news throughout the winter of 1932. On 13 November 1932, Rev P. J. Gannon gave a lecture entitled 'The Irish Academy of Letters – unwelcomed and unauthorised' at the Theatre Royal in Dublin. The following day the *Irish Press* covered the lecture on its front page under the headline 'Jesuit attacks academy of letters: Fr. Gannon on mutual admiration society'.⁴⁶⁹ The article reported that Father Gannon had criticized the members of the Academy for writing in English for the English-speaking world 'the English of John Bull's other island' and for having a relationship with Ireland that was a 'mere accident of birth'. Father Gannon conceded that Yeats and Shaw were eminent men of letters: 'If they confined their efforts to the domain of pure literature all would be well; but they also aspired to the role of moral philosophers, of universal intellectual guides for the Irish people.'⁴⁷⁰

The report prompted Francis Stuart to complain to the editor that Father Gannon's criticisms had 'the flavour of that mentality engendered by generations of a nationally oppressed people'.⁴⁷¹ However, the response to Father Gannon really caught fire in the Letters pages of the *Irish Times*, which, in contrast to the *Irish Press*, had relegated coverage of the lecture to page seven of the 14 November issue under the mild-mannered headline 'The new Irish academy: Dublin priest's criticism – the serious side of the proposal'. The *Irish Times* provided some additional coverage of Father Gannon's criticisms: there were 'national reasons'

⁴⁶⁹ *Irish Press*, 14 Nov. 1932, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ *Irish Press*, 17 Nov. 1932, p. 6.

why the Academy should not be welcomed. The literary work of the nominees was not a 'faithful mirror of Irish life' but was instead 'the life of Ireland as seen through squinting windows... it left whole areas of our life unexplored and unexplained in order to concentrate upon the sordid, the morbid, the macabre and the unclean.'⁴⁷² The report prompted a letter to the editor from A.E., published the following day, in which he argued that men of letters had every right to form an association and select their associates just as men of science or law set the criteria for membership of their professional associations. Russell then focused on censorship, claiming that the profession of letters was despised in Ireland:

In no other profession but ours would it be possible for a committee of five persons, not literary men at all, sitting in secret, to prohibit publication or sale of our works and with no right of appeal against their sentence.⁴⁷³

This was followed on 16 November by a letter from the writer and Academy member Brinsley McNamara, who objected to Father Gannon's appropriation of the phrase 'squinting windows', which had been coined by him in an early work:

To think that they had fashioned a cudgel out of my own title with which to assault me! And they have continued to use it not alone upon me, but upon a number of others, with a narrowness, an ignorance and an uncharitableness which I had fondly hoped in my youth to see some day removed as a curse from Ireland.⁴⁷⁴

Then followed a flurry of correspondence to the *Irish Times* throughout November and December that rapidly descended into an acrimonious war of words, bringing into sharp relief the cultural and social fault lines in the Free State. On one side stood those who subscribed to the Catholic Irish Ireland viewpoint, such as James

⁴⁷² *Irish Times*, 14 Nov. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁷³ *Irish Times*, 15 Nov. 1932, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁴ *Irish Times*, 16 Nov. 1932, p. 5.

Devane (a frequent contributor to the press on social subjects and brother of the Jesuit and campaigner against 'evil' literature Richard Devane) and Louis J. Walsh (a district justice in Letterkenny, notable for his strident support of literary censorship and contributions to Catholic periodicals such as the *Irish Rosary* and the *Catholic Bulletin*). Their fundamental argument was that the Academy and its writers, the self-appointed intelligentsia, were elitist and did not represent Ireland and Irish values, as summed up by Walsh:

When men like Yeats and Shaw, whose minds are so completely out of tune with the outlook of Catholic Ireland – which after all is the real Ireland in the sense that the main thought of Ireland is charged with the spirit of Catholicism – attempt to legislate in a literary way for a nation like ours, the whole thing seems farcical.⁴⁷⁵

On the other side, an increasingly enraged A.E. sought to defend the Academy and the independence of Irish writers who should not be compelled to represent 'Irish national ideals' in their work: 'What are Irish national ideals? I confess I do not know... The nation has a million voices.'⁴⁷⁶ By 13 December, A.E. had apparently reached the limit of his patience with Messers. Devane and Lyons and Fathers Gannon and Little and, indeed, of the prevailing cultural ethos:

I come now to what I imagine to be the real reason for all this controversy. It has been stated in various forms that we do not faithfully reflect the mentality of the people- that we are Anglo-Irish rather than Irish. For myself – I cannot speak for others – I admit both charges, and am content, been proud to be called Anglo-Irish rather than Irish ...I might instance out of hundreds of names like Berkeley, Burke, Goldsmith, Swift, Davis, Ferguson, Shaw, Yeats, Synge, Stephens or in politics Wolfe Tone, Fitzgerald, Parnell, Griffith, Pearse. If all those who had that foreign strain in their blood were to be exiled from Ireland, there would not be more than two or three hundred thousand pure Gaels left, and they would be mostly half-wits – the kind of people we meet in the West, their minds a clotted mass of superstition and

⁴⁷⁵ *Irish Times*, 10 Dec. 1932, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁶ *Irish Times*, 3 Dec. 1932, p. 6.

ignorance, animated by a half-crazy energy, admirable material for picturesque dramatists or story-tellers like Synge and O'Flaherty, but hardly the material out of which a new civilization could be made.⁴⁷⁷

It has been argued that the Academy's failure to overturn the Censorship Board's 1933 ban of Shaw's *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*, despite personal interventions by Yeats signaled the beginning of the end of the Academy.⁴⁷⁸ However, even the *Irish Times* seemed perplexed by Shaw's book, arguing that the Free State Government could not protect Irish minds from modern religious and scientific thought, but conceding that the book was 'exceedingly ill-mannered':

Few Irish men or women could have read it without profound shocks of feeling. Its treatment of many things, sacred to them, must have hurt their deepest sensibilities.⁴⁷⁹

A.E. resigned from the Academy in July 1933. The Academy continued to host lectures, dinners and bestow awards on its members but by the annual general meeting on 20 November 1936, O'Faoláin complained that it was moribund and had not followed its mandate publicly to protest against the banning of books.⁴⁸⁰

Motley published an article by 'L. M. S.', who gleefully reported on the fracas unleashed by Father Gannon's lecture and confessed that: 'It gave me immense and unholy - but alas short lived - joy to see that in the middle stages of the controversy... A.E. tucked up his sleeves and became downright rude.' One day,

⁴⁷⁷ *Irish Times*, 13 Dec. 1932, p. 8.

⁴⁷⁸ The text of Shaw's *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* could not be defined as indecent under the terms of the legislation, but the illustrations showed a naked black girl in silhouette.

⁴⁷⁹ *Irish Times*, 8 Jul. 1933, p. 8.

⁴⁸⁰ Irish Academy of Letters' Annual General Meeting Minutes Book, MS 33,745/1, NLI. Cited in Brad Kent 'The Banning of George Bernard Shaw's *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* and the Decline of the Irish Academy of Letters' in *Irish University Review*, vol. 38, no. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 2008), p. 287.

L.M.S. wrote, A.E. would be provoked into replying 'with all the sentiments that are foaming in his brain and Ireland will sit up and shake herself with delight. Then there will be a controversy in the grand manner.'⁴⁸¹ O'Faoláin contributed a lengthy article on 'Provincialism and literature', clearly related to the criticisms of Father Gannon that members of the Academy had a relationship with Ireland that was a 'mere accident of birth'. O'Faoláin lamented the loss of Irish writers such as George Moore, Padraic Colum, and (rather disingenuously) Sean O'Casey, who had been forced into exile. It was, continued O'Faoláin, 'cruelly unjust and superficial to call these exiles expatriates who are exploiting Ireland for gold':

The Irish public, ungrateful as well as graceless, self-satisfied and aggressive in its priggishness, would rather kill off its writers than encourage and if necessary bear with them until they are certain in their craft and outlook.'⁴⁸²

The *Irish Times* description of the 'parochialisms, suspicions, jealousies and vested interests of Ireland's intellectual life'⁴⁸³ was well founded, as F. R. Higgins waded into the debate by giving his assessment of the members who merited inclusion in the Academy - and those who did not. Peadar O'Donnell was among those who should have been omitted, Higgins argued, as he had produced only 'one good minor book, one not so good, and several others of decreasing merit.'⁴⁸⁴ T. B. Rudmose Brown, professor of romance languages at Trinity College Dublin and mentor to the young Samuel Beckett was driven to exasperation:

All this nonsense about the sanctity of art is just as sickening as all other forms of clap trap. My opposition to literary censorship is part

⁴⁸¹ *Motley*, Jan. 1933, p. 3.

⁴⁸² *Motley*, Aug. 1932, p. 3.

⁴⁸³ *Irish Times*, 19 Sept. 1932, p. 6.

⁴⁸⁴ *Motley*, Feb. 1933, p. 10.

and parcel of my opposition to all coercion, whether political, social, religious, economic or other.⁴⁸⁵

In September 1933, *Motley* published an article entitled 'A Proposal for the Strengthening of the Censorship' written by An Associate of the Irish Academy'. Laden with irony, the author suggested increasing the tax on imported books: 'we should suppose all foreign books to be guilty until they have proved their innocence'. The money raised could be used to increase the number on the Censorship Board from five to twenty, create a new unit of the Civil Service, and employ ninety censors at £500 per annum with ninety days holidays. These posts should, of course, be given to individuals 'who have been most urgent on the press, platform and in private investigation in promoting this reform'.⁴⁸⁶ The consensus in *Motley* was not entirely unanimous. Arthur J. McHugh, *Motley's* book reviewer, ran foul of at least one reader: in 'Books to buy' McHugh made a passing reference to *The Puritan* by Liam O'Flaherty: 'As this page goes to press I learn that *The Puritan* by Liam O'Flaherty has been banned. Unfortunately I am therefore prevented from publishing the review.'⁴⁸⁷ It was sufficient to elicit an outraged letter from P. Murray in Dublin: 'Books to buy should have been called books to burn'. The letter writer, who clearly had not read the book himself, damned McHugh for giving O'Flaherty a free advertisement 'for what must have been an unwholesome book (or else it would not have come within the scope of our milk and water censorship)' and expressed the hope that McHugh would not write

⁴⁸⁵ *Motley*, Feb. 1933, p. 15.

⁴⁸⁶ *Motley*, Sept. 1933, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ *Motley*, Jan. 1932, p. 14.

again, on any subject, urging *Motley* 'Don't drag your paper down to the level of some present day publications.'⁴⁸⁸

The dominant editorial preoccupation at *Motley* was censorship, specifically censorship of films, which had been introduced in 1923 to examine films offered for commercial distribution in the Free State. It was described by Manning as:

The Thing that rules us, the Thing that has made us a laughing stock from Hollywood to Wardour Street and indeed amongst all free intelligent people... Until the audiences rise as one man and demand a more reasonable censorship we have got to endure mutilations, mediocrities, and disappointments.⁴⁸⁹

Opposition to censorship extended to literary censorship, and the foundation of the Irish Academy of Letters was reported in the September 1932 edition. The coverage illustrated another dominant editorial theme – the beleaguered intelligentsia, among whose ranks and supporters were included the Gate audience and readers of *Motley*. The news item on the Academy opened with: 'Intelligentsia please note' and advised readers that tickets priced at 5s. were available for Yeats' lecture on 'The New Ireland' at the Peacock Theatre, with all proceeds going to the 'newly born' Irish Academy of Letters:

This is a really important occasion. Mr Yeats rarely makes a public appearance as a lecturer and the subject is of burning importance – the New Ireland of Literature, a heavenly respite from the New Ireland of Tariffs and Compulsory Tillage, which seems to have ousted every other thought from the Irish mind – if there is one! The Peacock Theatre only holds a hundred so it will be a tight fit for the intelligentsia.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ *Motley*, Apr. 1932, pp 14-15.

⁴⁸⁹ *Motley*, Christmas Number, 1933, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁰ *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p. 9.

In an open letter to the theatre critic of *The Leader* who had penned a critical review of the Gate, Manning wrote that since its foundation the Gate had ‘suffered more carping criticism than any other Little Theatre in these islands’ and suggested that ‘the modern progressive in us’ was the one of the reasons for the hostility. The unfortunate critic was advised that she might one day develop into a critic if she ‘rids herself of her provincial pettiness’.⁴⁹¹ In the Christmas edition 1933, ‘P.R.’ wrote a scathing account of attendants at the R.D.S. Spring Show, who slavishly followed the cultural mores of London, who could not endure the vulgarity of Irish realists, looked askance at Irish painting (‘crude and garishly coloured and all out of proportion and so very unrestful’) and were holding up the development of a national outlook. The author included in this unfortunate group almost all Unionists, Redmondite nationalists, Protestants over the age of 40, and half the Catholics over the age of 50.⁴⁹² Louie Bennett defined *Motley* as a platform for the ‘brilliant young writers now living amongst us’, an intellectual journal that would serve as ‘as an open forum for the youth of Ireland to speak their mind on life and all the arts. If our intellectual pabulum is to be purely Irish, then let us have the best Ireland can give us’. The ‘Irish public’, Bennett complained, would prefer to buy a sundae or a Guinness than support ‘an intellectual journal’.⁴⁹³ The perception of the beleaguered and unappreciated writer was reinforced by Owen Regan’s poem, *National Culture*, which was published in the January 1933 edition:

*My grocer is a profiteer
But I am broke!
So why pretend there’s honour here
For brainy folk?*

⁴⁹¹ *Motley*, Apr. 1932, p. 12.

⁴⁹² *Motley*, Christmas Number, 1933, p. 4.

⁴⁹³ *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p. 16.

*My butcher has a motor car
I have two feet!
Yet writing books is harder, far,
Then selling meat.*

*My dairy-woman's dressed in silk,
Just like a queen.
But I who buy her watered milk
Scarce dare be seen.*

*My baker's son's in Trinity,
Among the 'knuts';
While I court immortality
On empty guts.
My odd-job man is on the dole,
And living well;
But I, afflicted with a soul,
Can go to Hell.⁴⁹⁴*

The received wisdom is that *The Dublin Magazine*, under the editorship of O'Sullivan, was apolitical, cautious and self-regarding. Certainly, O'Sullivan did not choose to publish impassioned editorials on the topics of the day, but in providing a platform in *The Dublin Magazine* for diverse views and impassioned voices, he was arguably anything but apolitical. O'Sullivan had set out his thoughts on censorship in an editorial in *The Dublin Magazine* in 1928, which acknowledged the need (broadly accepted, it should be said) to prohibit the circulation of 'debasing and degrading publications of any sort' and approved of the actions of the intentions of the law makers: 'So far, their aim is excellent and must receive the sympathy and support of every normal individual.' However, he cautioned against the application of censorship to 'literature in its higher aspects of creative art' and argued that 'the whole idea of censorship for creative literature is puerile, barren

⁴⁹⁴ Motley, Jan. 1933, p. 13.

and futile from its very basis'.⁴⁹⁵ O'Sullivan was a founder member of the Irish Academy of Letters and was elected to its Council in August 1933. O'Faoláin later acknowledged the debt owed by the Academy to O'Sullivan for his 'great assistance in the earlier years'.⁴⁹⁶ In 1933, O'Sullivan included in *The Dublin Magazine* a report on the first annual general meeting of the Academy, at which the banning of Shaw's book *The Adventures of a Black Girl in her Search for God* had been discussed. The (unnamed) author criticized the coverage in the *Irish Times* ('our organ of liberalism') for 'giving unexpected support to the Censorship', but the overall tone of the article echoed O'Sullivan's measured views:

The academy is not a literary National Guard, formed to fight one enemy, the Censorship. I daresay some of the members have no deep seated objections to a limited censorship... but the Council could not fail to protest when a work by one of its own members, containing no details or arguments stipulated by the Act to incur suppression, was prohibited in the Free State.⁴⁹⁷

The Council's outrage was in vain, the prohibition on Shaw's book was not lifted, and the Academy was a spent force as an opponent of censorship by 1936. That same year, O'Sullivan published two articles that raged against the prevailing orthodoxies in the Free State. In the April–June edition, he published a twelve-page article by O'Faoláin, which listed and considered Corkery's plays, stories, verse and criticism, with the intention not only of tracing the development of Corkery's literary canon but also 'because he is representative of a tendency not uncommon in Ireland – among the general public – an indication of a great deal in modern Irish life and criticism'. O'Faoláin conceded that his was a 'personal kind of

⁴⁹⁵ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr–Jun. 1928, pp 1–2.

⁴⁹⁶ Seán O'Faoláin to Seumas O'Sullivan, 5 Oct. 1940 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4630-49/1825).

⁴⁹⁷ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct–Dec 1933, pp 64–5.

criticism... it is, largely, the resentment of young men who had begun to compare romance with reality; and in the end it may well be astray'. This, of course, alludes to Corkery's early influence on O'Faoláin (and Frank O'Connor) in Cork before the 'blood, cowardice, fear, and horror and outrage' of the 'revolution' marked them. Nonetheless, O'Faoláin excoriated Corkery for his dismissal of Anglo-Irish literature and his particular brand of nationalism, arguing that Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*, with minimal alteration 'would equally well trumpet encouragement to all Nazis, Fascists, Communists and any other type of exclusivist for whom the essential test of literature is a political, racial or religious test.' Corkery exerted, O'Faoláin concluded, a corrosive influence on politics and education in Ireland: 'Much that enthuses and supports all our more fervent politics, has come out of his books and lecturings'.⁴⁹⁸ That same April–June edition of *The Dublin Magazine* carried a review of Francis Hackett's *The Green Lion*. Hackett had an impressive literary record: he was the founding editor of the *Chicago Evening Post's* literary supplement, the *Friday Literary Review*, and founding literary editor of the New York journal, *New Republic*. He was the author of several books including *Ireland: a study in nationalism* (1918), the best-selling *Henry the Eighth* (1929) and *Francis the First* (1934). He returned to Ireland with his wife, the writer Signe Toksvig, in 1926. In March 1936, Toksvig recoded in her diary:

Seumas and Estella for tea. Both full of admiration for *The Green Lion*. Seumas says "Magnificent. Just right." Did F. a lot of good.⁴⁹⁹

The (unnamed) reviewer of *The Green Lion* in *The Dublin Magazine* in April–June 1936 declared:

⁴⁹⁸ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.–Jun. 1936, p. 61.

⁴⁹⁹ Lis Phil ed. *Signe Toksvig's Irish Diaries 1926–1937* (Dublin, 1994), p. 331.

This book is important for all Irishmen. There is a phase of Irish life unrolled in it whose full value, perhaps, will be realized only in the far future... Incidents, people, missionary rhetoric, priests' parables, fears, misunderstandings, natural sex-urge, love, daydream, all of life's paraphernalia, make the mould... The book is important and ripe. And it demands a sequel.⁵⁰⁰

The book was, in fact, banned in 1936 and in the October–December edition of *The Dublin Magazine*, O'Sullivan published 'A muzzle made in Ireland', Francis Hackett's damning indictment of censorship. Hackett's article began mildly enough in an appeal to the community of men and women of free minds, but it was an explosive attack on censorship:

The Censorship law is repugnant to every instinct of a free man, ignorant in its conception, ridiculous in its method, odious in its fruits, bringing the shame of self-governing Irishmen into contempt wherever the freedom of literature is understood and revealing the muddle and immaturity of our statecraft.⁵⁰¹

It was inevitable that censorship would feature in *Ireland To-Day*, which first appeared in June 1936, the same year that O'Faoláin's *Bird Alone* was banned, along with Austin Clarke's *Singing Men of Cashel* and Hackett's *Green Lion*. O'Faoláin contributed an article entitled 'The Dangers of Censorship' in November 1936, and referred to Hackett's article in *The Dublin Magazine*. He argued that the censors had exploited the Censorship Act 'with a stupidity amounting to malevolence' and accused the Gaelic Revivalist and the Catholic Actionist of fostering in Ireland 'a life of public silence and private grumbling, public obedience, private revolt'. He warned that societal disintegration would be the inevitable

⁵⁰⁰ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.-Jun. 1936, pp 90-1.

⁵⁰¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.-Dec. 1936, pp 8-18.

result and it would be the Gaelic–Catholic combination, not the intellectuals, who would be responsible for the ‘collapse into a moral pit’.⁵⁰²

The Irish Academy of Letters was studiously ignored by Father Senan. Benedict Kiely later recalled that, though Father Senan was very close to Jack B. Yeats and a great admirer of his work, ‘he had a blind spot where The Brother was concerned’ and regarded the Irish Academy of Letters as ‘a sort of subversive organisation’.⁵⁰³ Three of Kiely’s own novels were banned, and he was an outspoken critic of censorship but his close relationship with Father Senan endured.⁵⁰⁴ He wryly recalled in later years that a banned writer ‘might even lose all the sanctifying Grace acquired by once upon a time having had his photograph in *The Capuchin Annual*’.⁵⁰⁵ ‘Scriobhuidhe’ outlined *The Capuchin Annual*’s attitude towards censorship in his review of ‘The Catholic Year 1929’:

There are still critics who consider that the Free State Censorship Act is defective in sundry particulars; but none can fail to rejoice that a stand has been taken by the organised community to arrest the distribution of debasing print. The specious plea that the press ought to be free has opened the door in modern lands to vice and anarchy and the moral courage that has challenged that plea has made Ireland a leader, in this particular, of other countries.⁵⁰⁶

The luminaries of the Irish Academy of Letters were notably absent from *The Capuchin Annual* (1933), and instead, Father Senan published poetry from the Northern Irish journalist, singer and poet Cathal O’Byrne and the poet and school teacher Nora J. Murray, who had been embroiled in the Ardclough sedition case in

⁵⁰² Seán O’Faoláin. ‘The Dangers of Censorship’ in *Ireland To-Day*, Nov. 1936, pp 57-63.

⁵⁰³ Kiely, ‘Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street’, (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁵⁰⁴ Julia Carlson, *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish Writer* (London, 1990), p. 21.

⁵⁰⁵ *Irish Times*, 10 Nov. 1976.

⁵⁰⁶ *The Capuchin Annual* (1930), p. 227.

1917.⁵⁰⁷ Murray's collection of poetry, *The Wind Upon the Heath*, was published by Maunsel & Co. in 1918. Also in that edition, D. L. Kelleher, a regular contributor to *The Capuchin Annual* and author of books such as *The Glamour of Dublin* (1918) and *Ireland of the Welcomes* (1929) contributed a poem that was to have a notable afterlife. The poem was entitled *For Colm Padraic Kiernan at his Christening* and the child in question was the son of Thomas Joseph Kiernan and his wife Delia Murphy. Kiernan was an occasional contributor to *The Capuchin Annual* and director of Radio Éireann from 1935–41 but he was primarily a diplomat, with postings in London, the Vatican, Australia, Canada and the USA.⁵⁰⁸ Kiernan later recited the poem for John F. Kennedy at the christening of his son, John Junior, in 1960 and Ted Kennedy included an extract from it in his eulogy at the funeral of that same John Kennedy in 1999:

*We wish to the new child
A heart that can be beguiled
By a flower
That the wind lifts
As he passes.
If the storms break for him
May the trees shake for him
Their blossoms down
In the night that he is troubled
May a friend wake for him
So that his time may be doubled
And at the end
Of all loving and love
May the Man above
Give him a crown.⁵⁰⁹*

⁵⁰⁷ The mother of one of Murray's pupils had complained to the National School Commissioners that she taught children Nationalist poetry and songs but, in the event, no action was taken against her.

⁵⁰⁸ Michael Kennedy, 'O'Donovan, Thomas Joseph ('Tommy'; 'T. J.') Kiernan', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge, 2009). T. J. Kiernan was Secretary to the Irish high commissioner's office in London 1924, Minister to the Vatican (1941–6), Ireland's first minister plenipotentiary to Australia (1946–50), Minister to West Germany, with personal rank of ambassador (1955–6), Ambassador to Canada (1956–60) and Ambassador to Washington (1960–64).

⁵⁰⁹ D. L. Kelliher. 'For Colm Padraic Kiernan At His Christening' in *The Capuchin Annual* (1933), p. 111.

In addition to its focus on Irish cultural matters, *Motley* also focused its sardonic gaze beyond Ireland. In September 1932, it published an article by an Irish journalist ‘who has lived for some time under the Soviet’ who pondered whether a workers theatre movement could be created in Dublin since O’Casey had stripped the Irish of their ‘childish vanities’.⁵¹⁰ It also carried theatre and film reports from London and Paris – the former by W. J. K. Mandy and the latter by Owen Sheehy Skeffington – and was notable for introducing film criticism. At a time when the Free State was seemingly ‘addicted’ to Hollywood films,⁵¹¹ Manning announced that film criticism would be included in *Motley* to counter the dearth of ‘honest film criticism in the Irish daily press’ and in the wake of ‘a silly season, unparalleled for its stupidity, even in the history of the provincial cinema’. Manning called for the establishment of a repertory cinema in Dublin, modeled on the Academy Cinema on Oxford Street in London, run by Elsie Cohen:

Ah, I know what you are going to say! The old cry, there are not enough intelligent people in Dublin. Nonsense! There were enough intelligent people in Dublin to fill the Gate Theatre for two weeks for *Hamlet*... The mediocre is too much with us. Let us for heaven’s sake pull out of the provincial rut and demand our rights as intelligent people to the best in Art, the best in entertainment, the best in everything. ⁵¹²

Manning reviewed films in 1932 as diverse as the French-German realist film *Kameradschaft*, the British thriller *Rome Express*, and Walt Disney’s *Flowers and Trees*, commenting that Disney ‘provides us with just ten minutes escape from the hideous realities of unemployment, poverty, wars and rumours of wars,

⁵¹⁰ *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p. 3.

⁵¹¹ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 141.

⁵¹² *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p. 14.

ensorships, tariffs, and boycotts.⁵¹³ Manning had contributed film reviews to *The Irish Homestead* and she was the honorary secretary of the short-lived Dublin Film Society, which had been formed in 1930 to screen European art house films in Dublin. She was also a practitioner, most notably on the Irish silent film *Guests of the Nation* (1935), which she adapted for the screen from Frank O'Connor's short story.⁵¹⁴ Although Manning was credited as the Editor until the final issue of *Motley* in 1934, no articles appeared under her byline that year.

Bennett's wish that *Motley* would be a platform for Irish writers certainly came to pass. Austin Clarke, Seán O'Faoláin, Padraic Colum, Blanaid Salkeld, Irene Haugh and Kenneth Sarr (the pseudonym of Kenneth Reddin, the district justice and writer of six volumes of prose and drama) were among the writers published in *Motley*. Michael Sayers, then in his early twenties, contributed two poems to *Motley* in 1932. Sayers went on to have a remarkable career: he was recruited by T. S. Eliot as the drama critic at *Criterion*, but he also contributed to *Adelphi* and *The New English Weekly*. He shared a flat in London with George Orwell in 1935, before moving to the U.S. in 1936. In the 1940s he wrote several articles claiming that De Valera's government was pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic (citing Francis Stuart's activities in Berlin as proof of this). He co-authored several best-selling books including *The Plot Against the Peace* (1945), which detailed the crimes of Nazi Germany and the mass murder of Jews. After the war, he wrote scripts for N.B.C. dramas but was blacklisted (he had described the House un-American

⁵¹³ *Motley*, Oct. 1933, p. 13.

⁵¹⁴ Mary Manning's film career is documented in the Women Film Pioneers Project at Columbia University <https://wfpp.cdrs.columbia.edu/about/> (31 Jul. 2018).

activities committee as a Nazi front). In the 1960s he produced the final script for the Bond film *Casino Royale* and, with Michael Butler, he wrote the first screenplay for the counterculture musical *Hair*.⁵¹⁵ Niall Montgomery contributed a poem to *Motley* in December 1932. He was a lifelong friend of Brian O’Nolan (the character of ‘Kerrigan’ in *At Swim-Two-Birds* is based on Montgomery) and he ‘sub-wrote’ some of O’Nolan’s ‘Cruiskeen lawn’ columns in the *Irish Times* in later years. However, Montgomery was a poet and critic in his own right, and he contributed to journals in Ireland and America. He was also a painter and sculptor (his work was shown in the Irish Exhibition of Living Art) and he was an award-winning architect, who worked on projects such as the Collinstown airport terminal building and the conversion of the Ormond Castle coach houses into the Kilkenny Design Workshops.⁵¹⁶

.....

The Irish Constitution was passed by plebiscite in July 1937 and enacted in December of that year. Examination of the draft documents and the Dáil debates had greatly exercised the editorialists at the *Irish Times*. In October 1934, De Valera was compared to Hitler:

Herr Hitler abolishes the entire Constitution of Weimar with a stroke of a pen; President De Valera tears up the Free State Constitution piecemeal.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ For further details on Michael Sayers, see Patrick Maume ‘Michael Sayers’ in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>); *Irish Times* 12 Jun., 2010; *The Independent* 21 Jul. 2010.

⁵¹⁶ Lawrence William White, ‘Niall Montgomery’ in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>).

⁵¹⁷ *Irish Times*, 18 Oct. 1934, cited in Brown, *Irish Times* p. 138.

The *Irish Times* was preoccupied by the potential effects on press freedom, the role of the president and Ireland's membership of the Commonwealth. Despite the paper's opposition to the article prohibiting divorce, it paid scant attention to the impact of the Constitution on the role of women in society, but there are glimpses in the *Irish Times* of organised protests against the proposed Articles 40, 41 and 45. A report on 21 May 1937 covered a meeting of the Standing Committee on Legislation Affecting Women held at 5 Leinster Street in Dublin, at which a resolution was passed protesting against Articles 40, 41 and 45 because 'it was felt that future legislation based on these articles could be extremely dangerous to the rights and privileges of women'.⁵¹⁸ An advertisement placed on 30 June 1937 by the National University Women Graduates Association advised women to reject the Constitution because it endangered the equality of status guaranteed in the 1916 proclamation.⁵¹⁹ By December 1937, the editorial tone at the *Irish Times* had become rather more considered as it summed up the main points in the Constitution and urged its acceptance as the law of the land before concluding – arguably more in hope than in expectation – that the Constitution would not 'make the slightest difference to the lives of the people', who would continue to have dominion status while abroad and republican citizenship at home.⁵²⁰ In contrast, an editorial in the *Irish Press* on 29 December declared:

We of Ireland, by our new basic law, have achieved more than an adjustment of an existing order. We have caused its overthrow. A revolution, no less far-reaching or powerful because of its bloodlessness, has swept the country and has given to the Irish people the new State of IRELAND.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 21 May 1937, p. 5.

⁵¹⁹ Brown, *Irish Times*, p. 140.

⁵²⁰ *Irish Times*, 29 Dec. 1937, cited in Brown, *Irish Times*, p. 141.

⁵²¹ *Irish Press*, 29 Dec. 1937, p. 2.

The front page of the *Irish Press* on 30 December 1937 was triumphant: below the headline 'New life of peaceful progress: Mr De Valera's greeting to nation', the text of De Valera's radio address to the nation, which had also been relayed to America, was reproduced alongside shorter articles under headlines of 'Country's rejoicing', 'Dublin's day of pageantry' and 'Twenty-one guns fire salute to Eire'.⁵²² Throughout December the *Irish Press* carried reports of celebratory bonfires and parades from Kilkenny to Cork. In Castlebar, the paper noted approvingly, the bacon factory, public offices and business houses had been closed to facilitate attendance at a special Mass to invoke blessings on the Constitution.⁵²³

The Dublin Magazine did not carry any overt coverage of the Irish Constitution. The enactment of the Irish Constitution in December 1937 was too late for inclusion in *The Capuchin Annual (1938)*, which was published that same month. Instead, Father Senan allocated more than twenty pages to 'Celluloid menace', with the lead article by Gabriel Fallon, and comments on the article from Gertrude Gaffney, Roibeárd Ó Faracháin, Father Richard Devane, among others.⁵²⁴ Fallon was an interesting choice as author. He was a civil servant, drama critic for the *Irish Monthly* and later for the *Catholic Standard*, but he was also an actor who had several prominent parts in Sean O'Casey's plays during the 1920s. He played a minor role in the iconic *Plough and the Stars* in 1926 and defended the play, accusing the *Irish Independent* of antagonism towards Dublin's working classes.⁵²⁵

⁵²² *Irish Press*, 30 Dec. 1937, p. 1.

⁵²³ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵²⁴ 'Celluloid Menace' in *The Capuchin Annual (1938)*, pp 248-72.

⁵²⁵ 'Nicholas Allen, 'Gabriel Fallon' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>).

Ironically, Fallon had much in common with Mary Manning of *Motley*. Although *Motley* had ceased publication by the time Fallon's article was published in 1938, Manning had shared Fallon's view that the bulk of American films shown in Ireland were characterized by 'trivial themes, unimaginative direction, stupid voluptuousness, cheap vulgarity, impotent performances' and had a degrading influence on artistic and intellectual standards. Both argued that the daily press were in thrall to the studio's advertising revenue and that there should be more Irish-made films. There they parted company, however, and Fallon's article focused on the moral degradation wrought by imported films.

In *The Capuchin Annual (1940)*, Father Senan turned to the satirical talents of *Dublin Opinion's* Tom Collins and Charles Kelly to comment on the Constitution. A sixteen-page feature on drawings from *Dublin Opinion* included a cartoon that showed a harassed mother preparing dinner in the midst of thirteen children in a shabby room, while the father sat calmly smoking a pipe and reading a newspaper. The caption was: 'Will yiz shut up, all o' yiz, while your father's explainin' me position under the New Constitution!'⁵²⁶

In June 1936, *Ireland To-Day* was launched as Ireland's 'first lay monthly magazine that has dealt with Social, Economic, National and Cultural matters.'⁵²⁷ James (Jim) O'Donovan was never credited as the editor in *Ireland To-Day*. He was listed as the author of an article on 'Ireland's population problems' in the November 1936 edition, and his contributor note stated only that he had contributed to various

⁵²⁶ *The Capuchin Annual (1940)*, p. 90.

⁵²⁷ *Ireland To-Day* (Jan. 1937), p. 3.

periodicals over 20 years on subjects of a social, economic and industrial nature. The first issue of *Ireland To-Day* in June 1936 boasted an impressive list of contributors and included James Devane, Hugh Meredith, Francis Hackett, and Frank O'Connor, writing on topics such as Four Irish myths, the economic functions of nationalism, Greater Ireland, and the Gaelic tradition in literature, with poetry by An Philbín (John Hackett Pollack) and Padraic Gregory. Foreign Affairs was covered by Owen Sheehy Skeffington, art by John Dowling, music by Eamonn O Gallcobhair, books by O'Faoláin and film by Liam O'Laoghaire. *Ireland To-Day* was not, as has been claimed, the first Irish periodical to discuss cinema in serious critical terms. As has been shown here, to *Motley* is due this mantle. Nonetheless, this was an impressive line-up of contributors for the launch edition, but it also contained therein the seeds of the periodical's demise. How could one periodical contain this breadth of coverage and the passions of such an eclectic grouping? O'Faoláin identified the inherent editorial weakness in one of several critiques to O'Donovan: 'Have we got a policy or have we not? A blow on one side of the swing one month and another on the other another month.'⁵²⁸ Several exasperated notes later, O'Faoláin wrote to O'Donovan:

I am beginning to see no serious reason exists why it should go on in this way. Won't you hold out some hope that it may become, quickly, a little less evasive, general, abstract and untopical?... There is no policy, no standpoint, no firmness. I say *Ireland To-day* is funking the challenge and expressing mild, yearning, little murmurs. If that goes on – I drop out.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸ Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan 24 July, year not written but in all probability it was 1936. (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 Folder xi).

⁵²⁹ Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan 6 August 1936 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 Folder xi).

The inconsistency of *Ireland To-day's* editorial vision was, perhaps, an inevitable reflection of the editor, who balanced a career with the E.S.B. with his active involvement with the I.R.A. He was also a practising Catholic, declaring to one potential contributor to his journal: 'I was ten years a Jesuit boy in the English Province (St Aloysius College, Glasgow).'⁵³⁰ His daughter, Sheila, later claimed that he had been excommunicated four times but totally ignored it.⁵³¹

O'Donovan had opposed the Treaty and fervently opposed partition for his entire life, so it is hardly surprising that he was rather underwhelmed by De Valera's machinations around the new Irish Constitution. In June 1937, he wrote:

The publication of the Constitution will undoubtedly influence the result of the election, and it will with equal certainty effect very little change in the lives of the electorate, at a time when so much more might have been achieved.⁵³²

On 1 July 1937 Fianna Fáil was returned to power, though they failed to secure an outright majority. O'Donovan's editorial in August 1937 declared:

The election and plebiscite results in the Twenty-six counties – when again shall we have an unequivocal name of our *country*? – were gratifying to us only in that they were in such accord with our forecast... We repeat that Mr De Valera's Government will want to begin to do things if they are to survive long.⁵³³

Ireland To-Day provided regular coverage of foreign affairs by Owen Sheehy Skeffington, most notably in relation to the Spanish Civil War. Sheehy Skeffington took a contrary view to the dominant narrative. Irish public opinion was

⁵³⁰ James O'Donovan to Father Martindale, 23 March 1937 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 Folder x).

⁵³¹ David O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal: the IRA, Nazi Germany and the Doublelife of Jim O'Donovan* (Dublin, 2010).

⁵³² *Ireland To-Day*, Jun. 1937.

⁵³³ *Ireland To-Day*, Aug. 1937, p. 3.

overwhelmingly pro-Franco: of the 900 or so Irishmen who fought in Spain, three quarters fought on the nationalist side. According to Bishop Doorly, it was 'a war between Christ and anti-Christ'. De Valera's sympathies lay with the Nationalists but the maintenance of Irish neutrality at a difficult time in international affairs was of overriding importance.⁵³⁴ The September 1936 edition of *Ireland To-Day* carried the cover line 'Special symposium on Spain', and included articles by Sheehy Skeffington, Ambrose Martin, Mairín Mitchell and Peadar O'Donnell. Perhaps in anticipation of the backlash, the editorial in that issue attempted a measured tone:

We endeavoured to secure expressions of interest from six or seven sources about equally divided in loyalty to one side or the other and it is somewhat disappointing therefore that the actual contributions should be rather one sided. In a way perhaps some of our daily papers may be regarded as off-setting this.⁵³⁵

Sheehy Skeffington was jettisoned by O'Donovan in the face of mounting criticism from the Catholic Church about his 'socialistic' tendencies. In an unpublished article, Sheehy Skeffington referred to the 'nameless and mysterious beings, all of them potential supporters of the magazine' who had applied pressure to the editor to terminate 'my subversive foreign comments'.⁵³⁶ In correspondence with Father Cyril Martindale, the Jesuit scholar and writer, regarding a potential article for *Ireland To-Day*, O'Donovan conceded that 'priests have visited newsagents and ordered the withdrawal of our magazine from their shops' but he assured

⁵³⁴ Cited in Fearghal McGarry, 'Ireland and the Spanish Civil War' in *History Ireland*, Autumn 2001, vol. 9 <http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/ireland-and-the-spanish-civil-war/>. Also McGarry, 'Southern Ireland and the Spanish Civil War' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1987).

⁵³⁵ *Ireland To-Day*, Sept. 1936, p. 3.

⁵³⁶ Owen Sheehy-Skeffington to James O'Donovan 29 Dec. 1936 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987, Folder xiv).

Martindale 'we are not necessarily under a ban from Jesuit quarters'⁵³⁷
O'Donovan's son, the journalist Donal O'Donovan, later recalled that Eddie Toner, *Ireland To-Day's* business manager, had claimed that Sheehy Skeffington's articles had precipitated a 'whispering campaign' in Dublin, advertising sales had dried up and newsagents had been told to 'take that red rag off the shelves'.⁵³⁸

Ireland To-Day is often mined for its coverage of the Spanish Civil War, but O'Sullivan also provided a platform at *The Dublin Magazine* for the less populist view. In 1938, O'Sullivan allocated space to T. B. Rudmose Brown to review six publications relating to Spain and specifically to the Spanish Civil War. Rudmose Brown opposed the consensus. He recommended a careful reading of the books under review, which should 'dispose for ever in the minds of all fair-minded people, of the Non-Intervention humbug and the supposed justice of Franco's cause'. The legitimate government in Spain was at war with a foreign invader:

That is the brutal truth... I suppose there are some, even in Ireland who wish to know the truth and form their own unbiased opinions on this horrible infraction of the laws of decency, national and international.⁵³⁹

O'Donovan's editorials ranged as broadly as his content, and partition, Dublin's slums, rural population, and milk strikes were all covered. The literary content, though plentiful, was patchy in quality. Writers such as Frank O'Connor and Padraic Colum made occasional contributions, but O'Faoláin's typically astringent comment was fairly accurate: 'Poems. Too many by far. BY FAR. And not good

⁵³⁷ James O'Donovan to Father Martindale, 23 March 1937 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987, Folder x).

⁵³⁸ Donal O'Donovan, *Little Old Man Cut Short* (Bray, 1998), p. 16.

⁵³⁹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct-Dec 1938, pp 64-5.

enough.⁵⁴⁰ If *The Dublin Magazine* was the most literary of the periodicals under review, then *Ireland To-Day* was the most political. It has been argued that *Ireland To-Day* was one of the few organized left-wing voices in Ireland at the time.⁵⁴¹ This may be overstating the case. *Ireland To-day* was the personal project of O'Donovan and it was guided, first and foremost, by his enduring political objective, namely the attainment of a united and independent Ireland. However, he also provided a platform for the views of writers as diverse as Owen Sheehy Skeffington, Eoin MacNeill and James Devane. Ultimately his reach exceeded his grasp, and the precarious finances that doomed *Ireland To-Day* will be considered in Chapter 7.

This analysis of some of the editorial preoccupations of *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley* and *Ireland To-Day* from 1930 to 1939 shows that these intellectual and literary periodicals were embedded in the political and cultural life of the country. In the material they chose to include (and exclude) and in how they chose to respond to contemporary events and debates, these editors demonstrated an editorial range and sophistication that belies easy categorization.

⁵⁴⁰ Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan, 2 Oct. 1936 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987, Folder xi).

⁵⁴¹ *Shovlin*, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 69.

6. *The Bell* and its peers

*'The dilemma of a few intelligent people
in a very unintelligent milieu is without precedent.'*⁵⁴²

In 1999 Brian Fallon wrote that *The Bell* had been so often discussed and appeared in so many studies that to write about it again was probably redundant and possibly boring.⁵⁴³ And yet *The Bell*, and Seán O'Faoláin in particular, continue to be a source of fascination. *The Bell* has been the subject of more research than all its peer periodicals combined - it is the twentieth-century Irish periodical of choice, a dependable source for a pithy quote to illustrate broader points about conservatism, insularity, social ills, censorship, Irish literature, modernism, left-leaning Republicanism, Gaelic revivalism, post-colonialism, and the list goes on. It is a supreme example of what Sean Latham has described as the research bias towards studying periodicals as 'containers for discrete bits of information' rather than as autonomous cultural objects.⁵⁴⁴

Terence Brown, while acknowledging the difficulty in assessing how *The Bell* affected Irish intellectual and cultural life, argued that one of its distinctive contributions was simply that 'previously unsayable things got said'.⁵⁴⁵ Brown cites an unnamed American critic who, he writes, supplied a just assessment of *The Bell's* 'remarkable' contribution in the 1940s. The writer had hailed O'Faoláin as the first man of letters, responsible for producing in *The Bell* 'the fullest analytical

⁵⁴² Seán O'Faoláin to John V. Kelleher, 5 Jul. 1943 (University College Cork, Correspondence with Frank O'Connor and Seán Ó Faolain BL/L/JVK/1/i).

⁵⁴³ Brian Fallon, *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture 1930–1960* (Dublin, 1999).

⁵⁴⁴ Latham & Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies' in *PMLA* vol. 121, no. 2 (Mar. 2006), p. 517.

⁵⁴⁵ Brown, *Ireland* p. 193.

description of contemporary Ireland and of its strengths, faults and derivations ever given.⁵⁴⁶ The article was published in 1957 in *Atlantic*, the influential American literary and cultural journal, but Brown does not clarify that the author of the article was John V. Kelleher, close friend of Seán and Eileen O’Faoláin. In September 1947, Eileen wrote to Kelleher to thank him for sending supplies: ‘Between the coal, the nylons and the food chest we’ll be set up for the winter.’⁵⁴⁷ David Dickson identified *The Bell* as the most famous cultural legacy of the war, ‘designed not for an intimate Dublin readership but for liberal minds in provincial Ireland’.⁵⁴⁸ Although she conceded that it was not a lone star, Clair Wills drew extensively from *The Bell*, with peer periodicals mentioned only in passing, to illustrate her thesis that the Emergency was more culturally vibrant than had previously been considered to be the case.⁵⁴⁹ Tom Clyde noted that the ‘mythical stature’ of the Bell was due in part to ignorance of the competition, but concluded that ‘no iconoclasm is called for as it really is one of the finest literary magazines this country has produced’.⁵⁵⁰ Frank Shovlin argued that *The Bell* had done ‘more than any other journal ‘to energize mid-century Irish cultural and political life’.⁵⁵¹

More recently, Niall Carson has claimed that *The Bell* had been established with the intention (to paraphrase Frank O’Connor), of kicking Ireland into culture and should be considered as ‘part of an Irish renaissance which interpreted modernism

⁵⁴⁶ John V. Kelleher, *Atlantic* CXCIX May 1957, p. 68.

⁵⁴⁷ Eileen O’Faoláin to John V. Kelleher, 22 Sept. 1947 (U.C.C., O’Connor/O’Faoláin BL/L/JVK/17).

⁵⁴⁸ Dickson, *Dublin* pp 507-8.

⁵⁴⁹ Wills, *Neutral Island*, pp 291-2.

⁵⁵⁰ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 192.

⁵⁵¹ Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 130.

for the needs and hopes of Irish society.⁵⁵² Mark O'Brien has argued that 'by pioneering documentary journalism and by encouraging citizen journalism, *The Bell* blazed a trail that was revealing and revolutionary'.⁵⁵³ Kelly Matthews has claimed that *The Bell*:

fulfilled a need for Irish readers of the time by struggling against the conservative cultural dictates of mainstream discourse. For *The Bell* was unique in its era in that it consciously presented a complex and inclusive version of Irish identity, one that could embrace both rural and urban realities, Gaelic and European influences, northern and southern traditions, wealthy and poor social classes, and many other seemingly contradictory elements in Irish society.⁵⁵⁴

Furthermore, Matthews argued, 1,000 copies of *The Bell* were sent abroad which meant that '*The Bell* could project its version of Irish identity far beyond the country's natural borders into the hearts and minds of English, American and European readers.'⁵⁵⁵

The received wisdom has percolated through to popular commentary, too. In May 2017, the *Irish Times* published a review of a new history of journalism in twentieth-century Ireland, in which the reviewer invited readers to pause to pay tribute to the inspiring *Bell*, acclaiming O'Faoláin's mission to steer the *Bell* 'between a faint star that calls itself the spirit of human liberty and a vast fog compounded by the humbug, hypocrisy, selfishness and cowardice of our ruling snob-classes'.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 2.

⁵⁵³ Larkin & O'Brien, *Periodicals and journalism*, p. 158.

⁵⁵⁴ Kelly Matthews, 'Something Solid to Put Your Heels On: Representation and Transformation in *The Bell*' in *Éire-Ireland Spr/Sum* 2011, p. 108.

⁵⁵⁵ Matthews, *The Bell*, p.38.

⁵⁵⁶ Eamon Dunphy, Review of Mark O'Brien *The Fourth Estate: Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* in *Irish Times*, 6 May 2017.

The Bell is then, by overwhelming consensus, the shining star in twentieth-century intellectual and literary publishing. And yet, as Clyde identified before dismissing any doubt about its mythical stature, *The Bell's* reputation is based to some extent on ignorance of the competition. This chapter does not intend to provide yet another analysis of O'Faoláin and *The Bell*. It acknowledges the excellent and comprehensive research that has been published on *The Bell*.⁵⁵⁷ However, there is a risk inherent in analyzing a single periodical in isolation from its 'competition', particularly in what was a small publishing centre such as Dublin. Shovlin considered six Irish periodicals published over a 35-year period in his groundbreaking book on Irish literary periodicals, but each periodical was considered independently, in separate chapters. The consensus is that *The Bell* was a literary powerhouse and a pioneer of documentary journalism, but the question must be asked: was it unique in Dublin at the time? Did its editorial content cater for an audience whose interests were not addressed by other periodicals?

Chapter Three focused on the circulation figures of Dublin periodicals through the 1940s, contextualizing them alongside the daily press and imported periodicals to provide a more nuanced analysis of the periodical publishing market. It showed that *The Bell* had a relatively respectable average circulation (as recorded by Eason's in April each year) of 1,500 copies through the early 1940s, a higher circulation than *The Dublin Magazine* certainly, but significantly and consistently lower than *Irish Digest* and, in one recorded period at least, lower than

⁵⁵⁷ Seán O'Faoláin and *The Bell* are mentioned in most surveys of the period. Recent and more focused studies include Maurice Harmon, 'Seán O'Faoláin', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Matthews, *The Bell*, Paul Delaney, *Seán O'Faoláin: Literature, Inheritance and the 1930s* (Kildare, 2014), Mark O'Brien 'The Bell' in Larkin & O'Brien, *Periodicals and Journalism*, and Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*.

Commentary. It also had a lower circulation than *Feature*, which was launched by Abbey Publications in Dublin in February 1946 with the stated intention of representing all of 'Irish life' through 'the modern art of illustrated journalism'.⁵⁵⁸ This chapter will interrogate whether the long shadow cast by *The Bell* has obscured the editorial content and contribution of its peer periodicals in Dublin through the 1940s. O'Faoláin claimed that *The Bell* would hold a mirror up to Irish society. This chapter will hold a mirror up to intellectual periodical publishing in Dublin in the 1940s and ask whether it reflects only *The Bell*.

In October 1940 the first issue of *The Bell* (1s.) was published. The timing could not have been less propitious. The British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, had declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. The periodical publishing market in London had imploded, with *The Criterion*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *New Verse*, *Twentieth Century Verse* and *London Mercury* all closing within a few months of each other. Cyril Connolly's *Horizon* was the notable exception, and its first issue appeared in January 1940. In Ireland the government, led by Éamon De Valera, adopted a policy of neutrality, passed the Emergency Powers Act and implemented emergency censorship, which prohibited the publication of opinions on the war and anything that might be regarded as detrimental to the official policy on neutrality. Censorship was implemented across press, publications of all kinds, film, postal and telegraphic communication.

⁵⁵⁸ Editor's Letter, *Feature*, Feb. 1946.

Nonetheless, this was the market into which was launched *The Bell*, edited by Sean O’Faoláin and co-founded by Peadar O’Donnell. O’Faoláin had a flair for self-promotion: he was a regular lively presence on the Letters page of the *Irish Times* (though he claimed to deplore the ‘low brows and the infuriated’ who gathered around the *Irish Times* editor R. M. Smylie at the Pearl bar in Dublin.⁵⁵⁹ Nor was he averse to developing a profile outside of the literary milieu – a fact that may have contributed to the long afterlife of *The Bell*, compared with the relative obscurity of his fellow editors of peer periodicals. A soft-focus feature in the February 1934 issue of *Model Housekeeping* (‘the biggest 3d woman’s magazine in Great Britain or Ireland’)⁵⁶⁰ declared, alongside a photograph of a rather dapper O’Faoláin:

His writings are of immense significance as he appears to be breaking new ground and doing that rare thing in an Irish writer - handling ordinary, everyday life and people in a vitally interesting manner unhampered by sordid details... his book of short stories *Midsummer Night Madness* was immediately recognized as the work of a master.⁵⁶¹

His co-founder at *The Bell* was Peadar O’Donnell, and the decision to launch such a magazine was his, though O’Faoláin had himself been moving in the same direction throughout the 1930s. O’Faoláin edited *The Bell* from 1940-46, with O’Donnell as general manager and fundraiser. O’Donnell succeeded O’Faoláin as editor in 1946 until the demise of the periodical in 1954, although publication was suspended in May 1948 for two-and-a-half years. The demise of *The Bell* seemed unlikely in the heady days following publication of the first issue in October 1940. Matthews has written that ‘even the magazine’s advertisements crackled with the excitement of a new venture’, citing the advertisement for men’s outfitter Frank Hugh O’Donnell

⁵⁵⁹ Seán O’Faoláin to John V. Kelleher, 6 Nov. 1946 (U.C.C., O’Connor/O’Faoláin BL/L/JVK/3 (2)).

⁵⁶⁰ ‘Our Monthly Chat’, *Model Housekeeping*, May 1934, p. 359.

⁵⁶¹ *Model Housekeeping*, May 1934, p. 359.

which declared his wish ‘that in this the new Ireland those of us who seek to express beauty in the products we manufacture should be associated with those Irish writers who within these pages seek to interpret the Irish mind’.⁵⁶² Nine years later, the same advertiser was apparently still in search of the Irish mind. In a ‘crackling’ full-page advertisement in the first issue of *Envoy*, Frank Hugh O’Donnell declared:

We welcome *Envoy* in the hope that it may help towards a better appreciation of the Irish mind. For ourselves we can add very little intellectually to the accomplishment of its objectives but we can help the gaiety of nations by making men realize the advantage of being well dressed.⁵⁶³

O’Faoláin claimed the first issue sold out in Dublin, an achievement matched only by *The Nation*: ‘there could not be a better augury’.⁵⁶⁴ His reference here to Dublin is interesting: does it imply simply that *The Bell* did not ‘sell out’ beyond Dublin or does it suggest that, despite his protestations to the contrary and his appeal to Big House and Little House, it was the acclaim of Dublin audiences that he sought – in lieu, of course, to those of London and further afield that were temporarily closed to him. The provinces were necessary to build an audience; Dublin alone could not sustain *The Bell*. As Carson has shown, O’Faoláin’s experience as a commercial traveller for the Talbot Press had informed his view that ‘The new Civil Service and the “bourgeois” civilisation of post-revolutionary years has money to buy books if encouraged’.⁵⁶⁵ This tension between the practicalities of developing an audience to sustain *The Bell* and the intellectual elitism of O’Faoláin is notable from the outset, in his public writing and correspondence. In a letter to Frank O’Connor,

⁵⁶² Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 36.

⁵⁶³ Advertisement, *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁵⁶⁴ Seán O’Faoláin, ‘For the Future’ in *The Bell*, Nov. 1940, p. 5.

⁵⁶⁵ Seán O’Faoláin to Jonathan Cape (n.d. [1932]), Cape, MS 2446. Cited in Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 22.

friend, fellow writer and Corkman, and occasional *bête noire*, O'Faoláin wrote:

If I can get *The Bell* to take in every sort of person from Kerry to Donegal, and bind them about you and me and Peadar and Roisin [Walsh] do you not see that we are forming a nucleus? Take the long view – bit by bit we are accepted as the nucleus. Bit by bit we can spread ideas, create REAL standards, ones naturally growing out of Life and not out of literature and Yeats and all that.⁵⁶⁶

Within a year of the first issue of *The Bell's* clarion call, O'Faoláin reflected that a good deal of life was, in fact, inarticulate: 'It became a question of making life speak, of teaching it to speak, even of speaking for it... the poor would forever remain silent if people did not in this way wrench speech out of them.' In any case, O'Faoláin continued, it was only common sense that there were many things about which 'the people' could not expect to be informed:

We should never for instance dream of being so Tolstoyan as to accept popular opinion about the arts and sciences which are always matters of taste and special knowledge.⁵⁶⁷

When O'Faoláin commissioned an article on 'The loveliest thing I have ever seen' he invited artists and laymen to contribute. The artists included Jack B. Yeats, Norah McGuinness, Sean Keating, and Mainie Jellett. The 'laymen' were anonymous, identified only by their occupation: civil servant, priest, bookmaker, housewife, librarian.⁵⁶⁸ In 1943, he grumbled to his friend, the Harvard academic John V. Kelleher that one cannot 'help' being an intellectual:

The dilemma of a few intelligent people in a very unintelligent milieu is without precedent... We have started to shape something I think but it is at the baby stage. And once again they won't use their brains. They prefer old slogans.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ Seán O'Faoláin to Frank O'Connor (n.d.), Frank O'Connor Papers, Gotlieb Archival Research Centre, Boston University (Box 3, Folder 6). Cited in Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 12.

⁵⁶⁷ Seán O'Faoláin, *The Bell*, Sept. 1941.

⁵⁶⁸ Seán O'Faoláin, *The Bell*, Nov. 1941.

⁵⁶⁹ Seán O'Faoláin to John V. Kelleher, 5 Jul. 1943 (U.C.C., O'Connor/O'Faoláin BL/L/JVK/1(i)).

In 1948, again to Kelleher, O'Faoláin snorted: 'How can a man become a writer in Listowel? It is not a case of Hardy in Dorchester; it's a case of MacMahon in Ballybehindbeyond.'⁵⁷⁰

O'Faoláin's clarion call in the first issue of *The Bell* to Gentile, Jew, Protestant, Catholic, priest, layman, Big House, Small House has assumed iconic status. This, then, would be Modern Ireland. However, a less quoted extract from that same editor's letter suggests that despite his determination to clear away 'all the slush of cant and tradition'⁵⁷¹ O'Faoláin was not averse to utilizing it for effect as and when required:

The men and women who have suffered or died in the name of Ireland, who have thereby died for Life as they know it, have died for some old gateway, some old thistled lagfield in which their hearts have been stuck since they were children. These are the things that come at night to tear at an exile's heart. These are the true symbols. When Pearse faced death it was of such things he thought – the rabbits on the sloping field at Rosmuc, the field lit by the slanting sun, a speckled ladybird on a blade of grass.⁵⁷²

Echoes of *The Bell* would, O'Faoláin wrote, be heard far and wide among 'the immeasurable Irishry of the world'. Writing in 1939, Father Senan Moynihan had pondered similar themes and written in a similar tone:

Where and what is Ireland?... There are in the island, say four millions of island-born; in the countries overseas there are twenty or twenty five millions who derive from the island and at times disclose in a gesture, a turn of phrase, or an emotional moment the common origin that gives a unity, however vague, to the twenty millions and four millions... while praising our country, as we gladly and proudly must, we shall not succumb to the stupor of old boasts and glories. Life begins tomorrow – the proverb means more in Ireland than elsewhere.

⁵⁷⁰ Seán O'Faoláin to John V. Kelleher, 31 Aug. 1948 (U.C.C., O'Connor/O'Faoláin BL/L/JVK/25 (2)).

⁵⁷¹ Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan 12 Aug. 1936 (N.L.I., O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 Folder xi).

⁵⁷² 'This is your magazine' in *The Bell*, Oct. 1940, p. 6.

For literally we have only now begun to think about things clearly and have realised that we are looking straight at a wild new world seen in correct focus and not refracted anymore though our own tragic light.⁵⁷³

A decade later, John Ryan would announce in the first issue of *Envoy* that:

In so far as *Envoy* will endeavour to make its pages the meeting place of all that is vital in the creative activity of this country we are confident that it will really live. *Envoy* will not simply occupy the vacant structure which its predecessors have left behind but build a new one; not close an epoch of emptiness but inaugurate a new one of life and promise.⁵⁷⁴

'Life', then, was a popular theme for editors, all encompassing and gratifyingly vague. Little wonder that J. J. Murphy, editor of *Feature* magazine, announced in his first issue in 1946 as he looked out his office window and along Dawson Street in Dublin:

Life flows along Dawson Street, Irish life... that is what I want to embody in *Feature* – the life of Ireland, the people and their ways, the pulsing animation of the cities, the fashionable salons, the whispered breath of our countryside, the sport and leisure that are ours, the industry of ploughed field and whirring machine... *Feature*, I make bold to say, marks a new development in Irish journalism because it introduces a magazine which makes its appearance solely on the magnet of man-and-woman-in-the-street human interest. In other words this magazine will be edited to meet the tastes of each stratum of the reading public. It will touch every phase of life in this land – and the activities of the Irish abroad – and will project them all on a level plane of popular interest.⁵⁷⁵

In the second issue, Murphy gleefully referred to a 'rival publisher who is supposed to have thumped his desk in rage!' when he set eyes on the first issue of *Feature*.⁵⁷⁶ In his editor's letter to mark the twentieth anniversary of *The Dublin Magazine* in 1943, Seumas O'Sullivan adopted a typically restrained tone and

⁵⁷³ *The Capuchin Annual (1940)*, p. 52.

⁵⁷⁴ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁵⁷⁵ *Feature*, Feb. 1946.

⁵⁷⁶ *Feature*, Mar. 1946.

omitted any reference to 'Life'. Instead, he reiterated the purpose of *The Dublin Magazine*, to be 'an Irish periodical journal representative of current literature, science and art'. He focused on the internationalism of *The Dublin Magazine*. It had been founded when the world was recovering from war and had survived 'in spite of the fact that the world has passed through – is still passing through - much darker times'. Its survival was due in large part to the faith of individuals like A.E. and the contributors 'who shared our faith in the cultural future of this country' and to the readers and subscribers 'not only all over Europe but also in the U.S., South Africa, Australia, East and West Africa, India, China and Japan.' O'Sullivan looked forward with confidence to the future of *The Dublin Magazine*, as 'one of our few remaining links with culture in a beleaguered world.'⁵⁷⁷

In his compilation *Great Irish Writing – The Best of The Bell*, Sean McMahan wrote that the list of contributors to *The Bell* read like a roll-of-honour of Irish literature. And indeed it does. McMahan's selection included Patrick Kavanagh, Brendan Behan, James Plunkett, Frank O'Connor, Flann O'Brien, Bryan McMahan, Lennox Robinson, Donagh MacDonagh, John Hewitt, Mary Lavin, Robert Greacen, Pearse Hutchinson, Denis Johnson, Ewart Milne, Michael McLaverty, Monk Gibbon and Austin Clarke.⁵⁷⁸ He might easily have added Seamus de Faoite, Kate O'Brien, Benedict Kiely, Mervyn Wall, Francis Stuart, Thomas McGreevy, Padraic Fallon, Maurice Walsh, Francis MacManus, Roibeard Ó Farracháin, Valentin Iremonger, and Sean O'Casey. Almost forty years later, Niall Carson described the writers who 'gathered' around O'Faoláin as '*The Bell* generation':

⁵⁷⁷ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept. 1943, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁸ Sean McMahan, *Great Irish Writing – The Best of The Bell* (Dublin, 1978).

the story of *The Bell* is the story of Irish literature from the beginning of World War Two to the 1960s. That is to say that all Irish writers of that generation, be they regular contributors or entirely absent, were in some way involved with the coterie who wrote for *The Bell*.⁵⁷⁹

It is self-evident that writers would 'gather' around outlets for their work, which, during the Emergency in particular, were centred on Dublin, as international markets were closed to them. Writers gathered around O'Faoláin, as they gathered around O'Sullivan at *The Dublin Magazine*, Father Senan at *The Capuchin Annual*, and John Ryan at *Envoy*. Carson's over-emphasis on 'The Bell generation' is problematic. This was a generation of writers, like the one before it and, indeed, after it, seeking a platform for their work. Many of the 'coterie who wrote for *The Bell*' also contributed to *The Capuchin Annual*, *Envoy* and *The Dublin Magazine* and had contributed to *Ireland To-Day* in the 1930s. The poet Roibeard Ó Faracháin is an interesting example. His work appeared in each edition of *The Capuchin Annual* from 1935-39 and, in fact, Benedict Kiely credits Father Senan with publishing Ó Faracháin's first collection of poetry.⁵⁸⁰ Ó Faracháin also contributed to *The Bell* and *The Dublin Magazine*. Benedict Kiely contributed to *The Bell* throughout the later years of 1940s but he also contributed articles to every edition of *The Capuchin Annual* from 1942-48. Kiely also credits Father Senan with encouraging his literary aspirations when he first met him in 1939. Maurice Walsh, the Irish novelist and author of the short story *The Quiet Man* (which was later made into the iconic film) contributed several stories to both *The Capuchin Annual* from 1931-42 and to *The Bell* in 1940/1. The poet Pearse Hutchinson (later co-editor and

⁵⁷⁹ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 19.

⁵⁸⁰ Kiely, 'Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street' (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

founder of the literary journal *Cyphers* and member of Aosdána) contributed to *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*. Seamus de Faoite, described by Beckett as a writer of genius, contributed two short stories (*The Long Dusk* in 1944 and *The Big Garden* 1945-6) and one play (*Brendan's Well* in 1946-7) to *The Capuchin Annual*, while also writing for *The Bell* throughout the 1940s. Donagh MacDonagh wrote for *Ireland To-Day*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*. Ewart Milne wrote for *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*. Novelist, playwright and short story writer Mervyn Wall was a regular contributor to *Ireland To-Day*, *The Bell* and *The Capuchin Annual* – an amusing insight into the editorial approach of Father Senan may be discerned from a letter from Wall to Father Senan on 8 May 1945: 'I have, as you suggest, removed three corpses and a reference to an inquest from pages 13 and 14 in the script. I expect you'll find it all right now.'⁵⁸¹

Patrick Kavanagh, of course, is synonymous with *The Bell* and *Envoy*, but he was also published in *The Dublin Magazine*. *Envoy* could boast that it published Samuel Beckett, and an extract from an unpublished work, *Watt*, was published in 1950. This publishing coup was a direct result of a request to Beckett from the artist Sean O'Sullivan, who had also, it should be noted, designed the front cover of *The Capuchin Annual* and illustrated many of the articles published therein. O'Sullivan's letter to Beckett has not been located, but Beckett's reply is clear. In a letter addressed to 'My dear Sean' and signed 'All the best, Sam', Beckett acknowledges

⁵⁸¹ Mervyn Wall to Father Senan, 8 May 1945 (Leeds University Library, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, Book 5, ix).

that he received letters from O'Sullivan and 'Mr Ryan' and though he refuses the request to publish the story suggested by O'Sullivan, he continues:

The best I can do for *Envoy* is an extract from an unpublished work called *Watt*, written during the occupation. I hope to get this off to them next week.⁵⁸²

The extract from *Watt* duly appeared in *Envoy* in January 1950 (the novel was not published until 1953) but it did not meet with Beckett's approval and he did not contribute again. It transpired that Beckett's corrections to the galley proofs did not reach *Envoy* before the issue was printed and, worse still, Ryan was forced to apologise profusely to 'Mr Beckett' for the actions of a 'well-meaning but sadly mistaken sub-editor' who had 'corrected' Beckett's grammatical errors and 'took it upon himself to insert the inverted commas throughout':

I realise of course that you are not interested in our excuses, however plausible... All here are new to the editorial game and I suppose that it was inevitable that mistakes would be made, sooner or later, although I pray that we never repeat that kind of performance.⁵⁸³

The Bell has been lauded for encouraging and publishing Northern Irish poets such as Roy McFadden, John Irvine, and John Hewitt, but their work was also published in *The Dublin Magazine* and *Envoy*. The Belfast writer Michael McLaverty also contributed to *Ireland To-day*, *The Capuchin Annual*, and *The Bell. Commentary*, though it did not focus primarily on literature, also provided a modest platform for *Bell* contributors such as Lennox Robinson and Jack B. Yeats, though both were of an earlier generation and so do not fit 'The Bell generation' construct. *Commentary* editor Sean Dorman later admitted that he published Yeats' short story 'A Fast

⁵⁸² Samuel Beckett to Sean O'Sullivan, 18 Oct. 1949 in George Craig (ed) *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, volume 2, 1941-1956* (Cambridge, 2011).

⁵⁸³ John Ryan to Samuel Beckett, 14 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

Trotting Mare’ ‘solely for the sake of getting his name on our cover!’⁵⁸⁴ Robinson was ‘Uncle Lennox’, whose name had also added weight to Dorman’s earlier venture, the grandly titled Council for the Defence of Irish Intellectual Freedom, founded at the Hamman restaurant on Dublin’s O’Connell Street in February 1941 with the aim of repealing the Censorship Act.⁵⁸⁵ ‘The Bell generation’ also contributed to the *Irish Times* Saturday book page. Patrick Kavanagh, Donagh MacDonagh and Valentin Iremonger were among the poets published in a section described thus by an unnamed *Dublin Magazine* reviewer: ‘at a time when literature and ideas are regarded with suspicion by Church and State, this weekly page helps to remind us that we are adults.’⁵⁸⁶ Of course, just as many writers moved fluidly across several periodicals, some did not stray beyond their battle lines – Daniel Corkery never contributed to *The Bell*, just as Frank O’Connor (and W. B. Yeats before him) never darkened Father Senan’s editorial door.

‘The Bell generation’ was a fluid group, not surprisingly seeking a platform where it could find it in the limited and competitive literary environment of the 1940s. As Fallon noted of the literary milieu in Dublin at that time: ‘Alliances and friendships were sometimes shifting ones, and there was always literary envy as a spur.’⁵⁸⁷ There was also the very prosaic matter of making a living. Valentin Iremonger later recalled that ‘*The Bell*, when in operation, paid (when it paid at all!) £1-1-8 per

⁵⁸⁴ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 117.

⁵⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵⁸⁶ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.-Jun. 1945, p. 54.

⁵⁸⁷ Fallon, *An Age of Innocence*, p. 155.

poem'.⁵⁸⁸ O'Faoláin himself admitted to Austin Clarke, when he asked Clarke to review Kate O'Brien's *Land of Spices* for *The Bell* in March 1941 that:

We do not generally pay for reviews – we really don't PAY for anything: we make an exiguous gesture of £1.1.0 per 1000 words.⁵⁸⁹

John Ryan at *Envoy* in 1949 offered a standard rate of £2-2-0 per 1,000 words and £1-1-0 per 16 lines of poetry.⁵⁹⁰ The fees paid at *The Capuchin Annual* were notably higher – as acknowledged by Seamus MacManus to Father Senan in 1947: 'No Irish publication can afford to pay the stunning figure of 3 guineas for – of all the things in the world – poetry!'⁵⁹¹ The novelist Maurice Walsh also noted the exceptional fees:

Dear Fr. Senan, It was good of you to send me a cheque for five guineas for a mere comment run off in one sitting. If the article or comment was an original your five guineas would be spent by now but in the circumstances I hesitate to abuse your generosity.⁵⁹²

Benedict Kiely recalled that Father Senan 'paid well... he had generous ideas on advances and retainers'.⁵⁹³ In an interview published in the *Irish Times* on 29 January 1977, Kiely claimed that Father Senan had paid him 30 guineas ('an absolute fortune in those days')⁵⁹⁴ for an epic poem on 1916, which was published in *The Capuchin Annual (1942)*.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁸⁸ Valentin Iremonger to John Ryan 17 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, box 5, folder 2). Cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical* p. 141.

⁵⁸⁹ Seán O'Faoláin to Austin Clarke, 2 Mar. 1941 (National Library of Ireland, Austin Clarke Papers MS 38/652/1).

⁵⁹¹ Seamus MacManus to Father Senan, undated letter (Father Senan Moynihan Papers, Leeds, Brotherton Special Collections, MS 679, ii).

⁵⁹² Maurice Walsh to Father Senan, 8 Nov. 1943 (Father Senan Moynihan Papers, Leeds, Brotherton Special Collections, MS 679, ii).

⁵⁹³ Kiely, 'Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street' (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁵⁹⁴ *Irish Times*, 29 Jan. 1977, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁵ Benedict Kiely, 'After 1916' in *The Capuchin Annual (1942)*, pp 58–60.

The Bell was an important, but not unique, publishing outlet for Irish writers. In their search for publishing outlets for their work and the need to earn a living, it is hardly surprising that many of 'The Bell coterie' also turned to periodicals such as *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Capuchin Annual*. O'Faoláin himself had to supplement his income when he was editor of *The Bell*. On 9 December 1943, in a letter to Francis MacManus, O'Faoláin referred to himself as a Cahill 'reader' and described J. J. O'Leary as a 'reasonable and generous employer'.⁵⁹⁶ The context here is O'Leary's Mellifont Classics series of out-of-copyright classics, printed by Cahills & Co., which also printed *The Bell*. In fact, one letter from O'Faoláin to MacManus on the subject of those Mellifont books, was written on *The Bell* letter-headed paper.⁵⁹⁷ O'Faoláin enlisted MacManus' assistance with selecting, preparing, cutting (or 'cautious and respectful chipping', as O'Faoláin preferred to describe it) a series of titles such as *Ivanhoe*, *Jane Eyre* and *Treasure Island*. O'Faoláin characteristically clarified the pecking order: 'I am in charge, I find, of this series, and you co-operate.'⁵⁹⁸

The titles were selected to appeal to 'the average reader of moderate education e.g. an average civil servant, postal official, commercial worker, upper grade factory worker or craftsman'.⁵⁹⁹ A target audience, then, marginally lower than that of *The Bell*, described by Donat O'Donnell (Conor Cruise O'Brien) as 'teachers, librarians, junior civil servants, the lettered petty bourgeoisie'.⁶⁰⁰ MacManus and O'Faoláin were paid £5 for cutting (abridging) each listed book to a maximum of

⁵⁹⁶ Seán O'Faoláin to Francis MacManus, 9 Dec. 1943 (N.L.I., Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁵⁹⁷ Seán O'Faoláin to Francis MacManus, undated (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁵⁹⁸ Seán O'Faoláin to Francis MacManus, 17 Aug. 1943 (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁵⁹⁹ Mellifont Classics non-copyright series, undated memo (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁶⁰⁰ Donat O'Donnell, 'Horizon' *The Bell*, Mar. 1946, p. 1030.

135,000 words and £1 for checking the abridgement of each other's allocated titles.⁶⁰¹ Although MacManus and O'Faoláin selected the titles, they were subject to O'Leary's direction, as outlined by O'Faoláin:

You are to let into the series no books that could be classed as sex novels or that hold religion or clerics to ridicule, and any passages or words of that order must be cut, e.g. the cardinal's mistresses either goes or becomes his friends.⁶⁰²

Mellifont Classics published more than 30 titles, so this was a welcome source of revenue for both writers – one payment alone from Cahill & Co. to MacManus on 2 March 1944 was for £32-10-0.⁶⁰³

It is accepted that O'Faoláin championed new writers – for example, in his series of the same name, which focused on short fiction and ran intermittently in *The Bell* in 1941/2. The extent of the editorial labour involved was recalled by Dermot Foley, when he described the scene that greeted him on his visit to *The Bell* office:

I found him [O'Faoláin] in a tiny room with a pile of manuscripts, mostly in longhand. As well as I can recall, he put three or four to one side after a while, and groaned. "A few seeds in that lot", he said. "Question is, will I ever get them to sprout?"

O'Faoláin's 'lavish' comments and patience 'beyond belief' with Foley's fledgling writing, made a lasting impression: 'Of such stuff are rare editors made... I would give anything to know how many like me were lifted into print by him during a long life. *The Bell* alone must be littered with them.'⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹ Mellifont Classics non-copyright series, undated memo (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁶⁰² Seán O'Faoláin to Francis MacManus, 17 Aug. 1943 (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁶⁰³ Cahills to Francis MacManus, 2 Mar. 1944 (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6)

⁶⁰⁴ Dermot Foley, 'Monotonously Rings the Little Bell' in *Irish University Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring, 1976), pp 61-2.

Matthews has argued that *The Bell* took a proactive approach to promoting new Irish literature by sponsoring literary competitions. This was in the context of O'Faoláin's frequent criticisms of the government's neglect of domestic publishing, compared with other European governments, and his warnings that the dearth of domestic publishers would leave writers no choice but to place their work with publishers outside of Ireland: 'Our writers will not expire. They will export.'⁶⁰⁵ As, indeed it should be pointed out, did O'Faoláin, much of whose work was placed with Jonathan Cape in London. *The Bell* ran a short story competition in 1942, a playwriting competition in 1943, and announced two awards for 1944 – five guineas for the best poem and five guineas for the best short story (Freda Laughton won the former and John O'Connor the latter). However, in the same issue in which he launched the 1944 competition, O'Faoláin took the Minister of Education to task for commissioning young writers for a fee of £120 to produce local and county histories, arguing that established writers should have been commissioned and paid £500 for the task.⁶⁰⁶ *The Bell* was neither the first nor last periodical to run such competitions. *Motley* ran literary competitions in 1933 and 1934, with the stated intention to 'discover and encourage native genius'.⁶⁰⁷ Frank O'Connor judged the inaugural competition and O'Faoláin judged the second year, though neither of them was impressed with the standard of work submitted. In April and May 1940 *The Capuchin Annual* advertised in the *Irish Times* to invite writers to submit work:

⁶⁰⁵ Sean O'Faoláin, 'Books and a Live People' in *The Bell*, May 1943, p. 97.

⁶⁰⁶ *The Bell*, Jan. 1943, p. 291.

⁶⁰⁷ *Motley*, Nov. 1933, pp 2-3.

The Editor invites writers to submit short stories, in Irish or English (3,000–6,000 words) for consideration with a view to publication in next year's *Capuchin Annual*. Payment ten guineas on acceptance, full copyright.⁶⁰⁸

The 'importance' attributed to *The Bell's* book review pages, 'its regular publication of book reviews, with an emphasis on books from Irish writers and publishers' and its role in raising literary standards and tastes merits scrutiny.⁶⁰⁹

O'Faoláin had form here – he had been the books editor on *Ireland To-Day*, until his falling out with the editor James O'Donovan. The January 1945 issue of *The Bell* listed 37 books reviewed by *The Bell* during 1944, among them books by Robert Farren, Francis MacManus, Robert Greacen, Sam Hanna Bell and other Irish writers of the period. Talbot Press, Gill and Orwell Press were among the publishers listed, but inevitably the majority of books reviewed were drawn from publishers outside Ireland. However, the quality of this publishing record belies the inconsistent standard of the book review pages in *The Bell*, though it must be acknowledged that the book review pages improved when O'Faoláin stepped down as editor to serve briefly as the dedicated Books editor (1946-47) and particularly when Ernie O'Malley took on the role of Books editor (1947-50). It is notable that Vivien Mercier, in his 'Verdict on *The Bell*', identified the Books section as 'the most capriciously treated' of all the 'haphazard' departments at *The Bell*: 'Extremely important books, some by Irish authors slipped by without notice at all while a fair amount of rubbish received disproportionately lengthy reviews.'⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ The same advertisement was published in the *Irish Times* on 27 Apr. 1940, p 5, and on 4 May 1940, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁹ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 85.

⁶¹⁰ Vivien Mercer, 'Verdict on The Bell' in *The Bell* May 1945, pp 161-2.

In addition to the books reviewed in 1944, *The Bell* carried reviews of work by Sean O’Casey, Kate O’Brien, Michael McLaverty and Forrest Reid. However, it also carried some questionable reviews such as Elizabeth Bowen’s effusive review of O’Faoláin’s *Come Back to Erin* which acclaimed it as ‘Mr O’Faoláin’s latest and greatest novel... He has regained here the magnificent objectivity and the poetic fullness of his first novel.’⁶¹¹ Bowen and O’Faoláin had, of course, been lovers for some time, so one might reasonably question the objectivity of the review. Some of the selected books are puzzling – for example, the November 1944 issue of *The Bell* carried only one book review and that had very little overt relevance to Irish writers or publishers - C. W. Hatfield’s *Complete Poems of Emily Jane Bronte*, published by Columbia University Press. Similarly, the relevance of a half-page review in September 1944 of *The Use of Turf as a Domestic Fuel*, published by the Turf Development Board, is questionable. It was certainly an area of interest to O’Donnell, but the suspicion must be that there was also a commercial consideration here, as the Turf Development Board ran a major publicity and marketing campaign during the Emergency to encourage private turf production. *The Bell*, like all periodicals, was dependent on securing advertising where it could and was certainly not averse to clients like the Department of Agriculture, which placed a full-page advertisement in the March 1945 issue that encouraged *Bell* readers to ‘cultivate an allotment and help yourself to self-sufficiency.’⁶¹² Nor was *The Bell* apparently above using editorial coverage for commercial benefit, or was it purely coincidental that a six-page feature in the January 1941 issue by Eileen O’Faoláin on the delights of visiting the Galway Hat Factory was followed by a full-

⁶¹¹ *The Bell*, Dec. 1940, p. 87.

⁶¹² *The Bell*, Mar. 1945.

page advertisement for Les Modes Modernes, the rather more elegant business name for the factory, in the April issue that year?

The book review pages of *The Bell*, then, could range from ten pages in December 1943 to the single review of Brontë's poems carried in November 1944. Although oddities like the Turf Development Board crept in from time to time, the reviews were, in the main, focused on literary work. However, it was not a unique forum for such reviews. The books page of *The Irish Times* also performed this function and *The Dublin Magazine* regularly allocated more than ten pages to lengthy book reviews. There was inevitably some overlap with *The Bell* – in 1944, for example, *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Bell* reviewed *The First Exile* by Robert Farren and *The Greatest of These* by Francis MacManus. Throughout the 1940s, O'Sullivan published reviews of work by Ewart Milne, F. R. Higgins, Maura Laverty, Elizabeth Bowen, and Frank O'Connor among many others. O'Sullivan also mischievously published a review of O'Faoláin's *An Irish Journey* by J. P. O'R who described the author as a cranky egotist and southern sentimentalist, and expressed his hope that O'Faoláin's next book will be devoid of 'petty gossip, petty anti-clericalism, self-praise and Frank O'Connor'.⁶¹³

However, what is notable and arguably overlooked about the book pages of *The Dublin Magazine* is the window it opened to international ideas and developments. *The Bell* has been rightly lauded for its internationalism – O'Faoláin's 'One World' series of fifteen editorials (which ran over two years) and

⁶¹³ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.– Dec. 1941, p. 79.

the four 'International Editions' (1943-45) endeavoured to raise awareness of cultural and political developments outside Ireland. This was no mean feat during the Emergency, when the publication of opinions on the War or any views that might be regarded as detrimental to the official policy on neutrality were prohibited. O'Faoláin used his 'One World' editorials to consider issues such as Ireland's future in the British Commonwealth, international trade, national identity and the future of small nations in post-war Europe. In the January 1944 issue he took umbrage, over eleven pages, at international criticism of Irish neutrality: 'Why is Ireland held up as the one country neutral for immoral reasons?... It is our first practical claim to independence'.⁶¹⁴ Another lengthy editorial considered the status of Yugoslavia during the War and what he saw as the seemingly inexorable movement towards 'a vast European Federation. If that is to be the shape of the Europe of the future we need to think hard and long on Ireland's position in it.'⁶¹⁵ However, O'Faoláin's 'One World' series was just that – O'Faoláin's. The series was a platform for O'Faoláin's agenda and views, however valid and well researched. As Vivien Mercer vividly described O'Faoláin's modus operandi: 'Seán O'Faoláin is *The Bell*. He is not just a figurehead - he is the magazine... I have never met a man so in love with the written word – provided he himself has written it.'⁶¹⁶ O'Faoláin argued that 'The man of letters who tries to avoid politics is trying to avoid life' and Ireland must be aware of world trends so that world does not 'come down suddenly on her like a whirlwind'.⁶¹⁷ It was a view that was apparently shared by Seumas O'Sullivan at *The Dublin Magazine*, though he chose to address

⁶¹⁴ *The Bell*, Jan. 1944, p. 282.

⁶¹⁵ *The Bell*, Feb. 1944, p. 37.

⁶¹⁶ Vivien Mercer, 'Verdict on The Bell' in *The Bell* May 1945, p. 157.

⁶¹⁷ *The Bell*, Mar. 1944, p. 471.

it in a markedly different manner. O'Sullivan rarely wrote editorials; instead, in his selection of books and reviewers and in the space that he allocated to those reviews, he provided a platform for a multiplicity of views on international events and developments. In doing so, he walked a fine line. Book reviews also fell under the remit of the censor during the Emergency, and 111 book reviews submitted by all publications were stopped or amended between January 1943 and January 1945.⁶¹⁸ The range of subjects covered in the book pages of *The Dublin Magazine* was impressively broad: from *The Philosophy of Decadentism: A Study of Existentialism* by Norberto Bobbio and *The Future of India* by R. Coupland to *The Modern Treatment of Young Delinquents in England* by Helen Green and *The Holy Catholic Church* by Rev. A.C. Headlam in which the reviewer Samuel B. Crooks criticized Paul V for his tactless stipulations on allowing Elizabeth to reign: 'a lady may be indifferent if she is called a heretic; no woman will brook being called a bastard – no, not by the first bishop of Christendom'.⁶¹⁹

However, it is the emphasis on the political and social turmoil of Europe that is the most notable theme running through the book review pages of *The Dublin Magazine* during the 1940s. T. B. Rudmose Brown is a case in point. Rudmose Brown, professor of romance languages and French at Trinity College Dublin, contributed two reviews to *The Dublin Magazine* in 1940/1. Independent minded and outspoken, Rudmose Brown made a lasting impression on Samuel Beckett, who had worked for a time as his assistant. Beckett later recalled:

⁶¹⁸ Donal Ó Drisceoil, *Censorship in Ireland, 1939-1945: neutrality, politics and society* (Cork, 1996), p. 136.

⁶¹⁹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr. – Jun. 1946, p. 54.

Much needed light came to me from “Ruddy”, from his teaching and friendship. I think of him often and always with affection and gratitude.⁶²⁰

Rudmose Brown used the book review pages in *The Dublin Magazine* in 1940/1 to launch blistering attacks on ‘the War racketeers’. In his review of *For Democracy*, edited by the People and Freedom Group, he argued that the choice being offered between capitalism and communism was fallacious. Instead, there should be respect for individual and national values and a concerted effort to ‘rid the world of High Finance and Big Business... and all the abominations that go with them - War, Unemployment, Fascism, Nazism, (whether of the German, British or French variety). Ireland was better placed than most European countries to establish real democracy but it had ‘swallowed’ the views of the British ruling class and supported ‘the present stupid and criminal Imperialistic conflict’.⁶²¹ He returned to the subject of the War again in his review of Douglas Goldring’s *Facing the Odds*, where he scathingly dismissed the British left-wing author and journalist as an example of left intellectuals who, when faced with the fact of war and overcome by propaganda, ‘had not sufficient belief in their own convictions to withstand the onslaught’.⁶²²

Timely international studies of political creeds and movements were introduced to Irish readers by Grattan Freyer throughout 1940. Freyer had been born in England but studied at Trinity College Dublin, where he wrote his Ph.D. thesis on Machiavelli. Freyer had a varied career, travelling extensively around Europe with

⁶²⁰ Cited in Roger Little ‘Beckett’s Mentor, Rudmore-Brown: Sketch for a Portrait’ in *Irish University Review*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring, 1984), p. 34.

⁶²¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr-Jun. 1940, p. 78.

⁶²² *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.- Dec. 1941, p. 76.

his wife Madeleine Giraudeau, before establishing Terrybaun Pottery in County Mayo, and then resuming his writing career in the 1960s – in fact, he wrote a short book on Peadar O'Donnell's literary work in 1973.⁶²³ Freyer introduced the work of Guglielmo Ferraro, the Italian historian, writer, vehement critic of dictatorship and multiple Nobel Prize for Literature nominee in his review of *The Gamble - Bonaparte in Italy 1796-1797: a study in the rise of dictatorship*. Freyer followed up with a review of *Pre-Fascist Italy: the rise and fall of the Parliamentary Régime* by the Australian historian Margot Hentze. Freyer considered it a relevant and tragic casebook documenting 'a great people's failure to reach political maturity',⁶²⁴ and the book has since been acclaimed as 'a pioneer study of Italian political life in the half-century before Mussolini.'⁶²⁵ Contemporary Fascism was considered by Freyer in his reviews of *Doctrine and Action* by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the authoritarian Prime Minister of Portugal, and *Salazar: Portugal and her Leader* by Antonio Ferro, the Portuguese writer and supporter of Salazar. Writing in the early months of 1940, Freyer argued that there was no shortage of views for and against Fascism, but there was a lack of awareness of the true nature of Fascism: 'Portugal is the most intelligent of the western dictatorships and as a field for the study of Fascism at its best it should be of value.'⁶²⁶

Freyer also turned his attention to Communism, in his review of *Adventures of a Young Man* by John Dos Passos, the American writer whose early commitment to

⁶²³ Grattan Freyer, *Peadar O'Donnell* (Bucknell, 1973).

⁶²⁴ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.-Dec. 1940, p. 76.

⁶²⁵ Marjorie Jacobs, 'Margaret Edith Hentze' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 9 (MUP, 1983) (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hentze-margaret-edith-6645>) (31 Jul. 2018).

⁶²⁶ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.– Jun. 1940, p. 76.

Communism was critically tested by his experiences during the Spanish Civil War. Dos Passos' masterpiece was generally considered to be *U.S.A.*, a trilogy published in 1930s that considered the evolution of American society during the first three decades of the twentieth century, and he was described by the influential critic Edmund Wilson as 'the first American novelist to make the people of our generation talk as they actually did'.⁶²⁷ *Adventures of a Young Man* was notable, Freyer wrote, for being Dos Passos' first novel 'since his break with the Comintern and a first attempt to inject dissatisfaction with centralised authoritarian revolutionary movements into novel form'. Dos Passos had fused 'a puritan upbringing, sexual frustration and the revolutionary' in the main protagonist and readers were urged to 'get hold of this book before the blasted censors do'.⁶²⁸ The work of radical anarchist and disenchanted Communist Max Nomad (Max Nacht) also caught Freyer's attention. Nomad had moved from Europe to the United States following the Bolshevik Revolution and taught at New York University as a Guggenheim Fellow. Nomad charted the careers of 'apostles of revolution' such as Mikhail Bakunin and Karl Marx and analysed why revolutionary mass movements invariably failed to achieve their original goals. Freyer described it as a depressing, nightmare vision of a world where people creep about 'like rats in ruins of cities while one group of unscrupulous politicians is replaced by another'.⁶²⁹ This theme was revisited by Denis Ireland in 1944 in his article 'Tolstoy and a Russian general', in which he pondered whether Tolstoy could have foreseen 'the darkness of the

⁶²⁷ Robert McCrum, 'The 100 best novels: No 58 – Nineteen Nineteen by John Dos Passos (1932)' in *The Guardian* 27 Oct. 2014. (<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/oct/27/100-best-novels-john-dos-passos-nineteen-nineteen-1919-usa-trilogy>) (31 Jul. 2018).

⁶²⁸ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.–Mar. 1940, p. 76.

⁶²⁹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.–Dec. 1940, p. 75.

present... the mechanical harvest, the dangers of Machine Worship and the chill in the heart of Europe at the coming of Leviathan.⁶³⁰ In 1948, the unnamed reviewer commended Derek Sington, the first Allied officer to enter Belsen, for putting on record in *Belsen Uncovered* the horrors of 'that place of typhus and torture, of starvation and incineration'.⁶³¹

O'Sullivan did not publish O'Faoláin-like editorials on the Emergency, neutrality and the turmoil in Europe, but he opened his book pages to provide a platform for books and reviewers who dealt with these topics. Moreover, in his selection of material for publication, he conveyed the anxieties of that decade. O'Faoláin's 'juxtaposition' of articles in *The Bell* has been treated with some awe, when, in reality, the content and running order of a periodical is a prosaic and fundamental editorial task.

O'Sullivan could be masterful in this regard, as shown in the January–March 1940 issue of *The Dublin Magazine* – the first issue since the outbreak of the War the previous autumn (the October–December issue would have been in the final stages of production at that time). The January–March 1940 issue powerfully conveyed the desire for a simpler time and safer place. O'Sullivan published a poem by Mary Lavin, preceding the publication of her *Tales From Bective Bridge* in 1942, which would bring her immediate acclaim. In *Let me come inland always* Lavin wrote:

⁶³⁰ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.–Jun. 1944, p. 38.

⁶³¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.–Mar. 1948, p. 47.

I fear those long blonde beaches
As I fear the shores of the past
Lest looking down their reaches
I should see with slanted mast
The keeled up happiness of days
That once sailed free

In the same issue, the English writer T. H. White (and later author of the Arthurian epic *The Once and Future King*) contributed a poem entitled *Sheskin*:

It means dear soul, that blood in this cold heart
Will always have some bog water in it and will
Suddenly stand still
At the smell of turf or a mountain view

Llewelyn Powys contributed an article on the religion of poetry, which extolled the virtues of the poetic imagination as a respite from the 'world of violent bloodshed, the world of stocks and shares': 'these worlds, shocking, dreary and shameful, stupefy and degrade tenuous life. By means of a poetic imagination even such desolate worlds can be redeemed'. Also in 1940, O'Sullivan published Ewart Milne's *In the Midway of This Our Mortal Life*, which evoked the horror of the turmoil unfolding in Europe:

And as sink now cities
And as metal bursts over
We here (ah dead love
Of love and of neighbour)
Plead the plea of the guilty:
Forgive us, deliver us

One of the most powerful commentaries on Irish neutrality was conveyed in Northern Irish poet Roy McFadden's *St Stephen's Green, Dublin* published in *The Dublin Magazine* October–December 1943. This poem was included in McFadden's second collection of poetry, *Flowers for a Lady*, published in 1945. It was discussed by Shovlin in the context of McFadden's involvement with the Ulster periodical

Rann (1948-53) but Shovlin did not discuss its earlier publication in *The Dublin Magazine*. The poem is a powerful indictment of Irish neutrality in 1943 and ‘*the singing south, Where there is sun and still warm lilted laughter*’, while a sick Cúchulainn had been left to fight his wars alone:

Old city with a young girl’s face,
Your mask is foreign to this naked time,
Your lazy laughter mocks the living dead.
Take heed of history, for I have seen
Such as you broken and swept away
As the sea smooths the black feet from the sand.
With all your wisdom, still remember this.⁶³²

The Bell’s encouragement of Northern Irish writers and its three dedicated Ulster numbers, in July 1941, July 1942, and August 1942, have been well documented,⁶³³ although, as discussed in this chapter, *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Dublin Magazine* and *Envoy* also regularly published the work of Northern Irish writers. *The Bell* was also a vocal and consistent critic of partition, as was *Ireland To-Day* before it. In light of their shared history of involvement in the Irish volunteers and participation in the War of Independence, it is hardly surprising that O’Faoláin, O’Donnell and O’Donovan should take this stance. Over the course of several issues in late 1943 and early 1944, *The Bell* published a series of articles that focused on partition. The impetus for these articles came from what might be regarded as an unlikely source – Father Senan at *The Capuchin Annual*. Father Senan and O’Faoláin were of the same generation, both born in 1900, the former in Kerry, the latter in Cork. Both were schooled in the Irish Ireland ethos, though O’Faoláin later rejected that

⁶³² *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.-Dec. 1943, p. 4.

⁶³³ For example, Niall Carson, ‘Seán O’Faoláin, The Bell and Northern Ireland’ in (eds.) Kateřina Jenčová, Michaela Marková, Radvan Markus and Hana Pavelková *The Politics of Irish Writing* (Pague, 2010) and Matthews, *The Bell*.

philosophy while Father Senan embraced it ever closer. Both found themselves, admittedly via markedly different routes, in Dublin in the 1940s, editing periodicals that dealt with Irish culture and society and publishing the work of Irish writers - Father Senan from his office on Church Street and (for a brief, gloriously independent period) on Capel Street; O'Faoláin on Parkgate Street. To this mapping of Dublin publishing centres of operation in the 1940s might be added Seumas O'Sullivan's unofficial office at the underground Bodega bar on Dame Street and John Ryan's *Envoy* base on Grafton Street. Father Senan was not a typical Franciscan friar. His office on Capel Street was a meeting point for artists and writers including Jack. B. Yeats, Thomas McGreevey, Roibeard Ó Faracháin, and Francis MacManus, and his long lunches in the Gresham and Clarence hotels were recalled with fondness by Benedict Kiely:

Some long-nosed long-faced Malvolios, who were never invited to be there, used to cast eyes up and groan a bit that a member of a Mendicant Religious Order should have an account in class hotels. But apart from the spreading of bonhomie, which should surely be a Franciscan activity, Senan's occasions almost always had, to my memory, some pretty shrewd business purpose connected with the welfare and progress of Capuchin periodicals.⁶³⁴

It was inevitable that Father Senan and O'Faoláin's paths would cross socially. This is illustrated in an invitation to Father Senan to lunch at the St Stephen's Green Club in Dublin in September 1942 from David Robinson, Fianna Fáil politician, veteran of the Irish War of Independence and cousin of Erskine Childers:

I was thinking of asking John Betjeman, who is great fun, and also Seán O'Faoláin if you don't disapprove.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁴ Kiely, 'Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap.: the Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street' (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁶³⁵ David Robinson to Father Senan, 9 Sept. 1942 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, Book 1)

John Betjeman, of course, was the British poet and ostensibly the press attaché in Ireland from 1941 to 1943, though he was also reporting to the British Ministry of Information.⁶³⁶

The articles by 'Ultach'⁶³⁷ published in *The Capuchin Annual* were the impetus for a series of articles on the North published in *The Bell*. *The Capuchin Annual* published two articles by Ultach, the first in 1940, entitled 'The Persecution of Catholics in Northern Ireland', which ran over fourteen pages. This has been incorrectly identified as the article reprinted as *Orange Terror* in 1943 and the impetus for the articles in *The Bell*.⁶³⁸ In fact, *Orange Terror* was a reprint of a 70-page article entitled 'The Real Case Against Partition', published in *The Capuchin Annual* (1943) and this stimulated *The Bell's* coverage. Ultach contributed the main article, followed by responses to the article from twenty commentators from north and south that included Ernest Blythe, Denis Ireland, Gertrude Gaffney, George Nobel Count Plunkett and Maud Gonne McBride. The article opened with a powerful full-page black-and-white illustration by Richard King. Perhaps in a nod to the style set by *The Bell*, Ultach entitled part 1 of his article as 'I Live There'. Ultach detailed the persecution suffered by his family, arguing that Northern Ireland was a totalitarian state, comparable with regimes in Germany and Russia and actively persecuting Catholics. In his Editor's Letter in that edition, Father Senan wrote:

A section - a very large section – of this Annual deals with the North. It tells a terrible story – of the abandonment of 430,000 Catholics to Orange terrorism and repression... You will not read it without a

⁶³⁶ Wills, *Neutral Island*, p. 184.

⁶³⁷ Marianne Elliott has identified Ultach as J. J. Campbell, a moderate nationalist, future Queen's University professor and BBC governor.

⁶³⁸ Carson, 'Seán O'Faoláin, *The Bell* and Northern Ireland', p. 149.

burning desire to end this hellish thing... Twenty people from all walks of life, Protestant and Catholic, North and South, English and Irish, have contributed comments on the problem and its solution.

This was, Father Senan continued, 'the most complete and valuable survey of the Partition question yet prepared' and it was his 'urgent duty' to distribute it as widely as possible.⁶³⁹ And so he did. The article was reprinted as *Orange Terror: The Partition of Ireland* in August 1943, priced at half a crown. O'Faoláin instinctively opposed Partition as an unjust solution for the island of Ireland and he was impressed by Ultach's argument, but he was also not one to miss an opportunity to stir up some controversy. He published several follow-up articles to *Orange Terror* throughout 1943 and 1944. In November 1943, 'Ultach Eile' argued that the persecution of Catholics was based on economic rather than religious grounds, arising from 'the scarcity of jobs and the system of Orange foremen under a government which derives its support from the conflict thus engendered.'⁶⁴⁰ In the following issue, Harry Craig, a student at Trinity College Dublin, contributed an article entitled 'A Protestant visits Belfast'. He had been 'humiliated' by Ultach Eile's article and visited Belfast to investigate for himself. He verified Ultach Eile's thesis and warned southern Protestants 'This is done in the name of Our Religion'.⁶⁴¹ The controversy rumbled on through February and March 1944 with contributions from the Dean of Belfast and the Ulster Union Club. The Northern Irish poet Robert Greacen dismissed 'all this business of Orange Terror' as exaggerated and perpetuated by 'facile typewriters of left wing journalists

⁶³⁹ *The Capuchin Annual (1943)*, p. 643.

⁶⁴⁰ *The Bell*, Nov. 1943, p. 140.

⁶⁴¹ *The Bell*, Dec. 1943, p. 238.

whose flying visits precede authoritative articles'.⁶⁴² *The Capuchin Annual's Orange Terror* had a reach and an audience far in excess of *The Bell*. It was reprinted several times after August 1943 and at least 10,000 copies were reprinted in 1945 alone.⁶⁴³ *Orange Terror* was banned in Northern Ireland though one member of the Northern Ireland Senate, Sir Robert Nugent, objected to the ban, oddly comparing it to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to make his case: 'that was one of the dullest books ever written... no one would have bothered to read it if it hadn't been banned'.⁶⁴⁴

Reader fatigue was also on O'Faoláin's mind in March 1941, when he acknowledged that some readers were probably weary of articles on dance halls, street ballads, prisons, poaching and slum life and he issued a 'plea' for articles about 'the fine things that we ourselves make or can make now. For we are obstinate enough to see no point in articles about the gold ornaments of the museum'.⁶⁴⁵ It has been argued that this rallying call signaled the intention of *The Bell* 'to expose its readers to articles on more artistic subjects', with O'Faoláin's article on fine cottage furniture and Norah McGuinness' article on artistic window displays for Irish shops offered as evidence.⁶⁴⁶

The Bell was a self-proclaimed 'modern' periodical, yet in its coverage of the development of modern Irish art during the 1940s, it trailed behind the coverage in

⁶⁴² *The Bell*, Feb. 1944.

⁶⁴³ John English [printer of *Orange Terror*] to Father Senan 22 Jun. 1945, advising him that '10,000 copies of *Orange Terror* will be despatched week ending 7th approx' (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679 Guard Book, ix).

⁶⁴⁴ Brian Walker, *A Political History of the Two Irelands: From Partition to Peace* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 29.

⁶⁴⁵ *The Bell*, Mar. 1941, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁶ Matthews, *The Bell*, pp 43-5

The Dublin Magazine and Commentary. The Irish Exhibition of Living Art (I.E.L.A.) opened in the National College of Art, Kildare Street, Dublin, on 16 September 1943 and ran annually throughout the 1940s (and into the 1970s). The catalyst for organizing this alternative to the Royal Hibernian Academy (R.H.A.) exhibition was that institution's rejection in 1942 and 1943 of Louis le Brocquy's *The Spanish Shawl*. The I.E.L.A. aimed to provide a platform for more modernist painters and to reflect the trends of new art in Ireland. As with all cultural life in Ireland, the division between the modernists and the traditionalists was blurred, and work by 'traditionalist' and president of the R.H.A. Dermot O'Brien was shown at the I.E.L.A. alongside work by Gerard Dillon and Norah McGuinness. The I.E.L.A. had an immediate impact – the *Irish Times* declared it the 'most vital and distinguished exhibition of work by Irish artists that has ever been held'.⁶⁴⁷ Within eleven days of its opening more than 1,500 people had paid the admission fee of one shilling to visit the exhibition.⁶⁴⁸ Groups of schoolchildren were also taken to the exhibition – on 4 October 1943 alone, a group of 200 children, mostly from Synge Street schools, visited and made 'surprisingly intelligent comments' about the work on display.⁶⁴⁹ The reaction in the *Irish Press* was less effusive, noting that it was 'a very revealing symposium of the virtues and defects of the Irish artistic world of 1943; it combines the sincere with the pretentious and the phoney.'⁶⁵⁰

The I.E.L.A. was not the only significant art event of the 1940s. As Clair Wills has shown, Dublin during the Emergency became home, whether by choice or

⁶⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 16 Sept. 1943, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 1 Oct. 1943, p. 3 and 2 Oct. 1943, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 5 Oct. 1943, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁰ *Irish Press*, 16 Sept. 1943, p. 2.

necessity, to numerous writers and artists (memorably pilloried by Myles na gCopaleen as corduroy-wearing immigrant flyboys) among them T. H. White, Nick Nicholls and most notably in terms of their contribution to the Dublin art world, the White Stag Group. This group centred around British artists Basil Rakoczi and Kenneth Hall. *The Bell* did publish occasional articles on Irish art - for example, two *Irish Times* writers Arthur Power and Elizabeth Curran contributed articles on the I.E.L.A., the National Gallery collection, and the work of Nano Reid. However, the impression is that the art pages were another 'haphazard department' akin to the books pages, as described by Vivien Mercer – although even this haphazard treatment disappeared almost completely under Peadar O'Donnell's subsequent editorship. *The Bell's* coverage of the Subjective Art Exhibition at the White Stag Gallery in January 1944 is illustrative. The article was written by Herbert Read, the eminent English art critic, who had also contributed the introduction to the exhibition catalogue. Read was fulsome in his praise that art had found in Ireland a safe shelter and fresh vigour, though he neglected to mention by name a single artist in the exhibition. Read's article was directly followed by three black-and-white reproductions of paintings by Thurloe Connolly, Jocelyn Hewitt, and Nick Nicholls, with an editorial note advising readers that these were members of the White Stag Group who had been invited to comment on their work. In April 1944, *The Bell* published a letter from Basil Rakoczi and Kenneth Hall and an *erratum*, apologizing for giving the 'wrong impression' that Connolly, Hewitt and Nicholls were members of the White Stage Group. In the November issue that year, Charles Sidney - an English art critic resident in Ireland during the War – scathingly dismissed 'the purely derivative third-rate work' shown in the Subjective Art

Exhibition and implied Dublin art critics had been overawed by Herbert Read's involvement.⁶⁵¹ Ironically, this editorial inconsistency was one of O'Faoláin's complaints about Jim O'Donovan's editorship of *Ireland To-Day*: 'Have we got a policy or have we not? A blow on one side of the swing one month and another on the other another month.'⁶⁵²

In the early years of the 1940s, several of the 'Art Notes' pages of *The Dublin Magazine* were written by Frederick Carter, who provided rather esoteric musings on topics such as 'Gods and Artists' and 'The Apocalyptical Dome', with very little direct coverage of contemporary exhibitions. However, with the arrival of Edward Sheehy in 1943, the art reviews in *The Dublin Magazine* became notable for the consistent and astute coverage of the Irish art world. Sheehy's review of I.E.L.A. in 1943 is illustrative. He acknowledged that it represented the rebels and the innovators with a few academicians for window dressing, but of the many square miles of canvas on display, only a few had real artistic value:

The rest is worthless, except to those indefatigable seekers after pictures which, enshrined above the imitation Chippendale, will not do violence to the art shop bric-a-brac, the golf cups, and other trophies of prowess in respectable recreations.⁶⁵³

Sheehy was similarly scathing about the Subjective Art Exhibition, and he took umbrage at Herbert Read's condescending approach towards the Irish audience, likening it to the tone a nursemaid would take with a frightened child. Sheehy was as unimpressed with the work in the exhibition as he was with the accompanying

⁶⁵¹ *The Bell*, Nov. 1944, p. 106.

⁶⁵² Seán O'Faoláin to James O'Donovan 24 July [year not noted but probably 1936] (N.L.I. James L. O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 Folder xi).

⁶⁵³ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.-Mar. 1944, p. 42.

catalogue essay, doubting whether even one painter had said anything profound or original. In Sheehy's recording of art exhibitions in *The Dublin Magazine* – all in Dublin galleries, it should be noted – the diversity and vibrancy of the art scene comes into sharp focus. In just one issue of *The Dublin Magazine* (July–September 1945) Sheehy listed exhibitions by Cecil French Salkeld at Victor Waddington, Louis le Brocquy at 13 Merrion Row, Nick Nicholls at Contemporary Picture Galleries, Frances Kelly and William J. Leech at Dawson Gallery, and Colin Middleton at Grafton Gallery. He also contributed an article on Jack B. Yeats and reflected on the effect of the War on painting in Ireland, concluding that the 'refugees' had done a great deal of evangelizing for modernism but had little lasting effect on Irish painting. Clearly, Sheehy was not an admirer of the White Stag Group, and had previously dismissed Kenneth Hall's technique as 'so oversimplified as to be practically non-existent' and Basil Rakoczi's use of colour as 'anaemic without being subtle.'⁶⁵⁴ Despite his best efforts, Sheehy wearily complained that it was impossible to cover all the exhibitions being held in Dublin in a quarterly periodical. Fortunately, Dublin's art enthusiasts were also served well by *Commentary*.

Commentary had been launched in November 1941. Edited by Cork man Sean Dorman, *Commentary* was initially conceived as a journal for the Picture Hire Club, which offered art enthusiasts the opportunity to buy paintings by installment. The Officers of the Picture Hire Club were listed as Dermot O'Brien, Hilton Edwards, Lady Glenavy, Maud Gonne McBride and Lennox Robinson (Dorman's uncle), but it

⁶⁵⁴ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.-June 1945, p. 47.

was run by Sean Dorman and his English wife, Margaret Moffett. The venture was not a financial success: Dorman recalled that average weekly profits were about one pound and ten shillings, and it closed abruptly in April/May 1942.⁶⁵⁵ The 'Officers' were not listed from February 1942 onwards, replaced instead by a listing of the 'team' who produced *Commentary*: Dorman as Editor, Margaret Moffet as Editor of Art Notes, T. N. Hosgood as Production Manager, and Edith Crook as Publicity Manager. Moffet was Dorman's wife. Tom Hosgood was the printer, who set *Commentary* on his single printing press in his office on South William Street in Dublin. Edith Crook was Hosgood's fiancée. *Commentary* was Dorman's primary interest. He set out his stall in his first Editor's Letter in November 1941:

What is *Commentary*? It is a magazine that proposes to deal, in the main, with the affairs of art, artists, and art lovers but it is hoped to find space, in this and subsequent issues, for the other arts and the other art lovers. Plans must necessarily be cautious and editorial promises reserved, until time has shown who will support us and who will not.⁶⁵⁶

As Dorman later confessed, this mission statement was not entirely accurate:

My first love then was the stage. I was determined to develop *Commentary* into a theatre magazine, with painting holding second place. It would be truer to say that painting was to hold the third place, theatre the second, and my own writing the first. But at the time I kept my lips buttoned about this last!⁶⁵⁷

Commentary was undoubtedly a vanity project for Dorman and the relentless increase in the size and placement of his name on the front cover and on the inside pages tells its own tale of an ego unleashed. Yet, in terms of the number of magazines distributed by Eason's, *Commentary* was on a par with *The Bell* in April

⁶⁵⁵ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 110.

⁶⁵⁶ *Commentary*, Nov. 1941, p.7.

⁶⁵⁷ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 113.

1945 and actually overtook it in April 1947, when *Commentary's* circulation through Eason's was more than double that of *The Bell*. Wills has described *Commentary* as catering for a 'small elite... an affluent, self-consciously modern, European-oriented readership who liked to hear about the refitting of Jammets and the latest fashions in food and clothing'. Here Wills is presumably referring to the admittedly effusive article on the 'new-look' Jammets by Margaret Moffet and her brother the architect Noel Moffet in the February 1944 issue. Notwithstanding this, Wills' judgment is rather harsh - the charge of being 'self-consciously modern, European-oriented' could have been leveled at any number of the intelligentsia in Dublin at the time, O'Faoláin among them. It is unfortunate that Wills' description of *Commentary* in her excellent book is placed opposite a page that reproduces a full page of advertisements from *The Bell* in 1941 – among them adverts for Jammets' 'cuisine Francaise'; Shelbourne Hotel 'The Premier Hotel'; and the Gresham Hotel for fine food, choice wines'.⁶⁵⁸ The advertising content in these Dublin periodicals will be analyzed in Chapter 7, but suffice to say here all these Dublin periodicals were either pursuing this 'Jammet' audience or they were convincing advertisers that they already possessed this audience. It should also be noted here that Madame Yvonne Jammet was one of Eileen O'Faoláin's 'women of taste' (and buyers of hats) noted in her effusive article on the Galway Hat Factory in *The Bell*.⁶⁵⁹

It is true that later issues of *Commentary* became ever more focused on 'food and clothing', with interminable articles on grooming and glossy images of Hollywood

⁶⁵⁸ Wills, *Neutral Island*, p. 285.

⁶⁵⁹ *The Bell*, Jan. 1941, p. 75.

stars dominating the covers, but the early issues are notable for the editorial effort to reflect cultural life in Ireland. *Commentary* published several 'Interviews with celebrities', including poet Valentin Iremonger, architect Michael Scott, and, inevitably, Seán O'Faoláin, who was interviewed by Rex Mac Gall (a pen name of the journalist and socialist republican Deasún Breatnach) and introduced as 'the famous Irish novelist, biographer and editor of *The Bell*'.⁶⁶⁰ It should also be noted that Dorman's presence waned in later issues, with Margaret Sheehy Casey – sister of Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, who was *Commentary's* theatre critic from May-August 1945 – assuming a more dominant presence. *Commentary* is most notable for its coverage of Irish art. In May 1942, it published an article by Mainie Jellet on the state of painting in Ireland, which clearly set out her views a year before she was instrumental in establishing the I.E.L.A., describing how she was 'mortified' by the 'bad craftsmanship, vulgarity and faulty weak draughtsmanship' of most of the work shown at the R.H.A. and worried about the examples being shown to the younger generation:

The RHA must not shut its doors to life, otherwise it will of necessity die of senile decay... The present exhibition is almost all Irish so we can take stock of what academic art is and what it stands for in this country... Is this what we want as Irish art? If it is, there is no more to be said.⁶⁶¹

Commentary notably provided a regular platform for the work and activities of the White Stag Group, with articles by Basil Rokoczi, reviews of White Stag exhibitions and, in March 1946, an interview with Rokoczi by Rex Mac Gall. The caption to the large accompanying photograph, which was taken in his 'beautiful flat in

⁶⁶⁰ *Commentary*, Dec. 1945, pp 3-4.

⁶⁶¹ *Commentary*, May 1942, p. 7.

Fitzwilliam Square', described Rokoczi as the Hungarian-Irish artist and 'leader of the 'modern' group of painters in Dublin.⁶⁶² Rokoczi, of course, had been born in London and the description of him as leader of the "modern' group of painters in Dublin must surely have raised eyebrows. *Commentary's* own art critic, Theodore Goodman (a fellow émigré from London during the War, who was awarded a doctorate in philosophy from Trinity College Dublin), had, only two issues previously, argued that Dublin was slowly realizing 'that it has been taken in by all this nonsense about modern art': 'Only in Dublin would they have been considered as artists at all, owing to the general ignorance of art which is common here.'⁶⁶³

Goodman had been less explicitly dismissive in 1944, in his review of the Subjective Art Exhibition, which included work by Rakoczi, Hall, Stephen Gilbert and Nick Nicholls, but his judgment was similar:

Whatever one may think of their aesthetic value, Dublin should be grateful to the [White Stag] group for the spade work they have done in preparing a reactionary public to receive some of the really experimental work of the last forty years when at last it reaches these shores after the war.⁶⁶⁴

Even in the later issues of *Commentary*, Goodman's articles are notable for the considered and incisive analysis of Irish art. In addition to exhibition reviews, he also contributed articles on individual artists such as Yeats and Gerard Dillon, and more general articles on art patronage and 'Irish art in everyday life', which argued that the work of contemporary Irish artists should be incorporated into public buildings ('Let Hennessy paint his gothic castles on the walls of the Department of

⁶⁶² *Commentary*, Mar. 1946, p. 7.

⁶⁶³ *Commentary*, Jan. 1946, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁴ *Commentary*, Feb. 1944, p. 3.

Supplies') and used by advertising agencies to promote Ireland, replacing the 'vulgar, crude posters of hack artists'.⁶⁶⁵

John Ryan, in the first issue of *Envoy* in December 1949, declared 'With this issue a new Irish literary magazine is born' and *Envoy* self-consciously endeavoured to fill the vacuum created by the suspension of *The Bell* in 1948. However, Ryan was also an artist, who had studied painting for a time at the National College of Art, so it is hardly surprising that articles on Irish art would also appear. In fact, the Editorial in the April 1950 issue declared that *Envoy's* mission was to:

Provide a serious monthly magazine of contemporary literature and art for the Irish reading public... and to present to the world all that is outstanding and genuinely creative in Irish art.⁶⁶⁶

Interestingly, *Envoy* eschewed art critics, in the main, in favour of critiques of Irish artists written by their peers - Daniel O'Neill by Cecil Ffrench Salkeld, George Campbell by Patrick Collins, and Nano Reid by Patrick Swift, although Edward Sheehy also contributed an article on Colin Middleton. It is also worthy of note that the majority of artists featured in *Envoy* were represented by Victor Waddington Galleries, which was also an advertiser in every issue. *Envoy* published black-and-white reproductions of artists' work, bound in on white gloss paper. However, the quality and placement of the images was so poor that the inclusion may have had the opposite of the desired effect in raising awareness of the artists' work. It is, then, all the more remarkable that more than a decade earlier, another Dublin periodical could publish full-page colour reproductions of Irish artists' work.

⁶⁶⁵ *Commentary*, Aug. 1945, p. 13.

⁶⁶⁶ *Envoy*, Apr. 1950, pp 9-11.

In 1934, *The Capuchin Annual* introduced colour reproductions on the frontispiece, in the form of a tipped in colour plate (from 1938 onwards this was bound in rather than tipped in) featuring *The Crucifixion*, from a painting by Seán O’Sullivan. This set the style for all subsequent editions, and work by artists such as Seán MacManus, Harry Clarke, John Lavery, and William Orpen appeared on the frontispiece during Father Senan’s editorship.

Seán O’Sullivan and Richard King were the primary beneficiaries of these colour sections. O’Sullivan and King were something of house artists at *The Capuchin Annual* and illustrated many of the short stories and plays published therein. In the 1937 edition, a feature on O’Sullivan ran over 28 pages and included 18 reproductions of his paintings, of which eight were reproduced in colour, tipped in on heavy paper stock.⁶⁶⁷ In 1943, a somewhat more modest treatment was afforded to King – five full-page black-and-white drawings and four colour reproductions (bound in on white gloss paper) and again in 1945/6, King’s illustrations of five Irish saints were reproduced in colour in an eight-page section. In 1940, seven paintings from the Crawford Municipal School of Art in Cork were reproduced in colour including *The Blessing of the Colours* by John Lavery and *The Kitchen Window* by Leo Whelan.⁶⁶⁸ Even if their work was not reproduced in colour, contemporary artists whose work was featured in lavish full-page illustrations included the sculptors Seamus Murphy (1939) and Laurence Campbell (1945/6), who was allocated sixteen pages to illustrate the progression of his work on the statue of Seán Heuston.

⁶⁶⁷ ‘Drawings and Paintings by Seán O’Sullivan’ in *The Capuchin Annual (1937)*, pp 159–87.

⁶⁶⁸ *The Capuchin Annual (1940)*. The colour section is bound in, unpaginated, at p. 176.

There is little doubt that the Irish artists selected for coverage in *The Capuchin Annual* indicated an editorial bias towards the traditional and figurative school of Irish art. Religious art, Irish landscapes, and portraiture (if the subject had a nationalist connection, all the better) dominated. The establishment of the I.E.L.A. in 1943 was pointedly ignored. Father Senan chose instead to devote fifty-eight pages in the 1943 edition to 'Pictures in the National Gallery'. The premise for the article was that, due to the Emergency, the paintings had been moved to a safer location and, the author of the article wrote: 'this would seem but a further reason to remind ourselves of the treasures of art which the Irish nation and people have collected for their own and their posterity's cultural interest and pleasure'.⁶⁶⁹ The fact that the author of this piece was Thomas McGreevy, modernist and art critic at the *Irish Times*, is an irony that cannot have been lost on artists and critics of the time.

However, the editorial line on the visual arts appears to have softened by 1949, perhaps due to the influence and friendship of McGreevy. In the 1949 edition, McGreevy contributed an article entitled 'Fifty Years of Irish Painting: 1900–1950', which included the work of work of Tuohy and Orpen alongside Mainie Jellett and Evie Hone:

I should say that since 1900 the ground has shifted perceptibly. Irish painting now is much more comprehensively expressive of the Irish nation and the Irish people than Irish painting in 1900.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁹ *The Capuchin Annual (1943)*, p. 386.

⁶⁷⁰ 'Fifty Years of Irish Painting' in *The Capuchin Annual (1949)*, p. 497.

No discussion of Irish artists during the 1940s is complete without reference to Jack B. Yeats, though an analysis of the development of Yeats' work is beyond the scope of this study.⁶⁷¹ Suffice to say here, paintings such as *A Political Meeting* (1905), *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* and *The Liffey Swim* (1923) had established him as one of the leading Irish artists of the time. However, the 1940s witnessed a dramatic change of style, and his Third Period, as Fallon denotes it, was not universally acclaimed. Fallon argues that Yeats' late work:

Puzzled many who had followed him faithfully and could not make the quantum leap of comprehension when his style grew increasingly broken, iridescent and full of shapes and figures which had emerged through a thick veil of paint.⁶⁷²

Yeats' biographer, Hilary Pyle, wrote in the context of the less than enthusiastic reception to Yeats' exhibition with Sir William Nicholson at the National Gallery of England in 1942: 'His complete individualism evidently baffled the English viewers of that later period.'⁶⁷³ However, art critics at *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Bell*, *Commentary* and *Envoy* were unanimous in their admiration for Yeats, and glowing reviews of his work appeared regularly throughout the 1940s. Father Senan brought a campaigning zeal to the promotion of Yeats that extended beyond the pages of *The Capuchin Annual*. The 1942 edition dedicated fourteen pages, including colour reproductions, to three paintings by Yeats: *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory, The Funeral of Harry Boland*, and *Communicating with Prisoners*. If the production was lavish, so, too, was the language used by the author of the article. McGreevy acclaimed Yeats as a genius 'nationally and humanly precious' who had

⁶⁷¹ For studies of the work of Jack B. Yeats, see for example, Rudi Fuchs, Stephen Snoddy and Mark Haworth Booth, *Jack B Yeats: The Late Paintings* (Bristol, London and The Hague, 1991), Hilary Pyle, *Jack B Yeats: A Biography* (London, 1989) and 'Jack B. Yeats - 'A Complete Individualist' in *Irish Arts Review*, ix, (1993) p. 86.

⁶⁷² Fallon, *An Age of Innocence*, p. 241.

⁶⁷³ Hilary Pyle, 'Jack B. Yeats - 'A Complete Individualist' in *Irish Arts Review* ix, (1993) p. 87.

'lifted modern Irish art to such a mood of historical and spiritual exaltation and to such an aesthetic plane as it had never reached before.'⁶⁷⁴

This positioning of Yeats as a national treasure was given full expression in the 1945/46 *Annual*, in which twenty-one pages (including reproductions of eight paintings, albeit in black and white) were dedicated to The Yeats Exhibition at the National College of Art. The author of the accompanying article, C. P. Curran, wrote that this was the first nationwide tribute paid in his lifetime to any Irish artist: 'In this case to the greatest of Irish artists... no painter could belong more thoroughly than Mr. Yeats belongs to Ireland.'⁶⁷⁵ What is particularly noteworthy about this exhibition is the revelation in a letter from Jack B. Yeats to Father Senan on 11 November 1944:

I have come to the conclusion that it would be better that the loan exhibition which you have had in your thoughts should be held next summer than at some more distant date. Because next year after the exhibition I might be better able to prove that I am still painting fit and able to worry the people than later on. I will prepare and send you the list of owners of paintings of mine in Ireland and thanking you again for your generous idea.⁶⁷⁶

That the 'generous idea' was acted upon is made clear, by the listing of the members of the organising committee in the 1945/46 exhibition – the chairman of the Committee was The Rev Fr. Senan O.F.M.Cap. The campaign of support for Yeats did not stop there. In the 1948 edition, Fr. Senan announced that he had the honour of being associated with a cultural work of national importance in the autumn of 1947:

⁶⁷⁴ *The Capuchin Annual (1942)*, pp 238-51.

⁶⁷⁵ *The Capuchin Annual (1945-6)*, p. 110.

⁶⁷⁶ Jack B. Yeats to Father Senan, 11 Nov. 1944 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, ii).

When a purely private and tentative suggestion was put forward that Mr. Jack B. Yeats' superb painting *Above the Fair*, ought to be acquired for the nation, Monsieur Louis Jammet begged on Madame Jammet's behalf to be allowed to offer the first subscription. That started the ball rolling.⁶⁷⁷

The names of the other subscribers included Frank Fahy T.D. and Ceann Comhairle, Lord Moyne, Victor Waddington, Lord Killanin, Richard McGonigal, Terence de Vere White, and Eleanor Lady Yarrow. The painting was offered to the National Gallery and accepted with gratitude.⁶⁷⁸ The tantalising revelation that Louis Jammet, proprietor of Jammet's of Nassau Street, the most fashionable restaurant of the time, and a Capuchin monk 'set the ball rolling' among the great and the good of Dublin, is illustrative of the remarkable role played by Father Senan in the cultural and social life of the city.

.....

In November 1944, O'Faoláin set down his thoughts 'On Editing a Magazine'. *The Bell* had, he wrote, published articles on social and economic questions such as jails, crime, illegitimacy, and slums. They did not 'produce a whisper of comment'. And yet this is the editorial content for which *The Bell* is memorialized - and rightly so. As ever, Terence Brown's summation is crystalline: 'previously unsayable things got said'.⁶⁷⁹ *The Bell* was not the only periodical to publish articles on social and economic questions: *Commentary* was vociferous in its opposition to censorship, and Dorman castigated the 'little self-appointed caucuses of clerics and clods who

⁶⁷⁷ *The Capuchin Annual (1948)*, p. 599.

⁶⁷⁸ Acknowledgement of the donation of *Above the Fair* in the collection of the National Gallery reads: 'Presented, Reverend Senan, on behalf of a group of private citizens, 1947.' National Gallery of Ireland Online Collection, entry for Jack B. Yeats, *Above the Fair*. [http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/view/objects/asitem/People\\$00402900/4?t:state=flow=f0be254e-96bd-485d-8597-f250e65c8d3f](http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/view/objects/asitem/People$00402900/4?t:state=flow=f0be254e-96bd-485d-8597-f250e65c8d3f), (4 Aug. 2012).

⁶⁷⁹ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 193.

sniff around our libraries seeking smut and who would impose their hare brained notions of morality on their intellectual betters'.⁶⁸⁰ *Envoy*, predictably, also opposed censorship and the lack of State support for Irish writers. *The Capuchin Annual* allocated 36 pages to denounce vivisection in 1942.

If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then O'Faoláin ought to have been pleased by *Feature*, which promised investigative (and illustrated) journalism that reflected Irish 'life'. *Feature* did publish occasional articles that fulfilled this mission – in September 1946, for example, it published an illustrated article by Martin Dalton on Dublin's 'picaroons', the young boys and elderly women who earned a miserly living by raking through Dublin's refuse heaps to salvage bottles, rags and even hair.⁶⁸¹ However, the editorial focus became increasingly centred on 'human interest' stories and soft-focus pieces on individuals like Sean Lemass 'the man who kept the world from the Irish door throughout the darkest days of the Emergency'⁶⁸² and Jack O'Sheehan 'lawyer, actor, soldier, patriot and publisher' and, usefully, director of publicity for Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes.⁶⁸³ It must have been all the more galling, then, when *Feature* declared in February 1947 that it had a readership of over 20,000, though that claim should be treated with the same caution as all publisher-declared circulations. However, it is a fact that the circulation of *Feature* through Eason's in April 1947 was double that of *The Bell*. Despite the occasional forays into this arena by peer periodicals, *The Bell* was unique in its consistent coverage of social life and ills in Ireland at the time.

⁶⁸⁰ *Commentary*, Jun. 1942, p. 1.

⁶⁸¹ *Feature*, Sept. 1946, p. 11.

⁶⁸² *Feature*, Mar. 1946, p. 15.

⁶⁸³ *Feature*, Nov. 1946, p. 12.

This chapter aimed to hold up a mirror to intellectual periodical publishing in Dublin in 1940s and ask whether it reflects only *The Bell*. The evidence suggests that it does not. *The Bell* holds iconic status in twentieth-century Irish history, to the detriment of many of its peer periodicals: some surpassed *The Bell* in specific respects, and some did not. These periodicals and their respective editors operated within overlapping spheres of activity and influence in Dublin, particularly during the Emergency, when international outlets were closed to them. Together, these Dublin periodicals weaved a rich tapestry, reflecting life in Ireland through the 1940s.

In 1973, in its final incarnation some fifteen years after Seumas O'Sullivan's death, *The Dublin Magazine* appeared on Irish newsstands again. The opening Editorial noted that 50 years had passed since the establishment of *The Dublin Magazine* and wondered how it had survived its severest test, the War, when so many other periodicals had failed. The editor of *The Dublin Magazine* in 1973 was John Ryan, former editor of *Envoy*, and the consultant editor was Anthony Cronin, former associate editor at *The Bell*. There is a pleasing symmetry to this union of three of the most remarkable Irish periodicals of the twentieth century.

In light of the relative neglect of *The Dublin Magazine* by researchers over subsequent years, it is somewhat heartening to note that, among his peers at least, both O'Sullivan and his periodical were held in high esteem. In that opening editorial in 1973, simply entitled 'Seumas O'Sullivan', John Ryan paid tribute to

O'Sullivan, 'a gifted poet, an able and courageous editor and a concerned and honest friend of generations of Irish writers':

He not only survived, seemingly unscathed, many immersions in the piranha-rich ocean of Irish culture, but managed also to paddle his canoe safely between the Scylla of the State and the Charybdis of the Cloth, an exercise in pilotage worthy of the great Palinurus himself.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸⁴ *The Dublin Magazine*, Autumn/Winter 1973, pp 4-5.

7. Financial operation

*'We have done our best, we are apparently on the verge of failure, no better after all than all the other failures that have gone before us.'*⁶⁸⁵

In Chapter 2, I have argued that the convergence of culture and commerce in the pages of a periodical has been notably under-researched and, in this area, Irish research is out of step with international research on periodicals – for example, one of the guiding principles of the Modernist Journals Projects in the U.S.A. is that it will only use copies of journals that have their original advertising intact. The research neglect of advertising content in periodicals has also been exacerbated by the regrettably common library practice in the past of stripping out the commercial pages before binding and preserving the editorial content, and presenting these as the 'unsullied' records of periodical culture. The lines of demarcation between editorial and commercial concerns are far more fluid than this crude division suggests.

This chapter then will consider the commercial realities of intellectual and literary periodical publishing in Dublin during the period under review, focusing on advertising, subscriptions and patronage. Retail sales were obviously another revenue stream for publishers of these periodicals. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the number of copies of these periodicals distributed through Eason's was modest compared, for example, to the remarkable and audited circulation of *Dublin Opinion*, and retail sales revenue was further constricted by the

⁶⁸⁵ James O'Donovan to Dr. Patrick McCartan 12 Feb. 1938 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (x))

requirement to provide the distributor with a discount off the retail price of the periodical - for example, O'Sullivan paid Eason's 33% of the sales revenue to distribute *The Dublin Magazine*.

The fundamental question is how did these periodicals survive financially in an Irish publishing environment that was dominated by religious periodicals on one side and women's magazines on the other, flooded with British imports and hamstrung by the years of the Emergency when international markets were closed to them? The business operation of these periodicals has not been comprehensively interrogated. As shown in Chapter 6 many writers moved fluidly between these intellectual periodicals, driven by the dual imperative to find an outlet for their work and to earn a living. Considered together, these periodicals weaved a rich publishing tapestry. An integral part of that tapestry, and a strand that has been relatively neglected in the literature, are the financial supporters, whether in the form of advertising or patronage. This chapter will consider how the editors of these periodicals defined their readerships and the strategies they employed to navigate such a competitive commercial environment.

All periodicals will attempt to define their readership as a community or a group apart, for the very prosaic reason that engagement by the readers in the magazine is vital to the survival of the magazine. As Richard Kearney noted, the purpose of a magazine is 'dialogue and by extension, community.'⁶⁸⁶ Margaret Beetham argued

⁶⁸⁶ Richard Kearney, *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture* (Dublin, 1988), p.267.

that ‘the periodical and the audience help create each other’.⁶⁸⁷ Victoria Bazin noted in her work on *The Dial* that the reader was constructed ‘not as an indiscriminating consumer but as a citizen of the arts.’⁶⁸⁸ We see, then, in 1932, Mary Manning declaring that The Gate audience and by extension the readers of *Motley* were ‘highly intelligent... drawn from all classes and all ages of people’.⁶⁸⁹ In 1937, in a letter to a prospective contributor, James O’Donovan requested an article that would be appropriate for the ‘intelligent lay readers’ of *Ireland To-Day*.⁶⁹⁰ Seumas O’Sullivan suggested his readers were visionaries ‘who shared our faith in the cultural future of this country.’⁶⁹¹ Father Senan described subscribers to *The Capuchin Annual* as an army. The process of audience definition is clearly illustrated by O’Faoláin throughout the 1930s in advance of the publication of *The Bell* in 1940. His experience as a commercial traveller for the Talbot Press had convinced him that there was a new middle class that had money to buy books if they were encouraged. His tenure as books editor at *Ireland To-Day* – short-lived and tumultuous though it was - had reinforced his view that there was a potential audience in Ireland for a new ‘forward magazine’⁶⁹²:

We need to build up an image, for the public – which simply is dying for need of leadership – of a manly, cultivated, fearless, decent-living, quick-witted, cant-hating, tradition-fearing (for the time being) Irish individual. He is our norm.⁶⁹³

All of this culminated in O’Faoláin’s clarion call to his readers in the first issue of *The Bell*. Four years later, O’Faoláin reflected that the readership of *The Bell* was

⁶⁸⁷ Cited in Elizabeth Dickins, ‘Permanent books: the reviewing and advertising of books in the *Nation and Athenaeum*’ in *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, p. 172.

⁶⁸⁸ Bazin, *Hysterical virgins and Little Magazines*, p. 57.

⁶⁸⁹ *Motley*, Sept. 1932, p.2.

⁶⁹⁰ James O’Donovan to Father Martindale, 14 Jan. 1937 (N.L.I. James O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (X)).

⁶⁹¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept. 1943, p. 1.

⁶⁹² Seán O’Faoláin to James O’Donovan, 3 Aug. 1936 (N.L.I. James O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (XI)).

⁶⁹³ Seán O’Faoláin to James O’Donovan 12 Aug. 1936 (N.L.I. James O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (XI)).

satisfyingly small: ‘not so small as to be eclectic, not so large as to be popular... pretty certain to represent an intelligent selective public’. O’Faoláin, of course, could not resist the temptation for hyperbole, claiming in the very same article that *The Bell* was seen by 30,000 people and that his role as editor was ‘a curiously subtle form of collaboration between himself and his public’ and he was cognizant of the fact that he had a responsibility to thousands of people he had never met ‘whose views I could hope [but only hope] were as intelligent as my own’.⁶⁹⁴ Apparently fewer attained this lofty benchmark than had been hoped. As discussed in Chapter 3, the highest recorded number of copies of *The Bell* distributed by Eason’s (according to extant distribution data) was 2,067 in April 1945.⁶⁹⁵ Even if the unsubstantiated claim that 1,000 copies of *The Bell* were sent abroad is accepted,⁶⁹⁶ the total average number of copies distributed was dramatically less than O’Faoláin’s aspirations for a 30,000-strong readership.

The Bell’s Questionnaire, published in the May 1945 issue,⁶⁹⁷ has been offered as evidence of *The Bell’s* commitment to writer–reader dialogue, along with the regular calls for contributions and publication of letters from readers. Of course, there was interaction with readers of *The Bell* (most clearly in Michael Farrell’s ‘Gulliver’ column) but this writer–reader dialogue is a fundamental tenet of publishing and certainly not unique to *The Bell*. The drawbacks of encouraging ‘dialogue’ are amusingly illustrated by *Motley’s* short-lived foray into public symposia a decade before *The Bell’s* questionnaire. In November 1932 Manning

⁶⁹⁴ *The Bell*, Nov. 1944, p 94.

⁶⁹⁵ News circulation figures 1868 – 1965 (EAS/A1/6/1/4).

⁶⁹⁶ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 38.

⁶⁹⁷ *The Bell*, May 1945, p. 187.

announced that, as so many interesting points had been made in *Motley's* lively correspondence page, *Motley* had decided to hold a series of symposia. The 'public' was invited to attend and speakers at the first symposium ('Should the theatre be international?') included Frank O'Connor, Peadar O'Donnell, Seumas O'Sullivan, Maud Gonne and Erskine Childers.⁶⁹⁸ Manning reported that 350 'earnest students of drama attended' but she wearily noted that the discussion was gradually reduced to the burning questions: 'where were you in 1916? Or what did you do in 1922? And is it necessary to be pre-truce IRA to write a good play?'⁶⁹⁹ A subsequent symposium on the topic of 'The cinema will eventually supersede the stage' attracted a full house and much applause, but it was also noted that:

A Gael then mounted the platform and after a few preliminary remarks in Gaelic, for which he was loudly cheered by an alcoholic gentleman, he proceeded to tell us that we didn't want so much of this international drama here; no, we wanted more nationalism, more local drama, that's what we wanted.

This tirade was, the report continued, encouraged by the 'alcoholic gentleman's shouts of 'Up Dev' and 'No more bloody English'.⁷⁰⁰ Perhaps, then, O'Faoláin was eminently sensible in restricting *The Bell's* brief questionnaire to enquiries about the editorial content of his periodical - as discovered by Mary Manning, an imagined readership could be more comforting than the stark reality. *The Bell* questionnaire was not a 'reader survey'.⁷⁰¹ Although *The Bell* had declared it was 'your magazine', it showed a notable lack of interest in who its readers were and the questions were limited to requesting views on the regular features, the extent

⁶⁹⁸ *Motley*, Nov. 1932, p. 7.

⁶⁹⁹ *Motley*, Dec. 1932, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁰ *Motley*, Christmas Number, 1933, p. 10.

⁷⁰¹ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 73.

of literary content, and readers' general opinion of *The Bell*. In his analysis of the responses in the July 1945 issue, 'Scrutator' (presumably O'Faoláin) referred to the replies that 'flowed for two months in ungummed envelopes into *The Bell* office', but he did not reveal how many replies had been received, merely noting that Gulliver's main support came from the provinces. 'Scrutator' included two responses in full 'to give some further idea of the nature of those comments' that had been received, though they say more about the editor than the reader:

Your Editor is one of those unique Irish writers who use their heads as well as their stomachs, who combine fine writing with serious, deliberate complex thought.

I find in all the Editor writes with a passion for truth and fair play, warm humanity and sensible idealism.⁷⁰²

O'Faoláin was not unique in making questionable claims about circulation. In a letter to the Arts Council of Great Britain on 22 March 1950, John Ryan, editor of *Envoy*, claimed that net sales of the April 1950 issue of *Envoy* would be about 7,000 copies.⁷⁰³ Ryan also demonstrated that particular predilection of editors when he claimed that the December 1949 issue had sold out. On 28 December 1949, a statement to the printer Cahill & Co. from *Envoy* itemized 2,500 copies printed at a cost of £158,⁷⁰⁴ but in his letter to the Manager of the Munster & Leinster Bank on 14 September 1950, Ryan stated that the 'circulation' of the first issue had been 1,500 copies. The circulation of the April 1950 issue was stated at 4,000, which is somewhat less than the 7,000 copies claimed in his letter to the Arts Council of Great Britain. Nonetheless, these are relatively impressive

⁷⁰² *The Bell*, Jul. 1945, p. 436.

⁷⁰³ John Ryan to The Arts Council of Great Britain 22 Mar. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

⁷⁰⁴ Unsigned letter to Cahill & Co., 28 Dec. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

circulation figures for *Envoy* and yet the implication of Ryan's letter to the bank was that a loan was required – Ryan wrote that £500 was owed to the company and he was personally prepared to act as guarantor, stating his willingness 'if required to place such securities as I possess for this purpose'.⁷⁰⁵

The opening editorial in the first issue of *Envoy* in 1949, signed by John Ryan (editor), Valentin Iremonger (poetry editor) and J. K. Hillman (associate editor), defined *Envoy* readers as 'all those who have at heart good writing in general and good Irish writing in particular'.⁷⁰⁶ Ryan was rather more specific in his private correspondence, claiming that the readership of *Envoy* was 'a really discerning one and not merely the kind who simply buys a magazine to while away an idle hour'.⁷⁰⁷ Rather more provocatively, Ryan declared to the writer Mervyn Wall, as he declined two short stories submitted by the writer for being 'too light', that *Envoy* was 'aimed at an intellectual reading public'.⁷⁰⁸ One may only surmise the reaction of Wall, who had of course been a regular contributor to *The Capuchin Annual* and *The Bell*. Ryan was quite duplicitous where *The Bell* was concerned, alternatively positioning *Envoy* as the successor or the antithesis of *The Bell*. The inaugural editorial made an oblique reference to the vacuum created by the suspension of *The Bell*: 'For two years the reading public have not had a monthly magazine dedicated to literature and the arts.'⁷⁰⁹ In a template letter that was apparently intended for John Hewitt, Donagh MacDonagh, and Austin Clarke, Ryan

⁷⁰⁵ John Ryan to D. Connolly, Manager, Munster & Leinster Bank, 14 Sept. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁷⁰⁶ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁷⁰⁷ John Ryan to Miss S. E. Nicholson, 8 Nov. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁷⁰⁸ John Ryan to Mervyn Wall, 23 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-6).

⁷⁰⁹ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

assured these writers that *Envoy* would 'satisfy a longfelt want for native writers who, since the decline of *The Bell*, have had no proper outlet for their various talent.'⁷¹⁰ Ryan was rather more forthright in a letter to Brian O'Nolan on 17 September 1949, acknowledging that *Envoy* would be 'something between *The Bell* and *Horizon*' though any similarity with *The Bell* would be due to the fact that *Envoy* would have to draw to a certain extent from the same reservoir of writers as *The Bell*. However, Ryan was definitive on one point:

We definitely do not intend to publish the chatty type of articles (how to live on £200 a year. What it means to be a Protestant, etc) or to engage in the futile political and cultural controversies which became the hallmark of *The Bell*.⁷¹¹

Ryan was even more scathing of *The Bell* in a letter to M. J. Molloy on 14 December 1949:

We're trying hard not to be like *The Bell*... O'Faoláin (the frustrated republican) with his anti-celtism and his general contrariness... and Peadar O'Donnell with his muddled sociological meanderings reduced *The Bell* to the status of a political journal and not a very good one at that I fear.⁷¹²

Nonetheless, as with Dorman at *Commentary*, Ryan saw the benefit of a 'name' on the front cover – Dorman had admitted that he published Jack B. Yeats' short story 'A Fast Trotting Mare' solely for the sake of getting Yeats' name on the cover. So, too, Ryan saw the advantages of including O'Faoláin in the first issue of *Envoy*, The request was made by Iremonger, but Ryan wrote personally to O'Faoláin, enclosed his fee of £4-4-0 for the short story *The Song of Solomon McGinty* and thanked him 'for having honoured us with a contribution for our first issue'.⁷¹³

⁷¹⁰ Typed letter from John Ryan, 2 Sept. 1949. The names John Hewitt, Donagh McDonagh, and Austin Clarke are handwritten at the top of the letter, alongside the date 12 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁷¹¹ John Ryan to Brian O'Nolan, 17 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

⁷¹² John Ryan to M. J. Molloy, 14 Dec. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

⁷¹³ John Ryan to Sean O'Faoláin, 5 Oct. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

In stark contrast, Father Senan paid scant attention to the convolutions of editors desperately trying to pitch their wagon among the intelligentsia. In 1943 Father Senan declared:

Our policy of insistence on the best, as far as we can discover and estimate it, in literature and art, has the enthusiastic approval not of the clique or the few but of the people everywhere and in all walks of life.⁷¹⁴

Five years later, he declared that the Association of Patrons of *The Capuchin Annual*: (launched in 1942) were: 'Now numbering thousands, they are almost become an army.'⁷¹⁵ Father Senan also took the unusual step of printing in *The Capuchin Annual* signed statements of print runs. A full page in the 1934 edition was allocated to the declaration: 'Of this edition of *The Capuchin Annual* 15,000 copies are being printed. Signed Fr. Senan O.M.Cap 24 November 1933.'⁷¹⁶ This was followed by signed declarations of print runs of 20,000 copies in 1936, 21,000 copies in 1937 and 25,000 copies in 1940, which was co-signed by Fr. Senan O.M.Cap and Fr. Gerald O.M.Cap.

Why, then, were the editors of these periodicals so concerned with defining their readership and stating (or exaggerating) the circulation numbers of their respective periodicals? There was presumably some intellectual gratification to be gained from developing a substantial audience but there was also a very prosaic commercial reason – these editors were acutely aware of, and involved with, the need to attract advertisers to support their work in what was a very competitive market. This commercial imperative is demonstrated by the publishers of *Dublin*

⁷¹⁴ *The Capuchin Annual* (1943), p. 513.

⁷¹⁵ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 599.

⁷¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 33.

Opinion, who decided to have their circulation figures audited and approved by the A.B.C. in London from 1934 onwards.⁷¹⁷ This A.B.C.-audited circulation was then heralded: for example, the entire inside front cover of the July 1935 edition was allocated to an advertisement that proclaimed: ‘Sound reasons why you should advertise, guaranteed net sales of 41,130 – the largest circulation of any monthly journal in Ireland’.⁷¹⁸ The intellectual and literary periodicals had modest circulations compared with *Dublin Opinion*, the daily press and popular women’s magazines, but the commercial imperative was just as pressing – if they could not compete on readership numbers, then they would have to differentiate themselves by the quality of their readership. Peadar O’Donnell may have been more involved than O’Faoláin in the commercial operation of *The Bell*, but clearly O’Faoláin was also aware of the commercial realities, as he advised James O’Donovan, editor of *Ireland To-day*: ‘You win the interest of the public, increase circulation, sell it to the business-men.’⁷¹⁹

On occasion, the lines between editorial and commercial activities were somewhat blurred at *The Bell* and the suspicion must be that there was a link between Eileen O’Faoláin’s effusive six-page feature on the Galway Hat Factory in the January 1941 issue and the subsequent placement of several full-page advertisements from Les Modes Modernes, the business name for the factory, later that year. Similarly, a short story entitled *Ariel*, which was published in the October 1940 issue of *The Bell*, arouses suspicion. The story was written by J. J. O’Leary, owner of

⁷¹⁷ Net sales of *Dublin Opinion* 1930-1957 (Audit Bureau of Circulations). Provided by the A.B.C. by email to this writer, 31 Jul. 2014.

⁷¹⁸ *Dublin Opinion*, Jul. 1935, inside front cover.

⁷¹⁹ Seán O’Faoláin to James O’Donovan, 3 Aug.1936, (N.L.I. James O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,,987 (XI)).

Cahill & Co., the printers of *The Bell*. But the relationship went deeper than that – *The Bell's* office was based at Cahill & Co. on Parkgate Street in Dublin and O'Faoláin described O'Leary to Francis MacManus as a 'reasonable and generous employer', as the pair worked together on O'Leary's Mellifont Classics series of out-of-copyright classics.⁷²⁰

Kelly Matthews noted that *The Bell* was fortunate to have a few faithful advertisers, among them Pye Radio 'whose adverts covered nearly every back cover of the magazine' and whose principal, J. P. Digby, contributed articles on inland fisheries to *The Bell*.⁷²¹ Pye Radio was established in Ireland in 1936 by C. O. Stanley, who was also involved with the founding of Arks Advertising in Dublin in 1930.⁷²² J. P. Digby was, in fact, a 'leading authority on Irish fisheries'⁷²³ and contributed four articles to *The Bell*, where O'Donnell would have been particularly receptive to his views – namely, that Irish fisheries had been ruinously neglected for a century to the detriment of the 'working fisherman' and that, if radical reform and development were implemented, this 'latent natural wealth of the State' could become a tremendous asset and source of wealth. If, Digby argued, Ireland could achieve Scottish production levels, the export value of Irish fisheries would increase by one million pounds a year.⁷²⁴ The editor's approval was declared in a footnote to Digby's article on 'A Hundred Years of Irish Fisheries' published in *The Bell* in April 1941, which urged readers to take up Digby's arguments with their

⁷²⁰ Sean O'Faoláin to Francis MacManus, 9 Dec. 1943 (N.L.I. Francis MacManus Papers, MS 48, 212/6).

⁷²¹ Matthews, *The Bell* p.68.

⁷²² Mark Frankland, *Radio Man: the remarkable rise and fall of C.O. Stanley* (London: The Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2002), p. 242.

⁷²³ *The Spectator*, 20 Apr. 1956, p. 31.

⁷²⁴ J. P. Digby, 'A Hundred Years of Irish Fisheries' in *The Bell*, Apr. 1941, pp 31-40.

T.D.s 'if you are as impressed as we are'.⁷²⁵ The editorial and commercial relationship between Digby/Pye and *The Bell* continued for more than a decade. In 1951, Browne and Nolan published Digby's *Emigration: The Answer*, which developed his argument that the inland fisheries, if properly developed, would generate wealth and employment and counter the blight of emigration. *The Bell* published an article by Digby on emigration in November 1951 and followed this with a six-page review of *Emigration: The Answer* in the December 1951 issue. Notably, this review was not included with book reviews in that issue, but was instead listed separately as a feature article, preceded by four poems by Anthony Cronin and followed by an essay by Hubert Butler. The reviewer concluded that 'Mr. Digby is to be congratulated on writing so stimulating a book and creating such wide vistas for Irish endeavour.' Digby's connection with another major advertiser in *The Bell* should also be noted. The board of Pye Radio included the Cork business magnate William Dwyer, owner of Dwyer & Co. and its offshoot Sunbeam Wolsley Hosiery. Sunbeam Wolsley took regular full-page advertisements in *The Bell*, at times taking the inside back cover when Pye Radio was placed on the outside back cover.

The origin of the major advertisements in *Envoy* is also noteworthy. Full-page advertisements for Monument Creameries ran in every issue of *Envoy*, and usually on the premium inside front cover. Monument Creameries was owned by John Ryan's parents, Agnes and Seamus. They were staunch Republicans, providing aid, funds and shelter to the I.R.A. during the War of Independence, although Agnes

⁷²⁵ *The Bell*, Apr. 1941, p. 40.

became disillusioned and embittered by the Civil War and did not share her husband's enthusiasm for de Valera. Seamus was elected as a Fianna Fáil Senator in 1931, but he died suddenly in 1933 and Agnes ran the business thereafter. The first Monument Creamery opened on Parnell Street in Dublin in 1918, selling only Irish produce, and by the 1940s the Ryans had twenty-six shops, two bakeries, two tearooms, a pub and over 500 employees. Agnes was also a patron of the arts, collecting the work of Jack B. Yeats and commissioning Sean O'Sullivan to paint portraits of her children.⁷²⁶ It is then hardly surprising that she would support her son's endeavours with *Envoy*, by placing support advertisements for Monument Creameries in each issue. However, there is an odd entry in the financial records for *Envoy*. In its statement of affairs dated 10 December 1952, The Envoy Publishing Company stated the amount owed to its sundry creditors as £783-13-2. In a separate, undated and handwritten list of creditors, the total amount owed is calculated at £735-13-4. Among these creditors is listed the Monument Creameries, Lower Camden Street, which is owed £110-0-0 and 'Advts' is written in pencil alongside the entry. The Monument Creameries was not included on the accompanying list of Debtors, which listed primarily the advertisers in *Envoy*. How then did *Envoy* come to owe Monument Creameries, its primary advertiser, the not insignificant sum of £110, second only to the sum owed to Cahill & Co., the printers of *Envoy*? Furthermore, throughout April–July 1951, Ryan signed cheques each month from Envoy Publishing to Monument Creameries of £5 and £6 each time. In September 1951, Ryan signed five cheques to Monument Creameries – for

⁷²⁶ Íde M. Ní Riain, *The Life and Times of Mrs. A. V. Ryan (née Agnes Harding) of the Monument Creameries* (Dublin, The Author, ca. 1987).

£4, £3, £5, £3 and £5.⁷²⁷ The date is significant because the final issue of *Envoy* was published in July 1951. It is possible, then, that a loan or investment was being repaid. Mitchelstown Creameries was the other major and regular advertiser in *Envoy*. It took the outside back cover in most issues, a declaration that *Envoy* enjoyed the lucrative support of a prestigious advertiser. Mitchelstown Creameries had been awarded the monopoly for making processed or packaged cheese in 1932 and was Ireland's most successful co-operative. Here again, all was not quite what it seemed. The manager of Mitchelstown Creameries was Eamonn Roche, who had served as an I.R.A. quartermaster during the War of Independence and had been imprisoned in England. He served as T.D. for Kerry and Limerick West, siding with de Valera and voting against the Treaty and, though he did not participate in the Civil War, he was interned in Gormanstown camp, in County Meath. Roche was also a longstanding friend of Ryan's father, Seamus, and the pair were related by marriage – in 1913 Roche married Alice Harding, Agnes's sister, some six years before Seamus and Agnes were married in Dublin.⁷²⁸ John Ryan apparently had no qualms about capitalizing on family relationships to support *Envoy*. On 5 October 1949, Ryan wrote to 'Dear Uncle Eamonn':

You may remember that I mentioned the matter of an advertisement for "Envoy" the new magazine which myself and some friends are bringing out in the near future. The ad is a two-colour back page for the twelve months...The cost of an insertion is £10 per issue but the cost for the twelve months is only £100. By ordinary standards this is not excessive ... I would be very grateful to you if you could let Arks know about it and I will send our man around to them to collect the order and the block.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁷ 'Accounts, creditors, debtors' (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-7).

⁷²⁸ Terry Clavin, 'Roche, Eamonn' in McGuire & Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>).

⁷²⁹ John Ryan to Uncle Eamonn, 5 Oct. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

'Uncle Eamonn' was apparently true to his word and regular full-page advertisements for Mitchelstown Creameries were placed in *Envoy*. Though Ryan apparently had few qualms about exploiting his family connections for the greater good of *Envoy*, he reacted furiously when Cecil French Salkeld contacted his mother, Agnes, directly about payment of his fee for an article he had written on Daniel O'Neill for the December 1949 issue. Ryan enclosed the cheque for £8 with a letter to Salkeld on 28 December 1949, noting that as the company had not received payment from bookshops or advertisers (the December issue would still have been on sale at that time), the company did not have funds 'as yet'.

Ryan continued:

I daresay you consider your demand upon me to be greater than any other contributor, and I hereby pay you out of my own pocket. Since my mother has no connection whatsoever with the magazine, I would deem it a kindness if you refrained, in future, from worrying her about matters which are not her concern. I shall long remember your spirit of cooperation, tact, understanding and all round goodness of heart in the matter of this money.⁷³⁰

Of course, this was rather disingenuous of Ryan, as there was clearly a commercial arrangement with Monument Creameries. Furthermore, in her memoir of her mother, Agnes, Íde Ní Riain recalled that there was a family quarrel about *Envoy* when Patrick Kavanagh was deemed to have gone 'too far' in his Diary:

'It's not so much that I mind', Mrs Ryan said to the editor, 'but you needn't expect your Uncle Eamonn to give the magazine any more advertisements, or the Monument.'⁷³¹

At *Envoy*, just as at *The Bell*, the lines between editorial and commercial content could be blurred. Victor Waddington Galleries was a regular advertiser from the

⁷³⁰ John Ryan to Cecil French Salkeld, 28 Dec. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-5).

⁷³¹ Ní Riain, *Mrs. A. V. Ryan* pp 111-12.

first issue, and the gallery also represented the majority of artists featured in *Envoy*, among them Daniel O'Neill, George Campbell and Nano Reid. On one occasion at least Ryan looked to Waddington for advice. In his letter to Louis le Brocquy on 19 October 1949, in which he expressed his hope that le Brocquy would agree to assist with an article on his work, Ryan noted that he had discussed the matter with Victor Waddington and was 'indebted to him for having suggested Maurice Collis as the most suitable person to write the article'.⁷³² However, perhaps the most extraordinary example of this blurring of editorial and commercial concerns is revealed in a letter from Ryan to G. Byrne of Byrne's Public House at Galloping Green in Stillorgan, County Dublin, in which he thanked Byrne for the cheque and advertisement, before continuing:

I showed the poem to Patrick Kavanagh, the reigning Irish Poet Laureate, and he suggested that it should go like this:

*On the new Dublin-Bray Autobahn
Gerry Byrne's is still your best man.
At Galloping Green,
The Best people are seen.
Come out till we fill up your can!*

If you like this better, as I'm sure you will, you might let me know.⁷³³

The suggestion that 'the reigning Irish Poet Laureate' would write or rewrite promotional copy for an advertiser, at the editor's request, is a clear indication that the lines between commercial and editorial concerns at *Envoy* were, to say the least, opaque. Ryan and his associate editor, J. K. Hillman, were also actively involved with the advertising side of *Envoy*. Hillman was an American who had served as an Armed Forces network correspondent and was attending Trinity

⁷³² John Ryan to Louis le Brocquy, 19 Oct. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁷³³ John Ryan to G. Byrne, 20 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

College Dublin. His participation in *Envoy* was apparently suggested by J. P. Donleavy. Hillman told his parents that: 'My main function, so far, is to drop in during the afternoons and check what goes on'.⁷³⁴ However, his was a more active role than his letter suggests. Hillman contributed £100 towards the establishment of *Envoy* and actively promoted retail sales in Britain and Europe, most notably through Stars and Stripes distribution command in Frankfurt, which took 200 copies of *Envoy* at 40% discount on 1 January 1950.⁷³⁵ However, Stars and Stripes peremptorily cancelled the arrangement in a letter to Hillman on 1 September 1950: 'The sales of *Envoy* have shown a steady decrease in the recent months and are now down to a point where we are no longer warranted handling this magazine.'⁷³⁶ Hillman also set up reciprocal advertisement arrangements with international journals, such as *Meanjin* in Melbourne.⁷³⁷ In a letter dated 7 February 1950, Ryan wrote to The Advertising Manager at D. E. Williams & Co. Ltd thanking him for the half-page advertisement he had received from Arks: 'Our special position as a literary magazine makes the task of finding advertisements not an easy one and we are, therefore all the more appreciative of your gesture.'⁷³⁸ The gesture in question was an advertisement for Tullamore Dew (the distillery was owned by the Williams family). Ryan wrote again to D. E. Williams at the end of March that same year, wondering whether they would consider repeating the advertisement in the April issue:

⁷³⁴ Dick Russell, *The Life and Ideas of James Hillman, Volume 1: The Making of a Psychologist* (Helios Press, 2013) (https://books.google.ie/books/about/The_Life_and_Ideas_of_James_Hillman.html?id=P-MuAgAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y) (23 Aug. 2017).

⁷³⁵ Louis H. Brown to J. K. Hillman, 6 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-7).

⁷³⁶ *ibid.*

⁷³⁷ C. B. Christesen to J. K. Hillman, 11 Sept. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

⁷³⁸ John Ryan to The Advertising Manager, D. E. Williams & Co. Ltd., 7 Feb. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-6).

We had reserved the space in the hope that you may do so... May I again remind you that the cost of the space is only £3-10-0 and that there would be a considerable reduction even on this, should you decide to take this space for a longer period.⁷³⁹

The advertisement did not appear in the April issue, but it was published in every other issue that year. In a letter to J. K. Hillman dated 21 November 1950, Michael Howard of the London publishers Jonathan Cape thanks him for his letter: 'It would, therefore, be advisable, as you suggest, to take a modest amount of space in *Envoy* next year.' A handwritten note on the letter records that Howard was given 10% reduction for three inserts 'ie, 9 guineas for 3 half pages'.⁷⁴⁰

One of the few full-page advertisers in *Ireland To-day* was Harrington Paints, Varnishes & Distempers in Cork, which took advertisements in the first three issues. At first glance, an advertisement for a paint company seems oddly inappropriate for a periodical that concerned itself with loftier matters. However, the suspicion must be that this was a support advertisement from a former colleague for James O'Donovan's new venture. O'Donovan had, of course, been director of chemicals in the I.R.A. during the War of Independence and he had set up a short-lived paint distribution business, The City Chemical & Colour Company, in Dublin in October 1924.⁷⁴¹ O'Donovan's various roles at the E.S.B., where he was employed since 19 November 1930, included work in 'corrosion and other chemical problems' for which he was paid £10 per week.⁷⁴² Remarkably,

⁷³⁹ John Ryan to Messrs. D. E. Williams & Co. Ltd., 23 Mar. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-6).

⁷⁴⁰ Michael Howard to J. K. Hillman 21 Nov. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-6-2).

⁷⁴¹ The City Chemical & Colour Company produced paint products and apparently had some success before being bought by the company manager and renamed Devereaux's Paints. See David O'Donoghue, *The Devil's Deal: The IRA, Nazi Germany and the Double Life of James O'Donovan* (Dublin, 2010).

⁷⁴² 'Application To Electric Benevolent Fund Sent 4/5/43' (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (XI)).

O'Donovan managed to retain his job at the E.S.B. throughout his tenure as the (anonymous) editor of *Ireland To-Day*. It is reasonable to suspect that the advertisements for Harrington Paints originated from a previous connection of O'Donovan's, whether that was from the I.R.A. or a commercial connection. The example of Dublin businessman Joseph McGrath is relevant here to illustrate how a shared history of Republican activism could be leveraged to support former comrades' subsequent careers, even if, remarkably, those same comrades took radically different paths during and after the Civil War. McGrath shared with O'Donovan (as with O'Faoláin and O'Donnell) a history of involvement with the Irish Volunteers and he took part in the 1916 Rising. However, McGrath served as the pro-Treaty government's director of intelligence during the Civil War and was closely linked with Oriel House and its shadowy campaign of violence against suspected Republicans. He was a Sinn Féin and Cumann na nGaedhail T.D. and he held ministerial office, in Labour and in Trade and Commerce. O'Donovan, by contrast, virulently opposed the Treaty, drew up the S-Plan for the bombing campaign in Britain (1939-40), and was the I.R.A.'s chief liaison officer with the Nazis. McGrath is most noteworthy – if not notorious – for his role as managing director of the Irish Hospitals Sweepstake, which was founded in 1930 by McGrath, Dublin bookmaker Richard Duggan and Welshman Spencer Freeman and was described by *Readers' Digest* as the greatest bleeding heart racket in the world. The Irish Hospitals Sweepstake raised millions for the Irish health service, created an infrastructure of hospitals and clinics across Ireland and made personal fortunes for the three founders. The remarkable operation of the Irish Sweepstakes has

been comprehensively researched⁷⁴³ and is beyond the scope of this thesis, but what is relevant here is the Sweepstakes' patronage of intellectual and literary periodicals. The Sweepstakes was a popular, grassroots organization, so it would be expected that it would advertise in mass circulation newspapers and, indeed, it sponsored a popular nightly programme on Radio Éireann for thirty years. It has been argued that McGrath had few interests outside horseracing,⁷⁴⁴ yet he provided financial support to O'Donovan at *Ireland To-Day*. On 15 February 1937, Dr Patrick McCartan (former I.R.B. member and Sinn Féin deputy) wrote to O'Donovan, urging him to approach McGrath and Pdraig Fleming (former member of the I.R.A. in Laois and Kilkenny) for financial support.⁷⁴⁵ Clearly O'Donovan acted on McCartan's advice despite McGrath's activities during the Civil War, of which O'Donovan was all too aware, as indicated in his note of 27 February 1932:

Joe McGrath (now the Hospitals Sweepstakes king) is by his own admission ingloriously associated with and deeply implicated in the murder activities of 1922-1924.⁷⁴⁶

Nonetheless, McGrath approved the request for support - on 29 October 1937 he signed a letter to O'Donovan on Hospitals Trust-headed paper enclosing a cheque for £200 'as agreed'. A handwritten note on this letter records that O'Donovan sent two letters of thanks – a formal covering note to McGrath at the Hospital Trust at 13 Earlsfort Terrace and a second note, thanking McGrath personally, to

⁷⁴³ See Marie Coleman, *The Irish Sweep: A History of the Irish Hospitals Sweepstake 1930-1987* (Dublin, 2009) and Damian Corless *The Greatest Bleeding Hearts Racket in the world: Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes* (Dublin, 2010).

⁷⁴⁴ Marie Coleman, 'McGrath, Joseph (Joe)' in McGuire & Quinn (eds) *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org/>).

⁷⁴⁵ Patrick McCartan MD FRCSI to James O'Donovan, 15 Feb. 1937 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers MS 21,987 (IX)).

⁷⁴⁶ Cited in O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, p. 70.

his home at Cabinteely House.⁷⁴⁷ Two years later, the oligarch McGrath provided the staunch socialist Republican Peadar O'Donnell with £1,000 to support the establishment of *The Bell*, and the Sweepstakes controller of sales Eamon Martin was appointed to its editorial board, alongside the writer Maurice Walsh, Róisín Walsh (republican, feminist and Dublin city chief librarian), Frank O'Connor (as poetry editor) and of course O'Faoláin and O'Donnell.⁷⁴⁸ However, when a further cash injection of £360 was required in 1942 to pay for paper supplies, it was only made available by McGrath on the proviso that all remaining shares were signed over to Martin.⁷⁴⁹

The Sweepstakes also placed advertisements in *Envoy*. Here again, the Ryan family's impeccable Republican credentials may have been a factor and there is a suggestion that *Envoy's* secretary, Tony McInerney, was a former I.R.A. gunrunner.⁷⁵⁰ However, what is less obvious is the motivation and commercial justification, in terms of circulation numbers, for the Sweepstakes' advertising in *Motley* and *The Dublin Magazine* throughout the 1930s and 1940s. A series of full-page Sweepstake advertisements placed in *The Dublin Magazine* in 1947/8 is notable, too, because the style of the advertisements was markedly different from the standard style of Sweepstakes' advertisements. The series commenced with the April–June 1947 issue, and celebrated 'Irish craftsmanship' (the Irish translation was also included) and each advertisement featured an aspect of Irish

⁷⁴⁷ Joseph McGrath to James O'Donovan, 29 Oct. 1937 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (IX)).

⁷⁴⁸ Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 81.

⁷⁴⁹ Cited in Carson, *Rebel by Vocation*, p. 41.

⁷⁵⁰ Russell, *The Life and Ideas of James Hillman* (https://books.google.ie/books/about/The_Life_and_Ideas_of_James_Hillman.html?id=P-MuAgAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y) (23 Aug. 2017).

cultural heritage. The first in the series highlighted 'Illumination and Writing – Annals of the Four Masters' declaring that 'Their art represents a climax never since reached.'⁷⁵¹ Across the bottom of each advertisement the credit stated 'with the compliments of Hospitals Trust Ltd., Dublin'. Other installments in the series celebrated Irish metalwork, pottery, and lace and crochet. The average print run of *The Dublin Magazine* from 1944 to 1947 was 550 copies, so the Irish Sweepstakes' advertising campaign could hardly have been justified on commercial grounds. The conclusion must be that a broader commercial patriotism was an influencing factor and McGrath or another director at Irish Sweepstakes had an interest in supporting Irish cultural endeavor.

Irish Sweepstakes took regular double-page spread advertisements in *The Capuchin Annual*, although given the Annual's impressive circulation and McGrath's devout Catholicism that was, perhaps, unsurprising. McGrath was also a Foundation Life Member of *The Capuchin Annual's* Association of Patrons. *The Capuchin Annual* had a dedicated advertising salesman, Larry Egan, which may help to explain the astonishing volume of advertising pages – *The Capuchin Annual* (1932) carried 18 pages of advertising at the front and 26 pages of advertising at the back of the book; by 1942 this had increased to 48 pages of advertising at the front and 86 pages of advertising at the back of the book. Little wonder then that Larry Egan was singled out for particular thanks by Father Senan in *The Capuchin Annual* (1948): 'and then Larry – need I tell any advertiser of ours or indeed any

⁷⁵¹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Apr.-Jun. 1947, p. ix.

reader of the annual that his second name is Egan?’⁷⁵² A full-page photograph of ‘the one and only Larry’ was also published in *The Capuchin Annual (1946-47)*.⁷⁵³ Larry Egan was well paid for his sterling work: from January–May 1954, Egan was paid on average £20 every week.⁷⁵⁴ From May–December 1954, the income from advertising in *The Capuchin Annual* was recorded at almost £3,000.⁷⁵⁵ To put this astonishing income in some context, Ryan offered his Uncle Eamonn at Mitchelstown Creameries a full-page advertisement in each monthly issue of *Envoy* for one year for a total of £100 – many Uncle Eamonns would have been required to achieve an income from advertising of £3,000 over eight months. *The Dublin Magazine’s* advertisement rates, as listed on its advertisement order form, were £12-0-0 for a full page, £6-10-0 for a half page; and £3-10-0 for a quarter-page advertisement. However, published advertisement rates can be more aspirational than accurate. O’Sullivan’s bank records from 1941 show regular lodgements set against two advertisers – Pims and Johnston Mooney & O’Brien, both quarter-page advertisers. The published rate for quarter page advertisements was £3-10-0, but each lodgement allocated to Pims on 16 April, 22 July and 13 October 1941 was £2-2-9.⁷⁵⁶ Similarly, each lodgment allocated to Johnston Mooney & O’Brien on 22 April and 13 October 1941 was £2-0-4,⁷⁵⁷ and this continued through 1942/3, with lodgments of £2-0-4 made on 13 April and 13 July 1942 and on 9 January 1943.⁷⁵⁸ Barnardo Furriers was one of the most regular full-page advertisers in *The Dublin*

⁷⁵² *The Capuchin Annual (1948)*, p.599.

⁷⁵³ *The Capuchin Annual (1946-47)*, p. 206.

⁷⁵⁴ ‘Publications Payments June 1954 – June 1963’ (Capuchin Archive, Dublin, uncatalogued collection).

⁷⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁶ Royal Bank of Ireland lodgement book (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4638-1850).

⁷⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁸ *ibid.*

Magazine, but none of the lodgements allocated to Barnardo in 1941-43 tally with the published advertisement rate of £12-0-0 for a full page. A lodgement of £37-16-0 was made on 25 November 1941 followed by a lodgement of £16-4-0 on 15 July 1942, which suggests that this was payment for more than one advertisement but not at the published rate.⁷⁵⁹

Securing and retaining advertising support was critical, a fact acknowledged by the editors across these periodicals as they thanked advertisers and encouraged readers to support the companies that supported the periodical. O'Sullivan included advertisers equally alongside contributors, subscribers, and readers when he thanked all those 'who have enabled us to carry on our work and strong in the certainty of their continued support, we look forward with confidence to the future of this journal.'⁷⁶⁰ A full-page 'Memo for Businessmen' published in *The Bell* in July 1941 reported that *The Bell* had carried 60 pages of advertising in the first six issues and declared that 'leading Industrialists and Business men are now satisfied that the magazine is here to stay':

We sincerely thank those firms who made our success possible. We realize that there are others just as ready to co-operate whom we have not yet contacted. We are glad to be able to say to advertisers generally that *The Bell* has reached a stage where Good Will Advertising in *The Bell* is just Good Advertising. *The Bell*, a shilling monthly magazine, has found its Public, a discriminating Public. We offer you that Public for your goods and wish you luck.⁷⁶¹

The inside back cover of *The Bell* in January and February 1942 was given over to listing *The Bell's* advertisers – though the failure to actually sell that page to one of

⁷⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁶⁰ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept. 1943, p. 1.

⁷⁶¹ 'Memo for Businessmen' in *The Bell*, Jul. 1941.

those listed advertisers struck an ominous note. *Ireland To-Day* included ‘house’ advertisements that thanked advertisers: ‘Our advertisers are supporting *Ireland To-day*. Kindly give them your preference’. However, this may also have served a dual purpose – providing an opportunity to thank advertisers and to fill a spot that had not been sold.⁷⁶² In his first editor’s note in *The Capuchin Annual (1934)*, Father Senan thanked all those who had helped with the *Annual*, noting that ‘special gratitude is due to the provincial and metropolitan advertisers, whose patronage makes the *Annual* possible.’⁷⁶³ In *The Capuchin Annual* in 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1943, he published an alphabetical index to advertisements and in *The Capuchin Annual (1936)* he urged his readers to study the advertisements:

They are a guide to firms of repute. We must point out that in patronising our advertisers you are gaining for us their continued support – without which it would be impossible to publish the *Annual*. AND THAT WOULDN’T DO. WOULD IT?⁷⁶⁴

Who, then, were these advertisers? Dublin companies dominated the advertising pages of these periodicals. Just as publishing centred on Dublin, so, too, did commercial life. The notably successful *Ireland’s Own* may have been based in Wexford, but it recognized the necessity of having a presence in Dublin and had an advertising office and manager on Lower Ormond Quay in Dublin.⁷⁶⁵

Commentary has been criticized for catering for a ‘small elite ... an affluent, self-consciously modern, European-oriented readership’.⁷⁶⁶ It attracted advertising from Brown Thomas and Jammets, which might appear to support this thesis, but

⁷⁶² *Ireland To-Day*, Jun. 1936 and Nov. 1936.

⁷⁶³ *The Capuchin Annual (1934)*, p. 309.

⁷⁶⁴ *The Capuchin Annual (1936)*, p. 29.

⁷⁶⁵ Email correspondence with Gerard Breen, former editor of *Ireland’s Own* (26 Sept. 2015).

⁷⁶⁶ Wills, *Neutral Island*, p. 285.

these companies also chose to advertise in *The Bell*. The first issue of *Ireland To-day* featured advertisements from Kennedy and McSharry, who assured readers of the quality of their 'flawlessly cut' shirts, and from Dodge, who offered 'cars of distinction for the discriminating'.⁷⁶⁷

The readership of *The Dublin Magazine* has been described as 'a highly educated subset of the Irish middle and upper classes'⁷⁶⁸ and, indeed, its regular advertising clientele included Barnardo's Furriers, Fitzpatrick's Shoes and Royal Bank of Ireland, but all three also advertised in *The Bell* and *The Capuchin Annual*. The picture is further complicated by less lofty consumer brands such as Kennedy's Bread, which advertised in *The Bell*, *Ireland To-day* and *Envoy*. Throughout 1946 Kennedy's Bread also ran a series of advertisements in *The Dublin Magazine*, entitled 'Why I buy Kennedys', which profiled typical customers, among them a mother of seven who complained that 'feeding a big family is no joke these days what with rationing and high prices' and a docker who declared there was 'nothing like hard work and fresh air to give a man an appetite'.

The Dublin Magazine carried advertising for Trinity College's *Hermathena*, *Irish Historical Studies* and, in 1940, the limited edition *Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs* by La Tourette Stockwell Ph.D. which was priced at 16/-, but it also carried advertising from Carlton Cinema, featuring films such as Rita Hayworth's *Gilda* 'the most eagerly awaited film of the season' and *Yolanda the Thief* with Fred

⁷⁶⁷ *Ireland To-Day*, Jun. 1936.

⁷⁶⁸ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 39.

Astaire.⁷⁶⁹ In 1948, O'Sullivan published a list of some of the contributors to *The Dublin Magazine*, among them A.E., Beckett, Hackett, and O'Flaherty. Below this impressive roll call there appeared a half-page advertisement for Carlton Cinema, which announced *Slave Girl* 'introducing Lumpy the Talking Camel'.⁷⁷⁰

Envoy could delight in an advertisement for the French magazine *Points* 'the magazine for young writers of all nations', breathlessly noting that it was 'printed in Paris in French and English', in the same issue as advertisements for the considerably less glamorous Weatherwell Plaster Boards and J. F. Keating Painting, Building and Plumbing. *Envoy* also carried regular advertisements for Dublin's public houses, including Peter Lalor's Lounge and John MacDaid's 'where the elite meet'.⁷⁷¹ As Anthony Cronin later recalled: '*Envoy* was an annexe to the pub, or the pub to it.'⁷⁷² There is also a notable presence across all these periodicals of banks and insurance companies - Munster & Leinster Bank, New Ireland Assurance, MacDonagh and Boland, Hibernian Insurance, and National City Bank among them. *The Capuchin Annual* also drew substantial advertising from Cork, where it had a prominent presence at the Holy Trinity Church and Friary on Father Matthew Quay and at Rochestown College. However, its sphere of influence extended further and advertisements were cajoled from, for example, Frank Corr's Chemist in Newry, Tully Drapers in Drogheda, Cleaves Toffees in Limerick, and Stephen Faller's Optician in Galway. One might expect to see book publishers in *The Dublin*

⁷⁶⁹ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.-Mar. 1947.

⁷⁷⁰ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept. 1948.

⁷⁷¹ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949 and Jan. 1950.

⁷⁷² Russell, *The Life and Ideas of James Hillman* (https://books.google.ie/books/about/The_Life_and_Ideas_of_James_Hillman.html?id=P-MuAgAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y) (23 Aug. 2017).

Magazine and *The Bell*; public houses and art galleries in *Envoy*; and suppliers to the clergy (from bacon to altar wine) in *The Capuchin Annual*, but these periodicals could not survive on these advertisements alone. Efforts were made to attract national brands, and there were some notable insertions: Cantrell & Cochrane Minerals, Lemons sweets and the Electricity Showrooms in *Ireland To-day*; Lemons Mints and MacBirneys in *The Dublin Magazine*; Jameson Whiskey, Kennedys Bread, and Goodalls in *The Bell*; and Tullamore Dew, Batchelors Canned Foods and Aga ‘the cooker every woman really wants’ in *Envoy*. Just as McGrath illustrated the fluidity of Civil War divisions by supporting O’Donovan, Kennedy’s Bread eschewed class divisions by advertising in *The Dublin Magazine* and several of these Protestant dynasties such as Williams (Tullamore Dew) and Jameson crossed confessional lines to support *The Bell* and *Envoy*.

Many of these brands were managed by the rapidly expanding advertising agencies in Dublin. Arks, for example, had the accounts for the Sweepstakes, Cantrell & Cochrane Minerals, Fruitfield Jams and Punch & Co. Science boot polish.⁷⁷³ The increasing dominance of advertising agencies is suggested by *Envoy*. In January 1951, a letter was sent from *Envoy* to ‘our advertising agencies in the city’ to advise them of advertising rate increases.⁷⁷⁴ Clearly the agencies did not respond with sufficient advertising bookings and, in his final editor’s letter in July that year, Ryan singled out the agencies for particular opprobrium:

⁷⁷³ Oram, *The Advertising Book*, pp 69-86.

⁷⁷⁴ Letter to advertising agencies Jan. 1951 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

We have known the misfortune of encountering the power-drunk moguls of big-business, and experienced the ordeal of enduring that contemporary harrow – the advertising agency.⁷⁷⁵

The volume and revenue of these advertisements were clearly insufficient to ensure the financial solvency of these periodicals. Hence, as we have seen, the requests for financial support to Joseph McGrath at Irish Sweepstakes by O'Donnell at *The Bell* and O'Donovan at *Ireland To-day*. It seems O'Sullivan, too, had a patron at *The Dublin Magazine*. O'Sullivan's wife, the artist Estella Solomon, provided practical support to *The Dublin Magazine*, by drumming up advertising support among book publishers in London, for example. Her lifelong friend Kathleen Goodfellow has also been acknowledged for her work in securing advertising revenue.⁷⁷⁶ Goodfellow contributed several poems to *The Dublin Magazine* under her pseudonym Michael Scot – for example, *Ballad for France* in 1936⁷⁷⁷ and *Lament for a City Harper* in 1943.⁷⁷⁸ However, the bank lodgment books of *The Dublin Magazine* suggest that Kathleen Goodfellow also provided significant financial support on at least three occasions. On 1 July 1941 a lodgment of £250 was recorded,⁷⁷⁹ followed by lodgments of £150 on 21 January 1942⁷⁸⁰ and £250 on 8 January 1943.⁷⁸¹ The reference on each of these lodgments was K.G.

John Ryan at *Envoy* had substantial family support, in the form of advertising, but he also invested his own, and others, money in the venture – he personally 'put up'

⁷⁷⁵ *Envoy*, Jul. 1951, p. 7.

⁷⁷⁶ Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 46

⁷⁷⁷ *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.–Dec.1936, p.7.

⁷⁷⁸ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul –September 1943, p. 12.

⁷⁷⁹ Royal Bank of Ireland lodgement book (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4638-1850).

⁷⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁷⁸¹ *ibid.*

£265, and Jim Hillman contributed £100, Tony McInerney £25, Sheila Iremonger £4, and Patricia (Ryan's wife) £5. Sheila Iremonger was the wife of Valentin Iremonger, poetry editor at *Envoy* and acted as director in his stead as his 'civil service position prevents him from being engaged in other "business."'782 Most notably, perhaps, J. P. Donleavy was for a time closely involved with the establishment of *Envoy*. Donleavy, like Hillman, came to Ireland, under the G.I. Bill of Rights for ex-servicemen, and attended Trinity College Dublin. Donleavy would go on to achieve international renown as the author of *The Ginger Man* in 1955. In 1950, however, Ryan recalled that 'you were the first person with whom I discussed the possibility of starting the magazine'⁷⁸³ and at least one letter was dispatched by or on behalf of 'J. P. Donleavy (co. editor)' to a potential contributor, dated 11 September 1949, and referencing 'a literary magazine myself and John Ryan are publishing in the near future called *Envoy*.'⁷⁸⁴

It would seem that Donleavy had also committed to investing in *Envoy*. On 5 October 1949, Ryan wrote to 'Dear Michael':

I am beginning to get worried as to whether or not you are still interested in the magazine... I have had to pay out of my own pocket almost £100 to meet our commitments and am facing the prospect of having to pay out another £200 before the first issue comes out. The two subsequent issues will need £160 apiece bringing the capital which this company must have on hands within the next three months to £500. This is a hell of a lot of jack as you can understand, and as time is running on I would be grateful if you would let me know soon if you are still willing to put up the amount which you mentioned.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸² John Ryan to J. P. (Michael) Donleavy, 18 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁸³ John Ryan to J. P. (Michael) Donleavy, 18 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁸⁴ J. P. Donleavy, 11 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁸⁵ John Ryan to J. P. Donleavy, 5 Oct. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

Dunleavy's response was apparently swift - and negative - as Ryan's reply dated just two days after his original letter reveals:

Thank you for your letter. Don't misunderstand me if I say that it was largely unintelligible to me. You have an excellent literary style but like that of Henry V. Miller its main function would appear to be that of providing amusement for the writer... I understood that you intended to put in £100 with the possibility of another £50 at a later date.

Donleavy was, it seems, 'shocked' by the costs that Ryan had mentioned in his previous letter, so Ryan itemised the outlay:

30,000 words @ £2 per 1,000: £60
4 weeks salary @£4 (T.Macl): £16
Formation of Co. (articles of Assoc): £30
Blocks: £25
Office equipment: £5
Total: £196

Ryan then went on to break down the £200 that would be required before December, accusing Dunleavy of 'ostrich like burying your head in the sands':

Cost of printing: £138
8 weeks salary @ £4 per week: £32
Advertisements: £15
Sundry expenses: £15
Total: £200

You advise prudence in spending money – believe me, Mike, it's my money and I don't exactly have it to throw around. My prudence, if you like, has saved an additional expenditure of God knows how much. I, myself, work for nothing, I supply an office rent free together with a typewriter and all equipment (electricity, heat and charwoman do cost money)... You are a good friend of mine and I am very fond of both yourself and Valerie and hope always to retain that friendship. Launching this venture and trying to prevent it from making me completely bankrupt is a task of such magnitude that I have small time to indulge in the luxury of making enemies or estranging friends.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁶ John Ryan to J. P. Donleavy, 7 Oct. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

Three months later, Ryan wrote again, in response to a letter from Donleavy, expressing his delight 'to hear from you again after so long a silence, and [I] am glad to know that *Envoy* retains its position in your heart.' The implication was that Donleavy would provide some financial support. Ryan advised him that the company would be formally incorporated within the next day or so:

Everyone will have equal voting power and *Envoy* will no longer be my plaything but the property of the company, which means all of us. Make your cheque, therefore, payable to The Envoy Publishing Co. Ltd. and you will be credited with the equivalent in shares... Your suggestion for relieving me during some part of the summer is one which I will be only too anxious to jump at. Perhaps in the following year it may be possible for you to get some sort of cushy job around Dublin which would give you the opportunity to really come in on the editorial work.⁷⁸⁷

The following month, in February 1950, however, Ryan had to write again to Donleavy: 'I would be very grateful if you could let me have the money as soon as possible.'⁷⁸⁸ It is for the moment unknown whether this investment from Donleavy ever materialized, but what is known is that by October of that year, Ryan was feeling the pinch. A handwritten letter, marked Draft, was addressed to Chester Beatty at 10 Ailesbury Road, Dublin, from the Editor. It was an appeal to Beatty 'to provide the necessary financial backing to tide us over the next twelve months':

After a year of steady publication we are forced to appeal to people interested in literature and art for aid to enable us to carry on... The sum involved is small but, owing to our outlay over the first twelve issues, we find we cannot meet further losses no matter how small.⁷⁸⁹

It is not clear whether the letter was sent or whether there was a reply, but it seems unlikely that financial support was forthcoming from any source – four

⁷⁸⁷ John Ryan to J. P. Donleavy, 18 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁸⁸ John Ryan to J. P. Donleavy, 7 Feb. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁸⁹ Editor to Chester Beatty, (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy* Ms 43-7-1).

months later, on 28 February 1951 the bank account for The Envoy Publishing Co. Ltd was overdrawn to the sum of £326-12-5 and the financial situation continued to worsen. By 2 July 1951 The Envoy Publishing Co. Ltd was overdrawn by £761-2-6.⁷⁹⁰ The date is significant because July 1951 also marked the publication of the final issue of *Envoy*. In his editorial in this final twentieth number, Ryan wrote:

The decision to cease publication had to be taken suddenly and it was not possible for us to inform readers in advance... One may suppose that for a literary magazine to survive for such a period without official or private patronage, is in itself an achievement. No effort was spared to make the journal a financial success... Here at home we enjoyed the friendship of the intelligent few and the hostility of the unimaginative many.⁷⁹¹

It was a sentiment echoed by Kavanagh scarcely twelve months later on the demise of *Kavanagh's Weekly*: 'we had friends of a vague kind and enemies of a fairly precise kind'.⁷⁹²

A full page facing Ryan's editorial in the final issue of *Envoy* was allocated to an announcement that *Envoy's* publishing activities would continue though the magazine would cease, and future publications would include a collection of Kavanagh's writings and the Joyce issue of *Envoy* in book form. Subscribers were not offered a refund:

Readers whose subscriptions have not expired may have the balance of their subscriptions credited to them in the event of wishing to purchase any of our future publications at reduced prices.⁷⁹³

⁷⁹⁰ Envoy Publishing Accounts (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-7).

⁷⁹¹ *Envoy*, Jul. 1951, p. 7

⁷⁹² 'The Story of an Editor who was corrupted by Love' in *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 5 Jul. 1952, p. 1.

⁷⁹³ *Envoy*, Jul. 1951, p. 6

Subscribers may have had to content themselves with future credit as a return on their investment in *Envoy*, but it would seem that Ryan preferred a more tangible return. The *Envoy* Publishing Co. Ltd was overdrawn to the sum of £534 -10-5 on 22 May 1951, but one substantial cheque was signed by Ryan on 23 May – the sum was £270 and the payee was John Ryan. A second cheque, for £70, was made payable to Ryan on 29 June. Ryan’s initial investment in *Envoy* was £265.⁷⁹⁴ Despite being significantly overdrawn, bank statements show that Ryan continued to write cheques until the end of 1951 – one of the final cheques signed by Ryan that year was for £19-19-7. The payee was *Envoy*’s director and poetry editor, Valentin Iremonger.⁷⁹⁵

Ryan’s handling of subscribers stands in stark contrast to O’Donovan’s policy when he was forced to cease publication of *Ireland To-Day* in 1937. He offered a partial refund to subscribers in lieu of the remaining balance of their subscription. In a letter and form dated 5 March 1938 a subscriber, who had seven months remaining on their subscription, was offered ‘6s. 2d. in full settlement of the balance due’.⁷⁹⁶ A reply from one subscriber in particular is noteworthy. In a letter dated 29 April 1938, Albert M. Bender of 311 California Street, San Francisco, wrote to O’Donovan:

Thank you for letter of 15 March. I am deeply sorry that the paper is discontinuing because it has a real place in the Ireland of today. I enclose receipt for the five shillings in settlement of my subscription which I wish you would kindly not send but use for postage or any

⁷⁹⁴ John Ryan to J. P. (Michael) Donleavy), 18 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-3).

⁷⁹⁵ Cheque payable to Valentin Iremonger (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-7).

⁷⁹⁶ J. L. O’Donovan, 5 Mar. 1938 (N.L.I. James O’Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (V)).

other requirement. I congratulate you on the way you have faced your difficulties. It is most honorable on your part.⁷⁹⁷

Albert Bender was, of course, the Dublin-born Jewish business magnate, collector and patron of the arts. Though he left Ireland at a young age and lived in San Francisco, he was connected to cultural life in Ireland through his relationships and correspondence with W.B. and Jack Yeats, Oliver St. John Gogarty, and A.E. In 1931, Bender donated his collection of Asian art to the National Museum of Ireland and the Augusta Bender Memorial Room (in honour of his mother) was opened by De Valera in June 1934.⁷⁹⁸ It is puzzling that O'Donovan did not approach Bender for more substantial support than a single subscription, but that seems to have been the case - in a post-script to his letter to the Hon. John Caldwell-Myers of the American-Irish Historical Society, in February 1938, O'Donovan wrote: 'the only other letter of this type I am writing to America is to Dr MacCartan'.

Given the timing of Bender's correspondence, political developments in Germany and O'Donovan's subsequent role as the I.R.A.'s chief liaison officer with the Nazi regime (he travelled to Europe for meetings with Nazi officials on three occasions in 1939), the question arises as to whether Bender's religion could have been a factor that dissuaded O'Donovan from approaching him for assistance. Opinion remains divided on whether O'Donovan harboured Fascistic sympathies or whether he merely admired Germany's economic recovery since World War I and viewed the Third Reich as a potential ally against Britain, holding fast to the age-

⁷⁹⁷ Albert Bender to The Manager, *Ireland To-Day*, 29 Apr. 1938 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21987 (I) 3593).

⁷⁹⁸ Tony Canavan, 'Museum Eye: A Dubliner's collection of Asian art: the Albert Bender exhibition' in *History Ireland*, Sept./Oct. 2009 <http://www.historyireland.com/volume-17/museum-eye-a-dubliners-collection-of-asian-art-the-albert-bender-exhibition/>(30 Jul. 2017).

old view that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. An anonymous G2 (Directorate of Military Intelligence) memo in September 1945 claimed that O'Donovan tried to indoctrinate the I.R.A. with Nazi ideology⁷⁹⁹ and an essay by O'Donovan reportedly excoriated the U.S. and England as 'centres of Freemasonry, international financial control and Jewry.'⁸⁰⁰ Fellow internees in the Curragh in 1941-43 recalled that he was pro-German to the core but not 'a Nazi by any means' while others claimed that he was 'in favour of Hitler's Germany'.⁸⁰¹ One internee (Jim Savage) was rather more definitive, claiming that O'Donovan was 'a full-blown Nazi and didn't deny it'.⁸⁰² O'Donovan also actively assisted the German spy Hermann Görtz when he arrived in Ireland in May 1940 and attended his funeral in Dublin seven years later, where Görtz's coffin was draped in the swastika flag.⁸⁰³ However, O'Donovan's biographer recorded that he had not found any 'specifically anti-Semitic material' written by O'Donovan during his research.⁸⁰⁴

Whatever his motivation, it seems that O'Donovan did not approach Bender for support, and he relied instead on the Irish-American Republican network. On 15 February 1937 Patrick McCartan replied to a letter from O'Donovan in which he sympathized with the news that '*Ireland To-Day* is not on a sound foundation' and enclosed £105 for five subscriptions and £100 for 'stock' in *Ireland To-Day*.⁸⁰⁵ McCartan's remarkable life, spanning the I.R.B. in Ireland and the U.S., terms as a

⁷⁹⁹ Military archives file G2/3783, cited in O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, p. 113.

⁸⁰⁰ 'Germany and Small Racial Groups' cited in O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, p. 184.

⁸⁰¹ Cited in O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, p. 199-200.

⁸⁰² Jim Savage, cited in O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, p. 313-4, f. 33.

⁸⁰³ O'Donoghue, *Devil's Deal*, pp 170-2 and p. 222.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 314, f. 33.

⁸⁰⁵ Dr. Patrick McCartan to James O'Donovan, 15 February 1937, N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (IX).

member of Dáil Éireann and Seanad Éireann, and an unsuccessful bid for the presidency of Ireland, is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁸⁰⁶ What is relevant here is McCartan's involvement with raising money in the U.S.A. to support cultural projects, most notably those involving his friend W. B. Yeats and the Academy of Irish Letters. On 12 February 1938, O'Donovan wrote to John Caldwell-Myers at the American-Irish Historical Society in New York, in which he referred with thanks to his donation of \$50.00 to 'our capital funds' the previous summer before outlining the dire state of affairs at *Ireland To-Day*:

You further stated that on no account should we allow the Magazine to collapse without first acquainting you and your friends in New York. I greatly fear that we have now reached the end of our tether just at a time when the promise of our usefulness is so high and our wings just beginning to spread... I had thought of approaching some such body as the Carnegie Institution or the Rockefeller Foundation to see whether they could contemplate the subsidy even for a year or two of a cultural institution such as *Ireland To-Day* may claim to be. \$2500 per annum would be the desirable sum but if even a less sum were forthcoming – not however less than half that amount – we would agree to try to carry on. If you could advise or assist in connection with the above matter I should be most grateful. But the position is one of such extreme urgency now that this alone would not be in time to prevent our going out of publication (and as I am personally involved to the extent of £650 per month the position would be one of complete disaster for me were I to continue on beyond the March number).⁸⁰⁷

O'Donovan wrote to McCartan on the same day:

I am the transmitter of bad news. We have done our best, we are apparently on the verge of failure, no better after all than all the other failures that have gone before us... It is too bad - after two years of gruelling labour but if Ireland cannot support even one magazine of our type, then unfortunately all our efforts to bridge the deficit having

⁸⁰⁶ Marie Coleman. "McCartan, Patrick". Dictionary of Irish Biography.(ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. (<http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5575>).

⁸⁰⁷ James O'Donovan to John Caldwell-Myers, 12 Feb. 1938 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (VII)).

failed we can only face the inevitable end with the deepest reluctance and regret.⁸⁰⁸

O'Donovan was not alone in looking to the U.S.A. for support. In a letter to John V. Kelliher on 14 December 1947, O'Faoláin wrote that O'Donnell planned to travel to the U.S.A. in January with the hope of rustling up 1,000 subscribers to *The Bell*, which was 'against the ropes just now'. He confided, too, that O'Donnell was not a good editor but 'he is a marvelous scrounger' and he has 'kept the old magazine going for seven years'.⁸⁰⁹ In the event, O'Donnell did not take this trip to the U.S.A. in 1948, thwarted by the refusal of a visa on the grounds of his previous involvement with 'socialist' activities, just as the Cold War was setting in.

Income from subscriptions was obviously crucial to the survival of these periodicals. Subscription rates for Ireland and internationally were published in each periodical: how and where subscriptions were marketed will be considered in the following chapter, in the context of the transnational aspect of these periodicals. Just as readers were encouraged to support the firms that advertised in these periodicals, they were also encouraged to become subscribers - the December 1947 issue of *The Bell* included an editorial appeal for new subscribers: 'The increased cost of printing – in our case an increase of £70 per month - which with ambush speed struck all Irish publications almost twelve months ago puts the life of this magazine in jeopardy'.⁸¹⁰ Ryan included subscription order forms in *Envoy* – for example, in April 1950 a full page was allocated to an appeal for new

⁸⁰⁸ James O'Donovan to Dr. Patrick McCartan 12 Feb. 1938 (N.L.I. James O'Donovan Papers, MS 21,987 (VII)).

⁸⁰⁹ Seán O'Faoláin to John V. Kelliher, 14 Dec. 1947 (U.C.C., O'Connor/O'Faoláin BL/L/JVK/19(i)).

⁸¹⁰ Cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 124.

subscribers 'Envoy needs your support'.⁸¹¹ Subscriptions were paid in advance and were not subject to the substantial discount demanded by distributors such as Eason's, although in the case of *The Dublin Magazine*, O'Sullivan used subscription agencies that charged a commission on subscription sales.

The importance of subscriptions to the operation of these periodicals is illustrated by *The Dublin Magazine*. O'Sullivan printed, on average, 550 copies of each issue and supply through Eason's was fairly consistent throughout 1930s and 1940s, rarely exceeding 70 copies of each issue. O'Sullivan supplied *The Dublin Magazine* directly to some bookshops and he may have distributed through one of the other distributors such as Porters or News Brothers, but it is unlikely that the volume of copies distributed in this way accounts for the entire print run. The evidence suggests that subscriptions accounted for the bulk of *The Dublin Magazine's* circulation. Several undated distribution lists survive, titled 'Home List' with approximately 150 names and addresses (in Ireland and Britain) on each list. It is likely that these were subscriber lists. Many of the same names recur from list to list – for example, Sir Alfred Beit in Blessington, Mrs le Brocqy in Dublin, Sean O'Casey in Devon and James Guthrie in Glasgow. In some cases, names are scored through and 'cancel' is written alongside and, in the case of Padraic Fallon, his address is updated from 7 Rowe Street, Wexford, to Prospect House, Clonard, Wexford.⁸¹² An undated, handwritten 'Foreign' list includes 119 names and addresses, several of which are university libraries such as Harvard College Library, Dartmouth College Library and the National Library of Peiping [sic] in China. This

⁸¹¹ *Envoy*, Apr. 1950, p. 94.

⁸¹² Mailing list (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4648/4215-4217).

list also includes copies to subscription agencies, for example 18 copies were dispatched to Messrs. J. & E. Bumpus in London, but individuals are also listed, for example Eugene McAuliffe in Omaha, Nebraska, and Professor E. P. Morris in Philadelphia.⁸¹³ Subscription orders were also sent directly to O’Sullivan in Dublin, for example Judge J. H. Brennan, First Judicial Circuit of West Virginia took a one-year subscription in May 1951 in response to the advertisement he had seen in the *Times Literary Supplement*.⁸¹⁴ Separate (undated) lists, titled ‘Permanent Free List’ and ‘Sample’ are remarkable documents, as they illustrate the extent of O’Sullivan’s efforts to promote and market *The Dublin Magazine*, and these will be considered in the following chapter.

The Capuchin Annual was light years ahead of its peer periodicals in the professionalism and extent of its advertising effort and so it was, too, in its subscription activities. The Association of Patrons of the *Capuchin Annual* (A.P.C.A.) was launched in 1942: “*The Capuchin Annual* is more than a national magazine; it is a national movement.” This is a sentence from a joint letter received from a number of enthusiastic supporters of the Annual’.⁸¹⁵ Father Senan appealed to Irish men and Irish women everywhere to join the A.P.C.A. The membership rates were: Foundation-Life Members, £25 (\$125); Life Members, £10 (\$50); and Annual Members £1 (\$5). The names of the patrons would, Father Senan wrote, be published in the 1943 edition.

⁸¹³ Subscription orders (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4648/429).

⁸¹⁴ Subscription orders (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4640-2522).

⁸¹⁵ *The Capuchin Annual* (1942), p.610.

The success of the scheme may be judged by the fact that the names of the patrons ran over 20 pages of the 1943 edition and numbered more than 2,000. They had, Father Senan wrote in that edition, been unprepared for the 'immediate and enthusiastic response.' The published list of Patrons in 1943 included 24 Foundation-Life Members, although of the 24 names, three were staff members, five were regular contributors, one was the printer of *The Capuchin Annual*, and another was Father Senan's brother, Father Francis Moynihan. Other Foundation-Life Members included His Grace The Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne; Dr. MacNeely, Bishop of Raphoe; Dr. Mageean, Bishop of Down; and H.E. Thomas J. Kiernan, Irish Minister to the Holy See.⁸¹⁶ Victor Waddington was also included here. The majority of members joined at the Annual Members rate of £1 (\$5) – including An Taoiseach Eamon de Valera – and these were primarily drawn from Ireland, north and south. The international members are generally religious – for example, Rev. Joseph V Duenser, Pennsylvania; Rev. Bart Keaney, St. Louis; and Rev. J. J. McAlister, Michigan – but there are some exceptions, including Mrs Constance Davies, Gloucestershire, and Mrs M. Morris, Liverpool. By 1945, Father Senan claimed that 'New names are coming in steadily and we now have more than 4,000 names engraven in the heart of the Annual'.⁸¹⁷

The 1946/47 edition listed 39 Foundation-Life Members, 331 Life Members and 3,588 Annual Members.⁸¹⁸ The 1948 edition listed 76 Foundation-Life Members,

⁸¹⁶ The Association of the Patrons of The Capuchin Annual' in *The Capuchin Annual (1943)*, pp 513–33.

⁸¹⁷ *The Capuchin Annual (1944)*, p. 382.

⁸¹⁸ *The Capuchin Annual (1946/47)*, p. 465.

429 Life Members and 3,062 Annual Members.⁸¹⁹ This edition also introduced a new membership category, six-year membership at \$37.50. *The Capuchin Annual* (1953–54) listed 119 Foundation-Life Members, 408 Life Members, 5,034 Annual Members, and 120 six-year members.⁸²⁰ Monthly income from A.P.C.A. members, from May–December 1954 averaged £161.⁸²¹ Over a period of six years, therefore, Father Senan had succeeded in establishing a subscription base that exceeded 5,000. Among the Foundation-Life Members, he could include the President of Ireland (Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh); a previous president (Dr. Douglas Hyde); the Irish Minister to Australia (Thomas J. Kiernan); a senator (J. E. McEllin); two archbishops (Dr. Mannix of Melbourne and Dr. Walsh of Tuam); three bishops (Raphoe, Down and Connor, and Bathurst, Australia), and individuals such as Eleanor, Lady Yarrow and Victor Waddington. The ecumenical composition of the A.P.C.A. should also be noted here, comprising as it did Catholic archbishops, a Protestant president, and a Jewish gallerist.

There is evidence that Father Senan had a local subscriptions salesforce, at the very least in Dundalk and Wexford. On 16 December 1949, Paddy Power from Dundalk wrote to Father Senan:

I shall be glad to act as your representative in the Dundalk area. Please let me have some details on the subscriptions expected from the foundation, life and associate members and your advice on the best approach to likely subscribers.

⁸¹⁹ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 609.

⁸²⁰ *The Capuchin Annual* (1953/54), pp 490–512.

⁸²¹ Capuchin Periodicals, Daybook May 1954 - December 1956 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

Paddy Power also requested a list of the current subscribers in Dundalk so that he might encourage people 'to be as good as their neighbours.'⁸²² On 22 December 1949, Philomena O'Rourke of 8 St. Ita's Terrace, Hill Street, in Wexford, wrote to Father Senan:

I now have alas but one further name for you – Mr Lar Roche, Johnstown, Duncormick, Co. Wexford. Appreciating the upset I had during the year I was unable to give my wholehearted attention to the promoting of the subscribers to the Annual.⁸²³

If *The Capuchin Annual* is remarkable for its meteoric rise from a timid Franciscan publication to 'an amazing phenomenon of modern political Catholic Ireland,' as Patrick Kavanagh described it,⁸²⁴ then it is equally remarkable for its financial implosion. Despite its impressive circulation and a subscription base of more than 5,000, examination of the 1954 ledgers reveal that financial affairs at *The Capuchin Annual* were in a dire state indeed. The sharp increases in the price of *The Capuchin Annual* throughout the 1930s and 1940s suggest that all was not quite under control financially. In 1931 the cover price was doubled to two shillings; in 1937 it was increased to two shillings and sixpence; in 1940 it rose to five shillings; in 1942 it more than doubled again to ten shillings and sixpence, and by 1949 it had reached the princely sum of one guinea. To put this in context, in 1940 *The Dublin Magazine* was priced at 2s. 6d. and *The Bell* was one shilling. The entry in *The Capuchin Annual* ledger for May 1954 tells its own sorrowful tale. The debt at Capuchin Periodicals on 1 May 1954 was stated as £71,234 (approx.), of which

⁸²² Paddy Power to Father Senan, 16 Dec. 1949 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, v).

⁸²³ Philomena O'Rourke to Father Senan, 22 Dec. 1949 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, v).

⁸²⁴ Patrick Kavanagh, 'The Irish Catholic National Front: The Capuchin Annual for 1949' in *Irish Times*, 10 Jan. 1942, p. 5.

£62,416 19s. 6d. was due to the bank; £7,420 10s. 11d. due to John English (printers); £872 15s. to Cahills; and £245 4s. 11d. to the Dublin Illustrating Company.⁸²⁵ How were the debts accumulated? We do not have the full picture yet, and the extent of Father Senan's involvement - financial and otherwise - with projects outside *The Capuchin Annual* remains tantalizingly oblique for the moment. His role in the *Irish Bookman*, for example, merits further scrutiny. The *Irish Bookman* was published from August 1946 to December 1948, initially on a monthly basis but thereafter rather more irregularly. A full-page advertisement for *The Capuchin Annual* ran on the inside back cover of every edition. The editor of *Irish Bookman* was Seamus (J. J.) Campbell, a regular contributor to *The Capuchin Annual* and the author of *Orange Terror*.⁸²⁶ In *The Capuchin Annual (1946)* Campbell was numbered among the staff in the office and in his contributor biography in that edition he was credited as its chief literary adviser:

Mr Campbell has now set up as an editor in his own right. The combined readability and scholarliness of *Irish Bookman* of which the first issue came out in August 1946 have already made it, under Mr Campbell's direction, a literary review as valuable as it is popular.⁸²⁷

However, the tone of Campbell's letter to Father Senan on 12 March 1947 suggests that Father Senan was more closely involved with the *Irish Bookman*:

I thought seriously last month of asking you if it would not be better to make a double number and now I am wondering the same again. What would you think of making it a March–April number if there is still time and try to bring out each issue a week before publication thereafter?⁸²⁸

⁸²⁵ Day Book [ledger] May 1954 – Feb. 1978 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection)

⁸²⁶ J.J. Campbell contributed articles to the 1942, 1944, 1945-46, 1946-47, 1948, 1949, and 1952 editions of *The Capuchin Annual*.

⁸²⁷ *The Capuchin Annual (1946)*, p. 463.

⁸²⁸ Seamus Campbell to Father Senan, 12 Mar. 1947 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers MS 679 Guard Book, ix).

That the extent of Father Senan's involvement with *Irish Bookman* was more significant than that of mentor was also suggested by Benedict Kiely, who recalled:

‘His [Father Senan's] periodicals included for a while the *Irish Bookman* under the editorship of J. J. Campbell.’⁸²⁹

The fees paid to contributors to *The Capuchin Annual* were high in comparison with peer periodicals of the time and staffing levels were remarkably high. *Ireland To-day*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Bell* and *Envoy* were notable for operating with minimal staff - in the case of *Ireland To-Day* and *The Dublin Magazine*, O'Donovan and O'Sullivan practically managed those periodicals singlehandedly. That was not the case at *The Capuchin Annual*. In his *Leathanach an Eagarthora* in 1942 Father Senan claimed that ‘the editorial offices maintain a permanent staff of twenty-five’.⁸³⁰ In the 1948 edition, he thanked ten members of staff; in 1949, eleven members of staff are mentioned.⁸³¹ Father Senan also held progressive views on staff benefits, as he outlined in the 1942 edition: ‘A feature of the establishment [*The Capuchin Annual*] is a non-contributory pensions scheme which is an attempt to implement suggestions contained in the social encyclicals of Pope Pius XI’.⁸³² Egan was the only staff member mentioned by name in the Ledger: in October 1954, £43 18s. 8d. was allocated to Canada Life Assurance (L. Egan) and in May 1955 £81 1s. 8d. was allocated to Canada Life Assurance (L. Egan).⁸³³

⁸²⁹ Kiely, ‘Corpulent Capuchin of Capel Street’ (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection)

⁸³⁰ *The Capuchin Annual* (1942), p. 611.

⁸³¹ Laurence Egan, Maura, Jo, Annie, Paddy, Willie, John, Vincent, Kevin R and Tomas Ó Riain are listed in ‘Leathanach an Eagarthora’ in *The Capuchin Annual* (1948) p. 599; Laurence Egan, Mollie Baxter, Maura, Jo, Annie, Neille, Paddy, William, John Vincent, Kevin and Thomas are listed in ‘Leathanach an Eagarthora’ in *The Capuchin Annual* (1949), p. 621.

⁸³² ‘Leathanach an Eagarthora’ in *The Capuchin Annual* (1942), p.611.

⁸³³ Publications Payments Jun. 1954 – Jun. 1963 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

Readers, too, were treated sympathetically – at least until 1948/49. In the 1948 edition, Father Senan wrote in *Aguisín* of the letters he received from foreign missionaries ‘in lonely outposts of the world who write to tell us of the happiness stray copies bring.’ He continued:

Missionaries are not among the rich ones of the world... We have in the past responded, in every instance, to the implications (often unintentional) of the letters by sending out current copies of the Annual and Record with our compliments and good wishes as a gesture of recognition of nobility of life and purpose. But there is a limit, as the office accountant reminds us, and indeed tells us that we have passed that limit long, long ago. The letters, however, still come...⁸³⁴

It is not known whether Father Senan made the first approach or whether his superiors stepped in, but what is incontrovertible is that in September 1954, a loan of £20,000 from the Provincial Account was entered in the Day Book. This was set against the bank debt so that in October 1954 the balance due to the bank had fallen to £42,768 9s. 9d. This was followed by a further loan of £20,000 from the Provincial Fund in May 1955, also set against the bank debt and reducing the balance owed to £21,406 6s. 11d.⁸³⁵ In addition to money due to the bank, pressure from creditors was also clearly mounting. On 24 November 1955, Father Senan wrote to the Father Provincial:

Just over four weeks ago I went to Cork to tell you of the sad mess I had made of things and to express my heartfelt sorrow. You received me in a far kinder way than I deserved and said that you would make the necessary arrangements. That was for me the lifting of a crushing load – all the more crushing because it was brought on through my own great fault... The following day I wrote to those who had been particularly pressing (chiefly because they were being pressed themselves) and told them that I had been to see you and that everything would be set right within a short time.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ ‘Aguisín’ in *The Capuchin Annual (1948)*, p. 603.

⁸³⁵ Daybook May 1954 – Dec. 1956 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁸³⁶ Father Senan to Father Provincial, 24 Nov. 1955 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

On 25 November 1955, the Father Provincial wrote to Father Senan:

It is better, however, that I deal with the people who are pressing you... You can tell Mr Benner of Belfast and the others, whose names you listed, to send me their accounts; and these will be settled within a reasonable time.⁸³⁷

The December 1955 accounts record that the Father Provincial was true to his word. A new column was added, headed 'Debt', and a figure of £8,000 was entered, of which £2,600 was paid to the aforementioned Frank Benner; £2,050 to Colm McDonnell; £2,000 to McVey; £500 to McHenry Brothers; £250 to Brennan Insurance; £100 each to D. J. Kelleher, P. J. Kilmainham, and E. P. Bradley; £100 to Dr MacManus (London); and £200 to Leo Smith. A further loan of £3,050 from the 'Fr Provincial Account' was entered in April 1956, and in October 1956 a loan of £5,000 was recorded, although the source is not given. Interest of £337 10s. on the National Loan continued to be paid twice yearly (March and September) long after the departure of Father Senan. The final entry was recorded in September 1966.⁸³⁸

This chapter set out to examine the financial operation of these intellectual periodicals. Publishing was not, the evidence suggests, for the faint hearted. That they survived for any length of time is perhaps more remarkable than their eventual closure. The editors of these periodicals were intimately involved with the commercial operation - selling advertising, managing subscriptions, soliciting patronage - and to consider them only in terms of their editorial effort does them a disservice.

⁸³⁷ Father Provincial to Father Senan, 25 Nov. 1955 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

⁸³⁸ Daybook May 1954 – Dec. 1956 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

8. Aesthetics and marketing

*'We set out to present Ireland to the world, to show the Irish way of life in all its phases: cultural, intellectual, social and of course spiritual. It would appear that we are accepted abroad as Ireland's cultural ambassador.'*⁸³⁹

Previous chapters in this thesis have contextualized these intellectual and literary periodicals in Irish publishing, culture and commerce. This chapter will consider the presentation of these periodicals, not only in terms of aesthetic material production but also by considering how and where they were presented - that is, marketed - to potential readers.

The Dublin Magazine and *The Capuchin Annual* were published continuously for more than two decades from 1930 and both periodicals are notable for the aesthetic sensibility demonstrated by their respective editors. *The Dublin Magazine* predates the 1930s. The cover design of the monthly editions (1923-6) was created by O'Sullivan's friend Harry Clarke, who also advised on the layout. Later in the 1920s Clarke included an excerpt from O'Sullivan's poem *The Others* in his magnificent *Geneva Window*, illustrated alongside excerpts from the work of Joyce, Yeats and Shaw as representative of the country's literary character. The Irish Government's shameful treatment of Clarke's *Geneva Window*, arguably the greatest work of art created in Ireland in the twentieth century, has been well documented.⁸⁴⁰ The cover illustration of the early issues of *The Dublin Magazine* showed an elegant Regency-style couple, set against a Dublin panorama in

⁸³⁹ *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 609.

⁸⁴⁰ Nicola Gordon Bowe, *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke* (Dublin, 2012).

silhouette and framed against a vibrant blue cover. It was designed to be printed in black, blue and gold on a matt white paper.⁸⁴¹ Presumably the substantial printing costs associated with this cover must have contributed in part to the new cover design in 1926, which featured a more restrained typographic layout, and this presentation was maintained until the mid-1950s. O'Sullivan's concern for the aesthetics of publication are suggested in his letter to the Manager of Dublin University Press regarding the production of his book, *Editor's Choice: a little anthology of poems selected from The Dublin Magazine*:

I am very much disappointed to find that my instructions with regard to the format of the above book have not been attended to... [the paper is] an unpleasant blue shade which clashes badly with the colour of the binding and dust jacket.⁸⁴²

Father Senan also looked to an Irish artist for the design of *The Capuchin Annual*. The designer of the first three annuals (1930-2) is not acknowledged, and the cover reflected the timid nature of these first editions: a small illustration of St Francis kneeling before Christ on the cross was centred against a plain brown cover, the Franciscan coat of arms was prominently displayed at the bottom left-hand corner, and across the bottom of the cover ran the tag line, in capital letters: 'DO CHUM GLÓIRE DÉ AGUS ONÓRA NA HÉIREANN' ('To the glory of God and honour of Ireland'). The cover changed in 1933, with the new design attributed to Sean McManus and featuring a larger illustration of St Francis at work on a manuscript. The Franciscan coat of arms remained in place. The 1934 edition introduced the iconic Seán O'Sullivan cover design that would appear on every subsequent

⁸⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 216.

⁸⁴² James S. Starkey to the Manager, Dublin University Press, 1 Nov. 1944 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, Ms 4639-2123).

edition. Printed in three colours, the cover illustration of the parable of St Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio filled the front cover and the Franciscan coat of arms was quietly dropped. The tag line 'DOCUM GLÓIRE DÉ AGUS ONÓRA NA HÉIREANN' appeared just as prominently as ever. O'Sullivan has been described as an immense talent and a prolific artist who exhibited over two hundred works at the R.H.A. between 1926 and 1964.⁸⁴³ He attended the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and studied in Paris, where he was on friendly terms with Joyce and Beckett. By 1928 he was working primarily as a portraitist, and he painted among others Maud Gonne McBride and Jack B. Yeats. He is perhaps best known for his portrait of De Valera, which was shown in the R.H.A in 1933, though his charcoal study of Brian Ó Nuallain (Myles Na gCopaleen/Flann O'Brien) and his lithograph of R. M. Smylie, editor of the *Irish Times* are particularly evocative of the period under review here.

However, what is of particular interest here is that, in addition to his cover design for *The Capuchin Annual*, O'Sullivan was also responsible for the cover design of a very different periodical in the 1930s. O'Sullivan's design for the first issue of *Ireland To-Day* in June 1936 featured a phoenix rising from the flames, centred below the masthead. In fact, O'Donovan appeared to derive some inspiration from the cover image for his first editorial, which proclaimed that *Ireland To-Day* had risen from the 'smouldering ashes' to which 'so many of our predecessors had fallen'.⁸⁴⁴ The cover of *Ireland To-Day* was printed in two colours and, though the colours changed from issue to issue and cover lines were added to the design in

⁸⁴³ Éimear O'Connor, 'Seán O'Sullivan RHA (1906-1964): An Extraordinary Talent', published as a catalogue essay to accompany a major sale of Seán O'Sullivan's work, 2 May 2012 (<http://www.eimearoconnor.ie/docs/Sean%20O%27Sullivan%20May%202012.pdf>) (31 July 2018).

⁸⁴⁴ *Ireland To-Day*, Jun. 1936, p. 2.

later editions, the striking image of the phoenix remained. Although John Ryan designed the cover of *Envoy* himself in 1949, O'Sullivan was involved with one critical aspect of *Envoy*. Ryan later recalled how he had asked his friend O'Sullivan to introduce him to Patrick Kavanagh on Grafton Street in Dublin:

During the introduction he [Kavanagh] groaned piteously. With not a little trepidation, I broached the subject of *Envoy*, asking him would he care to contribute a poem or something. He looked at me in utter loathing, let out a dying roar and took off down the street under full rig. O'Sullivan, who (as it happened) liked me, gave chase and in his own equally intimidating voice demanded why the so-and-so he couldn't have the civility to answer (me) his friend. Paddy at last relented and it was agreed that we go into the nearest pub. Over some large whiskies he consented to write a 'diary' for the magazine, a promise which he faithfully kept for the whole two years of *Envoy's* existence.⁸⁴⁵

Ryan's design for the front cover of the first issue of *Envoy* showed a Georgian Dublin streetscape glimpsed through an archway, overprinted with the names of the contributors to that issue. In 1950 the Georgian streetscape was dropped and the cover lines were extended to include the article titles, set against a plain background. The cover was printed in two colours, changing from issue to issue. The cover design for *The Bell* changed several times over its lifespan. In his editorial in the first issue of *The Bell*, O'Faoláin claimed that the old images and symbols of Ireland held no meaning for contemporary Ireland and any title might be chosen for the new periodical: 'any other equally spare and hard and simple word would have done; any word with a minimum of associations.'⁸⁴⁶ The two-colour front cover of this first issue of *The Bell* did indeed illustrate a 'spare and

⁸⁴⁵ John Ryan, *Remembering How We Stood* (Dublin, 1975), pp 94-5.

⁸⁴⁶ *The Bell*, Oct. 1940, p. 5.

hard' bell, centred at the top of the cover, but centred at the bottom of the cover was an Irish harp. Just as Father Senan utilized 'Do Chum Glóire Dé Agus Onóra na hÉireann' from the *Annals of the Four Masters* for his front cover, so, too, did O'Faoláin stamp his front cover with a most recognizable symbol of Irish identity, the harp. There were other, more overt means of identifying these periodicals as products of Irish cultural endeavour – obviously the titles of the periodicals themselves (*The Dublin Magazine*, *Ireland To-day* and the sub-head to *The Bell* 'A Survey of Irish Life'). In July 1936 readers of *Ireland To-Day* were assured that 'Cover board, paper, ink, type and blocks are all deánta I hÉirinn'. The August 1936 issue of *Ireland To-day* allocated the entire outside back over to this statement:

Ireland To-day acknowledges paper making competence of the North of Ireland Paper Mills, Ballyclare; the cover-board making competence of Messs. Bibby and Baron, Inchicore; the ink-making competence of Glenside Ink Company, Palmerstown; the block making competence of the Dublin Illustrating Company.

This full-page statement was repeated occasionally in subsequent issues of *Ireland To-Day* and, though it may well have served a purpose as a filler when an advertisement page could not be sold, it is noteworthy that O'Donovan chose to use this text and format to fill the page. In the case of *Envoy*, two noteworthy tag lines were added to the April 1950 issue – 'Printed in the Republic of Ireland' was added to the front cover and 'An Irish Review of Literature and Art' was added to the contents page.

It should also be noted that O'Sullivan, O'Faoláin (and later O'Donnell) and Sean Dorman published their names on the front covers of their respective periodicals.

Father Senan and John Ryan did not. In the case of *Motley*, Mary Manning's name did not appear on the striking black-on-orange front cover but Michéal Mac Liammoir's signature did appear alongside his illustration that dominated the cover, providing a powerful visual link between the theatre and its founding director. O'Sullivan, O'Faoláin and O'Donnell were published writers and the association of their names added credibility and artistic weight to their periodicals. In the case of Sean Dorman, the multiple changes in the cover design for *Commentary* and the ever-increasing prominence of his name on the cover illustrate his primary editorial concern, as he later alluded to in his memoir:

It has always been a source of bitter disappointment to me that I have never been able to afford to have erected, at the summit of one of the taller buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of O'Connell Street, a sky-sign in multi-coloured neon lights, flashing out my name every ten seconds in letters some twelve feet high. Firms advertise themselves and an author is a one-man firm. If you do not put up your own neon signs, it is pretty certain that – except in the long run, and it may be a very long run, and you may be dead first – no one else will put them up for you.⁸⁴⁷

Father Senan's pioneering use of colour to reproduce the work of Irish artists from 1934 onwards has been discussed in earlier chapters and Ryan, as an artist himself, made valiant attempts to include critical assessments of Irish artists (or at least those represented by Victor Waddington) in *Envoy*. Le Brocquy, Nano Reid, and George Campbell were some of the artists whose work was discussed but Ryan's attempts to reproduce artists' work were notably less successful – poor quality black-and-white reproductions, set awkwardly on the page, cannot have generated substantial appreciation of the artists' work among his readership. O'Faoláin also

⁸⁴⁷ Dorman, *Limelight*, p. 118.

commented on the production quality ('Printing as poor as Cahills always do it') in his acerbic (and unsolicited) critique of the first issue of *Envoy*, sent to Ryan in December 1949.⁸⁴⁸ One can only surmise the irritation this caused Ryan, considering that the production and print standards of *The Bell* were entirely unremarkable. It has been described as 'penny plain and functional as a trade magazine'⁸⁴⁹ and, as O'Faoláin himself noted later, *The Bell* had been criticized for being 'the only magazine in the world to be printed on lavatory paper with ink made from soot.'⁸⁵⁰

Of course, the quality and availability of the paper available during the Emergency was a factor in determining production standards, but it is interesting to examine the markedly different responses of O'Faoláin and Father Senan to the same problem. From its first edition in 1930, *The Capuchin Annual* had remarkably high production standards. It was printed on toned art paper, which gave the *Annual* the glossy presentation often commented upon by subsequent writers and generally accepted as the standard for the duration of the *Annual*. However, all Irish periodicals were affected by the consequences of the German invasion of Norway in 1940, which decimated the British supply of wood pulp by 80% and curtailed Irish paper supplies. *The Bell* responded by introducing layout changes, smaller type size and reduced pagination to cope with the paper shortages: 'In war times... the aesthetics of printing have to yield something to circumstance.'⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁸ Seán Ó Faoláin to John Ryan, Dec. 1949 (Envoy Collection SIU Box 5 Folder 5), cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 141.

⁸⁴⁹ Fallon, *Age of Innocence*, p.233.

⁸⁵⁰ Cited in Shovlin, p. 100.

⁸⁵¹ *The Bell*, Feb. 1943, p. 342.

That, apparently, was not a sentiment shared by Father Senan, or at least not readily accepted and he lobbied the government for additional paper supplies. On 6 June 1942, Seán Lemass, minister for supplies, wrote to Father Senan:

As promised I have looked into the question of the paper which you require for *The Capuchin Annual*. Our experience shows that it is a very difficult matter to induce the Board of Trade to give an increased quota in any particular case but there is a slight possibility that they may be induced to do so for *The Capuchin Annual*.⁸⁵²

On 19 August that year, Lemass wrote again to Father Senan:

Since writing to you on 6th June last I have had representations made to the authorities in the United Kingdom with a view to securing a special allocation of paper, over and above our national paper quota, for the printing of *The Capuchin Annual*. I have now learned that the special allocation will not be forthcoming. I am afraid in the circumstances that you will have to try to carry on with what Messrs English & Co. can supply.⁸⁵³

This correspondence indicates Father Senan's determination to maintain standards at *The Capuchin Annual*. Although he did not get the paper, he refused to alter the design or reduce the pagination: the 1945 issue ran to an astonishing 512 pages and was printed on five different types of paper. This correspondence is also noteworthy as it indicates the relationship between Father Senan and Lemass. From 1941 to 1945/6, *The Capuchin Annual* had an office above Lemass family's drapers shop at 2 Capel Street, Dublin, and there is a suggestion that Lemass donated money to *The Capuchin Annual* and persuaded Joseph McGrath to do likewise.⁸⁵⁴ Father Senan's tenure on Capel Street represented a gloriously

⁸⁵² Sean Lemass to Father Senan Moynihan, 6 Jun. 1942 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, ii).

⁸⁵³ Sean Lemass to Father Senan Moynihan, 19 Aug. 1942 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, ii).

⁸⁵⁴ John Horgan, *Sean Lemass: The Enigmatic Patriot* (Dublin, 1999), p. 138.

independent period, when he somehow managed to extricate himself from his superiors at Church Street and it marked the zenith of his achievements at *The Capuchin Annual*. On a personal level, too, this was a significant period as Father Senan was appointed to the Board of the National Gallery.⁸⁵⁵ In *The Capuchin Annual* (1942) Fr. Senan declared:

'The Capuchin Annual is more than a national magazine; it is a national movement.' This is a sentence from a joint letter received from a number of enthusiastic supporters of the *Annual*. The *Annual*, as the letter points out, is since its first issue in December 1929, recognised throughout the world as the most representative of Irish publications. Its literary and artistic contributors include many of the most distinguished living Irish writers, painters, photographers, et al and in addition the Editor has consistently endeavoured to encourage young writers and artists... the *Annual* may be said to provide a complete and worthy survey of everything worthwhile in the life of resurgent Ireland. We may add that it is the ambition of the editors of the Capuchin Periodicals to establish a centre of national cultural activities with the *Annual* as its nucleus. Already the basis has been laid down in a representative collection of original paintings and drawings of national interest by modern Irish artists. These works are on exhibition at the head offices of Capuchin Periodicals, 2, Capel Street, Dublin, and may be viewed any day between 3 and 5pm (Saturdays, Sundays and Holydays excepted)... We cherish the hope of establishing a studio for the actual production of works of art, and more particularly works of ecclesiastical art.⁸⁵⁶

At some point between November 1945 and November 1946, however, *The Capuchin Annual* office moved, or was moved, back to Church Street.⁸⁵⁷ The studio did not come to fruition and the collection was sold to offset his mounting financial difficulties. On 24 January 1954, Father Senan informed the Minister Provincial:

⁸⁵⁵ Letter of appointment from the Department of Education 22 May 1946 and letter of acceptance from Father Senan to Dr M. Quane at the Department of Education, 27 Jun. 1946. (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers, MS 679, xix).

⁸⁵⁶ *The Capuchin Annual* (1942), p. 610.

⁸⁵⁷ The 1945/46 edition of *The Capuchin Annual* is dated November 1945 and gives the publishing address as 2 Capel Street. The 1946/47 edition of the *The Capuchin Annual* is dated November 1946 and gives the publishing address as Church Street.

I have decided to get rid of the whole collection of paintings, drawings, statues, etc many of them given to me as gifts over the years. I have entrusted the selling of the pictures (they should bring in about £10,000) to Mr Leo Smith.⁸⁵⁸

In 2014 one of these paintings from the Capuchin Collection, *Sleep Beside (by) Falling Water* by Jack B. Yeats, sold at auction in Dublin for €155,000.⁸⁵⁹

This study focuses on intellectual and literary periodicals published in Dublin and, with the notable exception of *The Capuchin Annual* which was printed by John English in Wexford for most of Father Senan's editorship,⁸⁶⁰ the periodicals under review here were also printed in the city - *The Dublin Magazine* by Alex Thom, *Motley* by Fodhla Printing, *The Bell* and *Envoy* by Cahill & Co., *Ireland To-Day* by Woods and *Commentary* by Spartan Printing. However, noteworthy periodicals were, of course, published outside of the capital. In Cork, *Irish Writing*, edited by David Marcus and Terence Smith (and later S. J. White), was founded in 1946 and continued until 1957, though it had a notable afterlife as *New Irish Writing*, contained first within the *Irish Press* and later in the *Sunday Tribune*. *Irish Writing* published short stories from Kate O'Brien, James Plunkett, and the ubiquitous O'Faoláin and Frank O'Connor alongside poetry from Joyce, Kavanagh, Roy McFadden and others. It has been credited with giving writers such as Benedict Kiely and Pearse Hutchinson 'greater opportunities to see their work in print in

⁸⁵⁸ Father Senan Moynihan to Father Colman O.F.M.Cap., D.D., Minister Provincial, 24 Jan. 1943 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection). Leo Smith was the founder of The Dawson Gallery in Dublin, established in 1944 following his departure from the Victor Waddington Gallery.

⁸⁵⁹ Adam's Important Irish Art Sale, Dublin, 3 Dec. 2014 (<https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/homes-and-property/fine-art-antiques/adam-s-irish-art-sale-brings-in-1-6m-1.2034538>) (20 Dec. 2014).

⁸⁶⁰ The first two editions of *The Capuchin Annual* were printed by Colm Ó Lochlainn at the Three Candles Press in Dublin and the printing returned to Dublin, to the Dollard Printing House, under Father Senan's successor, Father Henry Anglin.

Ireland than had existed for writers since the first decades of the century'.⁸⁶¹ This unfairly excludes *The Capuchin Annual* from the publishing landscape – as discussed previously, Kiely himself credited Father Senan with encouraging his latent literary ambitions when he was still a schoolboy and he contributed articles to every edition of *The Capuchin Annual* from 1942–48. Pearse Hutchinson also identified Father Senan as a defining influence - he recalled that his mother and Father Senan had 'ganged up on me to force me into an Arts course at U.C.D.':

I never wanted to go to that or any other university, but it was a meal-ticket, thanks to Senan, that Ciarraíoch beannaithe, who actually believed that poets had a right to eat.⁸⁶²

Father Senan regularly published Hutchinson's work in *The Capuchin Annual* from 1945 to 1948. He also provided practical support to Marcus at *Irish Writing* on at least one occasion. On 2 September 1947, Marcus wrote to Father Senan to ask him to place an advertisement to support the magazine, as 'Our very existence now is from issue to issue'.⁸⁶³ The response was clearly favourable, as in a letter dated 22 September 1947, Marcus assured Father Senan that he would send a proof of the advertisement and thanked him for his generous response: 'Quite apart from financial considerations such support is the most encouraging thing.'⁸⁶⁴ Marcus's relationship with John Ryan and *Envoy* appeared rather more fraught. It seems Ryan asked Marcus to forward a letter to Elizabeth Bowen in 1949, presumably in the context of asking her to contribute to *Envoy*. The request to

⁸⁶¹ Brown, *Ireland*, p. 214.

⁸⁶² Pearse Hutchinson, *Done Into English: Collected Translations* (Oldcastle, 2003), p. 15.

⁸⁶³ David Marcus to Father Senan Moynihan, 2 Sept. 1947 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers MS 679, Book 5, ix).

⁸⁶⁴ David Marcus to Father Senan Moynihan, 22 Sept. 1947 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers MS 679, Book 5, ix).

forward the letter was declined, as illustrated in Ryan's reply to Marcus on 29 September 1949:

Thanks so much for returning our letter to Elizabeth Bowen. I rather fail to understand the note of acerbity in your covering letter. Surely it is a common courtesy that a magazine will forward a letter if it can? My phrase 'a vacuum in Irish letters' seems to have put you out somewhat. I must, I am afraid, maintain my position in this affair because I genuinely do consider that there has been little incentive in recent years for writers to aim high. Surely you do not suggest that a quarterly, such as *Irish Writing* for instance, is a satisfactory substitute for a regular monthly magazine?⁸⁶⁵

In Wexford, *Ireland's Own* was (and remains) a remarkable publishing success story. Founded by John Mellifont Walsh, the proprietor of *People* Newspapers Ltd. in 1902 the weekly *Ireland's Own* carried the tag line: 'Journal of Fiction, Literature and General Information' on the front cover and featured 'the songs and folklore of Ireland as well as capturing for its readers the spirit and character of Ireland of yesteryear in the stories and verses of its many contributors'.⁸⁶⁶ It was a winning formula: *Ireland's Own* had an ABC-audited circulation of 23,940 by January-June 1947, rising to 40,800 by January – June 1950.⁸⁶⁷

The contribution of Northern Irish writers to Dublin periodicals such as *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Capuchin Annual* and *The Bell*, which published three Ulster numbers, has been considered in previous chapters. However, there were notable periodicals published in Northern Ireland during the period under review here. *Ulster Voices*, edited by Roy McFadden and Robert Greacen, was launched in 1943,

⁸⁶⁵ John Ryan to David Marcus, 29 Sept. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁸⁶⁶ Austin Channing, 'History of Ireland's Own', published in an advertising supplement in *The People* Newspapers in Jan. 1988, provided by email to this writer by Gerard Breen, 5 Oct. 2015.

⁸⁶⁷ Net sales of *Ireland's Own*, 1947-1960 (Audit Bureau of Circulations). Provided by the A.B.C. by email to this writer, 21 Sept. 2015.

though only four editions were published and the content focused almost exclusively on poetry, including work from John Hewitt and John Boyd. *Lagan* was established in 1944 and edited by John Boyd but it, too, survived for only four issues. Described as ‘the best Ulster literary magazine since *Uladh* forty years before’⁸⁶⁸ it was notable for its editorial cohesion around a regionalist agenda. *Rann* was launched in 1948, edited by Barbara Hunter and Roy McFadden, and it was published until June 1953. Although it has been claimed that their sphere of influence was Belfast’s literary scene, these three periodicals were not published in Belfast but in Lisburn. The sub-head to *Lagan* was ‘A Collection of Ulster Writing’ and the sub-head on the first issue of *Rann* was ‘A Quarterly of Ulster Poetry’, though this changed on the second issue to ‘An Ulster Quarterly of Poetry’ before changing again with number 13 to ‘An Ulster Quarterly, Poetry and Comment’.

Definitions of what precisely constituted ‘Ulster’ were vague, as demonstrated in the final issue of *Rann* in June 1953, which included a bibliography of work by Ulster writers - Donegal-born Peadar O’Donnell was included but Monaghan-born Patrick Kavanagh was not. McFadden later admitted that he had reservations about Hewitt’s use of the word ‘Ulster’ at that time and suspected that Hewitt’s ‘Ulster’ did not extend beyond Antrim and Down.⁸⁶⁹ The editorial content of *Rann* has been well documented and it has been offered as a counter balance to the Dublin-dominated publishing environment.⁸⁷⁰ However, a comparative analysis of *Rann* and *Envoy* throws into sharp relief the fundamental differences between

⁸⁶⁸ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 201.

⁸⁶⁹ Roy McFadden, ‘No Dusty Pioneer’ in Dawe and Foster (eds) *The Poet’s Place*, p. 176, cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 178

⁸⁷⁰ Ballin, *Irish Periodical Culture* and Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*.

these periodicals. *Rann* and *Envoy* were established within a year of each other, and so were located in a post-war milieu. The editors of each periodical hoped, in part, to fill a vacuum created by others who had preceded them, to address the neglect of 'the poem and the painter'.⁸⁷¹ However, while Ryan, Valentin Iremonger and James Hillman declared that *Envoy* would 'make its pages the meeting place of all that is vital in the creative activity of this country',⁸⁷² Hunter and McFadden offered 'this region an opportunity to find its voice'.⁸⁷³ *Envoy* would serve abroad as an 'envoy of Irish writing and at home as envoy of the best in international writing'.⁸⁷⁴ *Rann* also looked abroad to 'invite poets writing with genuine accents in other regions, whether they be Welsh, Scottish, English or American'.⁸⁷⁵ But not, apparently, Irish. When *Rann* lifted its gaze beyond Ulster, it looked to Wales and its nineteenth issue was a 'Special Welsh Number' (complete with an illustration of a yellow daffodil on the front cover, designed by Rowel Friers). Cork-born poet David Marcus was a notable exception to this editorial policy and his work was published in the Spring 1949 and Spring 1951 issues. Marcus was notable, too, because his quarterly *Poetry Ireland* (1948–52) was one of only two advertisers to appear in *Rann* – the other advertiser was *Rann's* printer, Lisnagarvey Press. Ryan included an advertisement for *Rann* in the first issue of *Envoy*, writing to McFadden on 4 November 1949 to advise him:

In the last minute rush of setting up the copy for December's issue of *Envoy* we discovered that we had a quarter page space for an advertisement unfulfilled and took the liberty of putting in and [sic] advertisement for *Rann*. The text of the advt. is similar to that on the

⁸⁷¹ *Rann*, Summer 1948.

⁸⁷² *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁸⁷³ *Rann*, Summer 1948.

⁸⁷⁴ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁸⁷⁵ *Rann*, Summer 1948.

cover of your magazine and I think it will look quite well. The necessity for speed prevented me from getting in touch with you, but I trust you will find the arrangement satisfactory.⁸⁷⁶

How galling it must have been for Ryan then, to have his collegiate gesture reciprocated by this review of the first issue of *Envoy* in *Rann*:

The first number of *Envoy* is modelled largely on the style of *Horizon*; not altogether a good model for an Irish magazine. The poetry is unexciting; and Patrick Kavanagh's musings on the state of literature and life in contemporary Ireland are extraordinarily jejune.⁸⁷⁷

Ryan's admittance of unfilled advertising space points to a fundamental difference between *Envoy* and *Rann*. *Envoy* (in common with all the Dublin periodicals considered here) was embedded in the cultural and commercial life of the country. These were simultaneously cultural projects and commercial operations, and the editors battled alongside mainstream periodicals for advertising and audience. Admittedly, the average number of pages in *Rann* was just twelve, while *Envoy* heroically attempted to publish ninety-six pages, so production costs would naturally have been lower at *Rann*. This limited pagination may explain why advertising was not such a priority for *Rann*, though analysis of the financial operation of Northern Irish periodicals merits future attention. Distribution outside Ulster was apparently not a priority either. Eason's supplied Dublin periodicals such as *The Bell*, *Feature* and *Envoy* through its Belfast branch, but neither *Lagan* nor *Rann* appear on extant distribution lists for Eason's in Dublin. It is possible that they were distributed by Porters and News Brothers, but it is noteworthy that they were not handled by the dominant distributor in Ireland at the time.

⁸⁷⁶ John Ryan to Roy McFadden, 4 Nov. 1949 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-4).

⁸⁷⁷ *Rann*, Autumn 1949, p. 12.

Within the pages of *Rann* at least, the editors limited their appeal to subscribers – in Spring 1949 the editors called on subscribers to renew their subscriptions and take an additional subscription for a friend. The editors also expressed their intention to publish their list of subscribers in the following edition, but this list never appeared. In 1951, *Rann* changed from a quarterly to a tri-annual publishing schedule and by Number 15 (Spring 1952), the cover price had doubled to two shillings and subscription rates had soared from 4/6 for four issues to 8/ per annum - both ominous signs of financial woes.

The final issue of *Rann* (Number 20) was published in June 1953, and the editors noted that it has been 'partly sponsored by the Belfast P.E.N. Centre... and will be presented to delegates to the Twenty-Fifth P.E.N. Congress'.⁸⁷⁸ It ran to seventy-two pages, and remarkably, did not carry a cover price, suggesting that it was not on general sale beyond the P.E.N. delegates. Of the closure of *Rann* in 1953, McFadden later claimed that 'tiredness, not need of cash or an increased circulation, had convinced us that five years had been a brave innings; that enough was enough.'⁸⁷⁹ Peadar O'Donnell had apparently offered the support of *The Bell*, on both financial and circulation matters, but the offer of help was declined. Fatigue may well have been a factor in the decision to cease publication, but it is also unlikely that *Rann* had a circulation that could support it. When asked by Valentin Iremonger in 1949 to provide *Rann's* subscription list so that *Envoy* might be promoted to *Rann's* readers, McFadden claimed such a task would be too time-

⁸⁷⁸ *Rann*, Summer 1953.

⁸⁷⁹ Roy McFadden, 'No Dusty Pioneer' in Dawe and Foster (eds) *The Poet's Place*, p. 174, cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, p. 179.

consuming. Instead he offered to include flyers for *Envoy* in the next print of *Rann* - two hundred flyers would be sufficient.⁸⁸⁰ In the September 1950 issue of *Envoy* Kavanagh, in his notoriously irascible manner, declared:

A defect to which literary magazines are subject is a tendency to inbreed. They look in at themselves instead of out at the world.⁸⁸¹

Though the remark was directed at *Envoy*, it might more accurately have been applied to *Rann*. A defining characteristic of *Envoy*, *The Capuchin Annual* and *The Dublin Magazine* was their ambition to promote and locate themselves internationally. While *Rann* looked inwards for content and readers, these Dublin periodicals looked outwards. The mythology that surrounds *The Bell* extends to assessments of its international impact. It was claimed, in a compilation of writing from *The Bell* first published in 1978, that of the 'normal' print run of three thousand 'a thousand were bought outside of the country'.⁸⁸² Although no evidence to support this claim was provided, it was repeated in a recent study of *The Bell* as 'the fact' that so many copies were sent overseas meant that:

The Bell could project its version of Irish identity far beyond the country's natural borders into the hearts and minds of English, American and European readers.⁸⁸³

In the absence of documentary evidence, such a claim should be treated with caution. However, in the influence he brought to bear on the 'Irish Number' of Cyril Connolly's London periodical, *Horizon*, in January 1942 O'Faoláin arguably had

⁸⁸⁰ Roy McFadden to Valentin Iremonger, 25 Sept. 1949 (Envoy Collection, SIU, Box 5 Folder 4), cited in Shovlin, *Irish Literary Periodical*, footnote 59, p. 178.

⁸⁸¹ Patrick Kavanagh, *Envoy* Sept. 1950, p. 82.

⁸⁸² Sean McMahon, *Great Irish Writing: the Best from The Bell* (Dublin, 1978), p. 11.

⁸⁸³ Matthews, *The Bell*, p. 38.

a most effective international platform to project *The Bell's* 'version of Irish identity'. The placement of what was a rare advertisement for *The Bell* on the outside back cover of that issue of *Horizon* may have been a tacit acknowledgement of O'Faoláin's input. Connolly declared that the 'Irish Number' was not concerned with propaganda 'but with giving a truthful picture of contemporary Éire as it is seen by Irish writers' but he then conceded:

But in one way this number is propaganda... if this number dispels a little of the boredom and incomprehension with which the Irish problem is regarded, then the picture will have been not only true but useful.⁸⁸⁴

An equally true, useful, and alternative picture of Ireland was presented by O'Sullivan and *The Dublin Magazine*, not within the pages of one issue of a London periodical, but through diverse periodicals and over several years. O'Sullivan went to great lengths to promote *The Dublin Magazine* outside Ireland. He retained the services of several international subscription agencies - in the January 1940 issue O'Sullivan listed two subscription agencies in London, John & Edward Bumpus and Simpkin Marshall. On 5 March 1951, Alfred Wilson Ltd., Expert Booksellers and Newsagents took a subscription for Ingi B. Groendal in Reykjavik, Iceland,⁸⁸⁵ and on 23 August 1951 the Continental Publishers and Distributors Ltd. renewed a six-month subscription to Radio Free Europe in Muenchen, Germany.⁸⁸⁶ On 14 April 1942 the Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies, North Cohocton, New York, took a

⁸⁸⁴ Comment, *Horizon* 'Irish Number', Jan. 1942, p. 3.

⁸⁸⁵ Subscription order from Alfred Wilson Ltd., 5 Mar. 1951 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS4640-2511).

⁸⁸⁶ Subscription order from Continental Publishers and Distributors Ltd., 23 Aug. 1951 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4640-2545).

subscription for Fordham University Library, New York.⁸⁸⁷ On 10 February 1946, H. H. Evans Bookseller in San Francisco booked a one-year subscription and ordered 'any back issue you have on hand'; twenty-seven issues of *The Dublin Magazine* were duly dispatched.⁸⁸⁸ On 10 October 1949, the International News Company in New York took a subscription for the Colony Club on Park Avenue.⁸⁸⁹

O'Sullivan's international marketing activities were not limited to subscription agencies, and his marshaling of meagre resources to promote *The Dublin Magazine* internationally is remarkable. *The Dublin Magazine* included advertisements for renowned peer periodicals, in Ireland and internationally, ranging from *The Modern Scot* and the *English Review to Poetry* in Chicago and *The Hound and Horn* in New York. It is unlikely that any of these were paid advertisements but were instead exchange advertisements between publishers who believed each other's readership to be relevant. The January– March 1933 issue of *The Dublin Magazine* carried a full-page advertisement for *English Review*, a literary journal that had published the work of writers such as Thomas Hardy, Henry James, Shaw and Yeats.⁸⁹⁰ The June 1933 issue of *English Review* carried a full-page advertisement for *The Dublin Magazine*, noting O'Sullivan as editor at the top of the page and listing the contents, cover price, subscription rates and address in Dublin.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁷ Subscription order from Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies, 14 Apr. 1942 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4638/1904a).

⁸⁸⁸ Letter from H. H. Evans Bookseller, 10 Feb. 1946, with typed note added to the back 'sent 12 Mar. 1946) (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4639-2228).

⁸⁸⁹ Subscription order from International News Company, 10 Oct. 1949 (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4640-2438).

⁸⁹⁰ In 1937 *English Review* was absorbed by *The National Review*.

⁸⁹¹ *English Review*, Jun. 1933, p. xviii.

The first issue of *Modern Scot* was launched in the spring of 1930, founded and edited by James Whyte from St. Andrews in Scotland. It was an expression of the ‘consciousness of Scottishness [that] came to us all after the War’⁸⁹² and has been described as ‘the best nationalist journal of opinion since the *Scottish Review* [in which] the Scottish literary renaissance was enjoying its last major flourish.’⁸⁹³ It carried a full-page advertisement for *The Dublin Magazine* from its second issue in April 1930 until January 1936.⁸⁹⁴ O’Sullivan reciprocated by including half-page advertisements for *Modern Scot* in *The Dublin Magazine* throughout 1930-6. The advertisements for *The Dublin Magazine*, which listed the contents of forthcoming issues, were placed prominently opposite the Contents page of most issues of *The Modern Scot*, while other advertisers were grouped together at the back of the journal. Though slightly larger in format than its Dublin peer, there are material similarities between the two periodicals – in the design of the pages, the use of good quality matt paper, and the eschewal of advertisements on the cover section.

The Dublin Magazine has been described as a ‘mimicry’ of *The London Mercury*, but there are also clear production similarities between *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Modern Scot*. Rather than viewing these similarities from a negative perspective, they should instead be considered as indications that these periodicals operated on a transnational basis, with respective editors sufficiently aware of each other’s work to be able to adapt elements of peer periodicals to

⁸⁹² George Blake, *Scotland in Quest of her Youth* (ed). David Cleghorn Thomson (Edinburgh, 1932) p. 158. Cited in Alistair McCleery ‘Modernity and Nationhood: “Little Magazines” in Scotland, p. 3. The text of this article was kindly provided to this author by Alistair McCleery (27 Mar. 2013).

⁸⁹³ H. J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism* (London, 1969), p. 158. Cited in McCleery, p. 8. The text of this article was kindly provided to this author by Alistair McCleery (27 Mar. 2013).

⁸⁹⁴ In 1936, *The Modern Scot* merged with the *Scottish Standard* and was renamed *Outlook*.

their own work. In fact, the influence of *The Dublin Magazine* is clearly acknowledged in Whyte's final editorial in January 1936:

The Modern Scot came into being in order to provide Scottish writers with such a platform as Irish writers enjoy in *The Dublin Magazine*.⁸⁹⁵

The arrangement between *The Dublin Magazine* and *Poetry*, the iconic Chicago journal founded by Harriet Monroe in 1912, is also noteworthy. *The Dublin Magazine* included three full-page advertisements for *Poetry* from 1933-5. In turn, *Poetry* included three full-page advertisements for *The Dublin Magazine* in its December 1933, February 1934 and May 1934 issues. The text of these advertisements presents *The Dublin Magazine* as the authoritative medium for Irish literature. The December 1933 advertisement for *The Dublin Magazine* included a review extracted from the *New York Herald Tribune*, which assured readers of *Poetry* that 'The reader will find in this journal all that is best of Irish thought'. The February 1934 advertisement addressed American readers directly:

American readers must some time ask themselves whether any literary periodical exists which would keep them in touch with the best that is being written in Ireland.

The Dublin Magazine exists to give expression to the best that is produced in Ireland... it may be fairly said not only to publish almost every writer of note but also to make known the work of new Irish writers who otherwise would be far to seek.... With each year, one might almost say each month, the field of Irish expression is widening. There can be little doubt that with the quickening of Irish life *The Dublin Magazine* will have increasing novelty for American readers.

The Dublin Magazine relies on its subscriptions to carry on its work.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁵ 'Editorial Notes [Retrospect and Prospect]', *The Modern Scot*, Jan. 1936, p. 287.

⁸⁹⁶ Advertisements for *The Dublin Magazine* in *Poetry*, Dec. 1933, Feb. 1934 and May 1934. Scans of these advertisements have been kindly provided to this author by Don Share, current editor of *Poetry*, by email 13 Sept. 2017.

In fact, readers of *Poetry* would have been somewhat familiar with *The Dublin Magazine*. In the April 1937 issue of *Poetry*, Donagh MacDonagh was introduced as the son of Irish poet and patriot Thomas McDonagh and readers were assured that his work had appeared in *The Dublin Magazine*, *The Criterion* and elsewhere.⁸⁹⁷ Denis Devlin was introduced as an Irish poet and secretary of the Irish Legation in Washington, whose work had appeared in *The Dublin Magazine*, *Ireland To-Day* and *Transition*.⁸⁹⁸ In his review of 'The Best Poems of 1943', Harvey Curtis Webster noted Thomas Moul's selection:

The best periodicals for the best poetry were *Poetry*, *The University Review*, and *The Listener* (four each), while the pretty close runners-up were *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Contemporary Poetry*, *The Observer*, *Poetry (London)*, *Harper's*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *The New Republic*, and the *London Times Literary Supplement* (three each).⁸⁹⁹

The July-September 1935 issue of *The Dublin Magazine* carried a full-page advertisement for *The Southern Review*, a new literary quarterly to be published by Louisiana State University. In turn, the first issue of *The Southern Review* in July 1935 included a full-page advertisement for *The Dublin Magazine* 'A Quarterly Review of Literature, Science and Art, edited by Seamus O'Sullivan, established 1923'. The advertisement was presented in small type, with tight leading, and O'Sullivan managed to include a lengthy list of contributors in alphabetical order from A.E. to Ella Young, as well as nine press notices extracted from Irish and international publications and a subscription form. It was a comprehensive

⁸⁹⁷ *Poetry*, Apr. 1937, pp 58-60.

⁸⁹⁸ *Poetry*, Feb. 1941, pp 342-34.

⁸⁹⁹ Harvey Curtis Webster, 'Another Best' in *Poetry*, May 1945, p. 111.

introduction to *The Dublin Magazine*.⁹⁰⁰ The fact that the publishers of *The Southern Review* advertised the inaugural issue in *The Dublin Magazine* and that O'Sullivan prepared a full-page advertisement for inclusion in that first issue of *The Southern Review*, both published in the summer of 1935, indicates a pre-existing level of awareness of each other's work. When considered alongside its profile in *English Review*, *The Modern Scot* and *Poetry*, the conclusion is that *The Dublin Magazine* operated among a transnational network of intellectual periodicals. For the readers of these periodicals *The Dublin Magazine* was an authoritative medium for 'the best of Ireland's creative spirit.'⁹⁰¹

How, then, did O'Sullivan manage to position *The Dublin Magazine* alongside renowned international periodicals such as *Contemporary Poetry*, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Times Literary Supplement*, bearing in mind the modest print run and meagre resources at his disposal? Undoubtedly the exchange advertisements raised the profile of *The Dublin Magazine* but several extant though undated distribution lists suggests that O'Sullivan assiduously dispatched *The Dublin Magazine* to editors of peer periodicals worldwide. One undated distribution memo indicates that *The Dublin Magazine* was distributed to the editors of seventy-nine periodicals, including *Contemporary Review*, *The Spectator* and *Cornhill Magazine* in London, *Edinburgh Review* and *Evening Post & Telegraph* in Dundee; *Atlantic Monthly* in Boston; *The Bookman* and *Dial* in New York; *Canadian Magazine* in Toronto; *Sunday Times* in Sydney; *Standard* in Buenos Ayres [sic] and

⁹⁰⁰ *The Southern Review*, Jul. 1935, p. xii.

⁹⁰¹ Press notice from the *Manchester Guardian*, quoted in the advertisement for *The Dublin Magazine*, in *The Southern Review*, Jul. 1935, p. xii.

Cape Argus in Cape Town.⁹⁰² O'Sullivan then regularly collated and published reviews of *The Dublin Magazine* – for example, in the January-March 1935 issue, he published three reviews from international periodicals:

‘Eminently readable.’ *London Quarterly Review*

‘The reader will find in this journal all that is best of Irish thought.’ *New York Herald Tribune*

An Irish production that might take its place with the best London or Paris reviews.’ *Glasgow Herald*⁹⁰³

Another distribution list includes several American university libraries including Harvard and Dartmouth, and M. Gustave Duran, Arts and Letters Secretary, UNESCO, Paris.⁹⁰⁴ A distribution list that included a section headed ‘Sample for three months’ is noteworthy as it suggests that O’Sullivan actively sought support from the Irish diaspora in the U.S. This list includes 137 names across the U.S., and is dominated by senior bank officials with Irish-American names – for example, J. T. Walsh, president, National Memphis Savings Bank; Joseph H. O’Neill, president, Federal Trust Co., Boston; and Richard M. Tobin, secretary and treasurer, Hibernian Savings Bank, San Francisco.⁹⁰⁵ A letter from Julia Deely in New York supports the contention that O’Sullivan looked to the Irish diaspora. In the undated letter to O’Sullivan, Julia Deely confirmed she had received his letter and was glad to help. She enclosed the ‘promised’ list: ‘it is a carefully selected list of people I have reason to believe would be interested’:

⁹⁰² Distribution list, undated (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4648/4213).

⁹⁰³ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.- Mar. 1935.

⁹⁰⁴ Distribution list, undated (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4648/429).

⁹⁰⁵ ‘Sample for three months’, (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4648/4209).

I have always enjoyed reading *The Dublin Magazine* and firmly believe that any interruption of its issues would be a greater reflection on the Irish people, here and in Ireland, than any political failures. I feel that if we can't support a periodical of its kind then we had better give up talking about Irish culture and the Irish idea and settle down to the average conception of Irish intellectuality.

Julia Deely suggested contacting Rev. John B. Monaghan, who would be a great help in getting *The Dublin Magazine* into the Catholic colleges 'that being the best way to reach the intellectual class of Irish Americans.' Although she regretted that she had not been able to find someone to 'take over the selling of subscriptions' she assured O'Sullivan that she would discuss it with Leo Fearon at the Irish Shop on Lexington Avenue, which sold *The Dublin Magazine*. O'Sullivan was encouraged to send on circulars and subscription forms: 'I shall see they are distributed to the right people'.⁹⁰⁶

Promotion among 'the right people' was also a concern for Ryan and Hillman at *Envoy*. McFadden may have refused to provide *Rann's* subscriber list to *Envoy*, but other mailing lists were secured. Hillman paid £25 for *The Kenyon Review's* mailing list of over 2,000 contacts.⁹⁰⁷ *The Kenyon Review* was founded in 1939 at the Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, and edited by John Crowe Ransom, professor of English at Kenyon College until 1959. It has been described as 'perhaps the best known and most influential literary magazine in the English-speaking world during the 1940s and 1950s'⁹⁰⁸ and its contributor list included such luminaries as

⁹⁰⁶ Undated from Julia Deely, 550 Riverside Drive, New York (T.C.D., Seumas O'Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4644-3498).

⁹⁰⁷ Cited in Russell, *Life and Ideas of James Hillman* (https://books.google.ie/books/about/The%20Life%20and%20Ideas%20of%20James%20Hillman.html?id=P-MuAgAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y%29) (23 Aug. 2017).

⁹⁰⁸ (<https://www.kenyonreview.org/about-kr/history/>) (15 Sept. 2017).

Marianne Moore, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Federico Garcia Lorca. It also published work by Beckett and, in the Winter 1950 issue, Donat O'Donnell (the pseudonym for Conor Cruise O'Brien) contributed a five-page review of O'Faoláin's *The Irish* and Arland Ussher's *The Face and Mind of Ireland*, concluding that 'the Irish nation, with their virtues and their faults, are undoubtedly out of step with the modern world or worlds. Instead of trying to get into step they question the desirability of the line of march.'⁹⁰⁹

The first issue of *Envoy* in December 1949 included a full-page advertisement for the *Sewanee Review*: 'America's oldest literary quarterly... Since 1892 providing for its international audience of readers the work of a distinguished panel of contributors in the fields of criticism poetry and fiction.'⁹¹⁰ Contributors to the *Sewanee Review* included T. S. Eliot, William Faulkner, and Ezra Pound.

The circulation of the *Sewanee Review* has been estimated at more than 2,000,⁹¹¹ so we may surmise that this was the readership that viewed the full-page advertisement for *Envoy*, published among the front matter of the Winter 1950 issue of the *Sewanee Review*:

Announcing *Envoy*... Leading Irish authors and many of the younger writers of talent have given their enthusiastic support to this new Dublin magazine, the primary outlet for Irish writing... *Envoy* does not confine itself to native authors or to Irish subjects but encompasses within each issue material representing main trends in current thought and artistic expression.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁹ Donat O'Donnell, 'The Unfallen' in *The Kenyon Review*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter, 1950), pp 172-77.

⁹¹⁰ *Envoy*, Dec. 1949.

⁹¹¹ Email correspondence with Alec Hill, Managing Editor, *Sewanee Review* (6 Sept. 2017).

⁹¹² *Envoy* advertisement, *Sewanee Review*, Winter 1950. A scan of this advert has been kindly provided to the author by Spencer Hupp, Editorial Assistant, *Sewanee Review* (5 Sept. 2017).

The promotion of *Envoy* in *The Kenyon Review* and in *Sewanee Review* is noteworthy for another reason. Together with *The Southern Review*, these three university-based journals and their respective editors 'comprised a regionally based intellectual and social formation' that has been associated with the rise of 'New Criticism' in the U.S.⁹¹³ Just as O'Sullivan had done some twenty years previously, Ryan and Hillman sought to locate and promote *Envoy* within this sphere of influence, and they, too, looked to New York. An unsigned letter from *Envoy* to Mr. Zucker of the Eastern News Co. in New York, dated 19 March 1950, refers to 10,000 'order forms in the shape of a post-card' being printed in New York for distribution by Gotham Book Mart to its mailing list. Gotham Book Mart was, of course, the iconic New York bookstore and 'one of the principal literary salons in New York City... a force that helped shape modern literature.'⁹¹⁴

The January 1950 issue of *Envoy* included a full-page advertisement for the French journal *Points* ('the magazine for young writers of all nations') and advised readers that copies of *Points* could be obtained from the *Envoy* office at 39 Grafton Street.⁹¹⁵ In a letter to Neville Braybrooke on 2 February 1950, Ryan confirmed that he had exchanged advertisements with *Points*, 'the new Parisian journal'.⁹¹⁶ Neville Braybrooke was the editor of the London journal *The Wind and the Rain*, and Ryan concurred that he would be very glad to promote *Envoy* in *The Wind and the Rain*: 'The idea of exchange ads is a good one.'⁹¹⁷ A full-page advertisement for

⁹¹³ Peter Brooker 'The Critical 1940s' in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (eds.) *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines. Volume III, North America 1894-1960* (Oxford, 2012), p. 923.

⁹¹⁴ Gotham Book Mart (<http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=01051>) (18 Aug. 2017).

⁹¹⁵ *Envoy*, Jan. 1950.

⁹¹⁶ John Ryan to Nevill Braybrooke, 2 Feb. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

⁹¹⁷ *ibid.*

The Wind and the Rain duly appeared in the April 1950 issue of *Envoy*. In November that year, *Envoy* included a half-page advertisement for the Australian journal *Meanjin*, an arrangement agreed by Hillman, and readers were assured that they would be interested in this 'literary and art' publication.⁹¹⁸ Efforts were also made to promote *Envoy* in London. Ryan contacted two London-based journals, suggesting exchange advertisements to George Goodwin at the literary journal *The Adelphi* and asking Lindsay Anderson at the film journal *Sequence* for a copy of his mailing list of subscribers, but the outcome of those requests is for the moment unclear.⁹¹⁹ 'As part of a necessarily limited publicity campaign,' small advertisements were planned for inclusion in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New Statesman* and *The Listener* and the Irish writer Lesley Daiken offered to help promote *Envoy* in London.⁹²⁰ Daiken had moved to London in 1935, and was well established in cultural and radical political circles there. He had edited *Goodbye, Twilight: Songs of the Irish Struggle*, which included a contribution from Kavanagh and woodcut images by Harry Kernoff, and declared itself to be 'the authentic voice of the people, peasants, workers and intellectuals'.⁹²¹ Daiken circulated at least 1,000 *Envoy* circulars in the early months of 1950⁹²² and a further 750 'circulars' were ready for dispatch to him in March/April 1950: 'It only remains for the Irish-in-England to do their part now', Ryan wrote.⁹²³ It seems that Daiken was also active in selling subscriptions – in February 1950, Ryan offered him 15%

⁹¹⁸ *Envoy*, Nov. 1950.

⁹¹⁹ John Ryan to Lindsay Anderson, 14 Oct. 1949 and John Ryan to George Goodwin, 2 Jan. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-1).

⁹²⁰ Unsigned to Leslie Daiken, 2 Mar. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

⁹²¹ Donal Fallon, 'From Little Jerusalem to the University of Ghana: The Life and Work of Leslie Daiken' 25 October 2016 (<https://comeheretome.com/2016/10/25/from-little-jerusalem-to-the-university-of-ghana-the-life-and-work-of-leslie-daiken/>) (15 Aug. 2017).

⁹²² John Ryan to Leslie Daiken, 2 Mar. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

⁹²³ John Ryan to Leslie Daiken, 30 Mar. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

commission on all subscriptions sent to *Envoy* ‘through your exertions’.⁹²⁴ In November 1950, the editors claimed that *Envoy* was ‘acclaimed all over the English-speaking world and on the continent.’⁹²⁵ The marketing efforts of O’Sullivan, Ryan and Hillman clearly did not translate into mass sales and subscribers, but it should also be remembered that U.S. journals such as *Poetry* and *The Southern Review* did not enjoy mass circulations either. *The Southern Review* apparently had 900-1500 subscribers⁹²⁶ and *Poetry*’s founding editor Harriet Monroe despaired that ‘120 million fellow-citizens of the richest country on earth’ couldn’t afford even ‘5,000 \$3 subscriptions.’⁹²⁷

By way of comparison, for Father Senan at *The Capuchin Annual*, popular appeal and mass circulation were the primary objectives – his audience was not ‘the clique or the few but [the] people everywhere and in all walks of life.’⁹²⁸ His marketing of *The Capuchin Annual* reflected this policy. Uniquely among the periodicals considered here, he placed large and well-designed display advertisements in the *Irish Times* and *Irish Press*, with eye-catching tag-lines: ‘The National Literary and Artistic Event of the Year!’;⁹²⁹ ‘America says “*The Capuchin Annual* is breathlessly near perfection”’;⁹³⁰ ‘The Finest Issue Ever! Beautiful art paper. Lavishly illustrated.’⁹³¹ Father Senan also took at least one full-page advertisement in *Woman’s Life*, no doubt attracted by that magazine’s claim that it

⁹²⁴ John Ryan to Leslie Daiken, 7 Feb. 1950 (SIU Carbondale, *Envoy*, Ms 43-7-2).

⁹²⁵ *Envoy*, Nov. 1950, p. 84.

⁹²⁶ Thomas W. Cutrer, *Parnassus on the Mississippi: The Southern Review and the Baton Rouge Literary Community, 1935-1942* (Louisiana: 1984), p.73-4.

⁹²⁷ Cited in an email to this author from Don Share, editor of *Poetry* (13 Sept. 2017).

⁹²⁸ *The Capuchin Annual* (1943), p. 513.

⁹²⁹ *Irish Times*, 20 Dec. 1941, p. 5.

⁹³⁰ This advertisement ran in the *Irish Press* on 17 Jan. 1946, p. 3 and in the *Irish Times* on 19 Jan. 1946, p. 4.

⁹³¹ *Irish Times*, 17 Dec. 1949, p. 6.

had a circulation of 30,000.⁹³² However, his ambitions were not limited to Ireland, either. He regarded *The Capuchin Annual* as a cultural ambassador:

We set out to present Ireland to the world, to show the Irish way of life in all its phases: cultural, intellectual, social and of course spiritual... And we have the support also of Irish men and women abroad in every part of the world. It would appear that we are accepted abroad as Ireland's cultural ambassador.⁹³³

Father Senan also employed O'Sullivan's tactic of collating favourable press reviews. In his advertisements for *The Capuchin Annual* in *Irish Bookman*, he included reviews from secular and religious periodicals, including *Dublin Opinion*, *The Advocate* in Melbourne, *CWM News* in New Zealand and even a review, entirely in Italian, from *L'Osservatore Romano*.⁹³⁴ *Books Abroad* from the University of Oklahoma Press, declared *The Capuchin Annual* to be 'one of the handsomest publications in the world':

The Capuchin Annual is a literary magazine, lavishly and entertainingly illustrated carrying a fabulous variety of articles on many phases of Irish life and thought.⁹³⁵

Douglas Newton, of *The Southern Cross* in New Zealand, declared his astonishment at how 'Father Senan O.F.M.Cap performs this recurring marvel':

But he does with a brilliance in selecting stories, essays, poems and the rest that is unabated while his gallery of pictures and photos is astonishing in its choice and lavishness.⁹³⁶

Father Senan claimed that enquiries about the Association of Patrons of *The Capuchin Annual* had been received from the U.S, the Netherlands, Brazil, Belgium,

⁹³² 30,000 readers were claimed in *Woman's Life*, 28 Nov. 1936, p. 4. The full-page advertisement for *The Capuchin Annual* appeared in *Woman's Life*, 26 Dec. 1936, p. iv.

⁹³³ *The Capuchin Annual (1948)*, p. 609.

⁹³⁴ *Irish Bookman*, Sept. 1946, p. 97

⁹³⁵ *Irish Bookman*, Apr. 1948, inside back cover.

⁹³⁶ *Irish Bookman*, Apr.-May 1947, inside back cover.

France, Spain, Canada and South Africa: the same post that brought a subscription from Mr. Bernard Shaw, had also brought a subscription from a priest in New Zealand.⁹³⁷ The Legation d'Irlande in Rome declared:

The Annual is the sensation of Rome – and not only among the Irish here. Ten copies arrived and they are doing the rounds... it is first class cultural propaganda.⁹³⁸

The value of 'cultural propaganda' was acknowledged, belatedly, by the Irish government. In a 1946 memo to government, one of the primary advantages of establishing a Committee on Cultural Relations was identified as the value of 'cultural propaganda', particularly as its 'primary impact is on the intelligentsia - the very people who, in most countries, are in the best position to influence Press, radio and public opinion'.⁹³⁹ The very people, in fact, who had been targeted by O'Sullivan and Ryan over two decades.

It is noteworthy that the establishment of the Committee on Cultural Relations preceded, by several years, the formation of the Arts Council – the promotion of culture abroad was evidently deemed a greater priority than the support of artists in Ireland. This incongruity was recorded in an acerbic verse published in *The Bell* in 1947, which is also notable for the reference to Father Senan:

*Sure, we must have some culture, yet safe we must be,
So we'll back up the fiddlers and actors, says he,
And if the flag of poetry must be unfurled,
Father Senan is there to introduce it to the world,
And Patrick J. Little from Waterford fair,
Sends out gilded culture each night on the air,*

⁹³⁷ Association of the Patrons of *The Capuchin Annual* (1948), p. 609.

⁹³⁸ From 'Mac' [illegible] to Father Senan Moynihan, 10 Apr. 1942 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers MS 679, Book 5, ii).

⁹³⁹ State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, G.C. 4/264, item 1, 6 Jun. 1947 cited Kennedy, *Dreams and Responsibilities*, pp 29-44.

*And the rich men are backing with money and kind
All culture that hasn't to do with the mind.
So we drank to 'Our Guests' and we emptied our glasses
And praised the safe slopes of our phoney Parnassus.⁹⁴⁰*

The verse was credited to 'Eusebius Cassidy', one of the characters in Patrick Kavanagh's novel *Tarry Flynn*, which would be published the following year. Patrick Little was the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs at the time, and he would be appointed the first director of the Arts Council in 1951 - interestingly, Father Senan was suggested (but not appointed) as a member of the first Arts Council.⁹⁴¹ In 1957/58, under the directorship of O'Faoláin, further recognition was bestowed: the Arts Council recorded that: 'Assistance by way either of grant or of guarantee against loss' had been given to *The Dublin Magazine* 'in respect of the 1958 calendar year'.⁹⁴² It was too late. O'Sullivan died on 24 March 1958 at Mercer's Hospital, Dublin, and the grant was returned to the Arts Council.⁹⁴³ The April-June 1958 issue of *The Dublin Magazine* was the last to be published until the title was revived briefly in the 1970s.

In the editors' careful attention to visual presentation and in their concerted efforts to expand their audience and influence beyond the island of Ireland these periodicals were, in a tangible and sustained way, cultural ambassadors (and propagandists) in an era before and after the establishment of the C.R.C. The

⁹⁴⁰ 'A Pathetic Ballad of a Big Dinner' in *The Bell*, Jul. 1947.

⁹⁴¹ State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, S 14559A, memorandum submitted by M/Agriculture, 13 Feb. 1950. Father Senan was one of James Dillon's suggestions for membership of the Arts Council cited in Kennedy, *Dreams and Responsibilities*, p. 145.

⁹⁴² Assistance by way either of grant or of guarantee against loss was also given to *Irish Writing*, in respect of the 1957-58 and 1958-59 financial years, and *Studies*, in respect of the 1958-59 financial year. *The Arts Council Sixth Annual Report and Accounts from 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958*, p. 16.

⁹⁴³ Liam Miller, *Retrospect: the work of Seumas O'Sullivan, 1879-1958 & Estella F. Solomons, 1882-1968* (Dublin, 1973).

government belatedly came to realize the importance of the intelligentsia as agents of influence, several years after Seumas O'Sullivan, in particular, had ploughed that furrow. The cumulative cultural impact and legacy of these intellectual and literary periodicals internationally should be acknowledged.

9. Conclusion

*'Culture is always something that was,
Something pedants can measure,
Skull of bard, thigh of chief,
Depth of dried-up river.
Shall we be thus forever?
Shall we be thus forever?'*⁹⁴⁴

The purpose of this thesis is to present a panoptic view of Irish periodical publishing from 1930 to 1955 and to contextualize intellectual and literary periodicals within that environment and within the broader cultural history of the period. Although close analysis has focused on *The Capuchin Annual*, *The Dublin Magazine*, *Motley*, *Ireland To-Day*, *Commentary*, *The Bell* and *Envoy*, these periodicals have been contextualized among their peers, and those periodicals, too, have been woven into this thesis.

The comparative analysis has drawn substantially from hard data on circulation to challenge anecdotal suggestions and publisher hyperbole that have informed much of the current work on twentieth-century intellectual and literary periodicals. The Irish publishing market was dominated by domestic religious publications and imported women's and fiction magazines, but here, too, generalizations should be treated with caution. The Irish magazine *Model Housekeeping* outsold its British counterparts, as did *Girl's Life* and *Our Boys*. *Dublin Opinion* was even more successful and ambitious than has been considered previously, as its pursuit and maintenance of an audited circulation from the A.B.C. attests and its brief foray into the women's market with *Modern Girl and Ladies Home Journal* suggests. The

⁹⁴⁴ Patrick Kavanagh 'In Memory of Brother Michael' in *Irish Times*, 14 Oct. 1944.

market for Irish intellectual and literary periodicals was unarguably modest within this broader environment. The heady circulation figures of *Dublin Opinion* and *Ireland's Own* were beyond the dreams of these editors. However, the fact is that issue on issue, year after year, this niche market was well served.

By foregrounding the commercial imperatives of distribution, advertising and patronage, a more nuanced perspective on publishing and the broader cultural history of the period is revealed. Just as many writers moved fluidly and unapologetically between periodicals as diverse as the modernist *Bell* and the traditional *Capuchin Annual*, so, too, did advertisers and patrons. Thus devout Catholic and pro-Treaty Joseph McGrath, who was closely linked with Oriel House and its shadowy campaign of violence against suspected Republicans before reinventing himself as a business magnate through the Sweepstakes, apparently saw no contradiction in directing his coveted financial resources to militant anti-Treaty Republican James O'Donovan at *Ireland To-day* and anti-Treaty Republican socialist Peadar O'Donnell at *The Bell*. Firms such as the Methodist-owned Lemon sweets, the Church of Ireland Jamesons and Quaker/Church of Ireland-owned W. & R. Jacob placed advertisements in *The Capuchin Annual*, and Father Senan apparently had no difficulty in directing Franciscan funds to support the work of Jewish writer and publisher David Marcus at *Irish Writing* in Cork. In addition, as has been shown here, Father Senan's A.P.C.A. was notable for the ecumenical composition of his 'army' of supporters, and he was the driving force in supporting Jack B. Yeats in the 1940s, a campaign of which Father Senan later remarked: 'I am

kind of proud of being able to help to such an extent a great Irish artist (even though he was a Protestant) whose work was unappreciated.⁹⁴⁵

There was scant commercial justification for placing advertisements in these low-circulation periodicals, which suggests that an alternative rationale was a factor, whether that was based on a shared ideological outlook – for example, J. P. Digby and Peadar O'Donnell's common views on Irish fisheries, and the longstanding support of Pye Radio for *The Bell* – or broader commercial patriotism, such as Joseph McGrath's Sweepstakes advertisement campaign in *The Dublin Magazine* which highlighted Irish craftsmanship from the Annals of the Four Masters to Irish lace and crochet. All this suggests that the divisions along cultural and political lines in Ireland in the decades following Independence were rather more opaque than has been generally presented. Of course, some bulwarks were never breached – Daniel Corkery never wrote for *The Bell*, Frank O'Connor did not contribute to *The Capuchin Annual* and Joseph McGrath's largesse did not extend to *Kavanagh's Weekly*.

Comparative analysis complicates the received wisdom around the cultural hegemony of *The Bell*. It was neither the most widely distributed nor the only periodical catering for the literate public. The 'generation' of writers who gathered around *The Bell* gathered, too, around *The Capuchin Annual*, *Motley*, and *The Dublin Magazine*, driven by the dual imperative of finding an outlet for their work and earning a living. *The Bell* was a self-proclaimed 'modern' periodical, yet in its

⁹⁴⁵ Father Senan Moynihan to the Very Reverend Father Colman, Minister Provincial, 24 Jan. 1954 (Capuchin Archive, uncatalogued collection).

coverage of the development of modern Irish art, it trailed behind the coverage in *The Dublin Magazine*, *Commentary* and *Envoy*. In its publication of Northern writers and coverage of partition, and in its internationalism, *The Bell* was not a lone voice – each of these periodicals included contributions from Northern Irish writers; *The Capuchin Annual* and its reprint *Orange Terror* fuelled *The Bell's* coverage of this topic over several issues; and *The Dublin Magazine* provided a platform for international debates as diverse as existentialism and war racketeering. *The Bell* was remarkable in its consistent coverage of social life and ills in Ireland though, here, too, the picture is complicated by *Ireland To-Day* and *Feature*, which challenged *The Bell* - briefly and not altogether successfully - with its investigative and illustrated journalism that reflected Irish 'life'. None of this should be regarded as a diminution of *The Bell*, however, but rather as an inducement to consider *The Bell* as one of several strands in the rich tapestry that was intellectual and literary periodical publishing at that time.

The city of Dublin looms large throughout this thesis, not only because it was the epicenter for publishing, but also because these periodicals provide a tantalising glimpse of the overlapping spheres of influence at play there. The editors of these periodicals moved fluidly through the intellectual and cultural life of the city and their spheres of influence overlapped to a greater degree than can be deduced from studies of individual periodicals – from Father Senan on Capel Street to John Ryan on Grafton Street, the fabric of the city was interwoven with these periodicals. Consideration of Father Senan is illustrative: he counted Seumas O'Sullivan among his A.P.C.A 'army'; he was acknowledged by Patrick Kavanagh for

his enthusiastic and generous patronage of writers and artists; he moved in the same social circles as John Betjeman and Seán O’Faoláin, encompassing Jammets and the Clarence hotel; he organized the Jack B. Yeats exhibition at the National College of Art; he was on the board of National Gallery; and he was suggested as a member of the first Arts Council. The city embraced the Eason’s distribution hub, through which these periodicals were dispatched around Ireland, and it was home to the burgeoning advertising industry, whose support was crucial to the survival of these periodicals.

Advertising, too, was sourced primarily from Dublin firms - *The Capuchin Annual* was uniquely successful in securing regional advertising due to the sterling efforts of its dedicated advertising salesman Larry Egan. Advertising revenue was a financial lifeline for these periodicals, and consideration of the advertising content of these periodicals illuminates important themes. It contextualises these periodicals in the commercial life of Dublin and beyond, illustrates the development of the rapidly evolving advertising industry, and embeds these periodicals in the broader publishing environment as they battled for limited advertising alongside magazines with higher circulations. It also complicates the picture around audience. *Commentary* has been criticized for catering for an affluent elite, with Jammets restaurant cited as proof, but Jammets also advertised in *The Bell* and *The Capuchin Annual*. *The Dublin Magazine* has been described as a lofty periodical targeting a highly educated subset, but it carried advertisements for a Kennedy’s Bread campaign that targeted dockers and struggling mothers of

large families and, of course, the memorable advertisement for the Carlton Cinema's screening of *Slave Girl* featuring Lumpy the Talking Camel.⁹⁴⁶

The analysis of the financial operation of these periodicals illustrates the grinding commercial pressures of publishing and the dogged determination of these editors to sell advertising, increase distribution, promote subscriptions, entice patrons, and pay suppliers. Estella Solomon recorded her weary traipsing around London to drum up advertising support for her husband's *Dublin Magazine* and John Ryan had no qualms about leveraging his extended family for advertising support for *Envoy*. To consider these editors only in terms of their editorial effort does them a disservice. These periodicals operated on a financial knife edge, and the editors were careful to publicly acknowledge the support of advertisers and encourage their readers to support the firms that advertised. Although *The Capuchin Annual* was (in theory) a house publication for the Franciscans, Father Senan ran the Annual as a personal crusade, until imminent financial implosion compelled him to seek financial sanctuary with the Father Provincial in November 1955.

Modest retail sales and inconsistent advertising revenue were not sufficient to ensure survival, and patrons such as Kathleen Goodfellow at *The Dublin Magazine* or the unlikely figure of Joseph McGrath at *The Bell* and *Ireland To-day*, for example, were vital in supplementing income. Patronage was also sought among the Irish diaspora and this transnational aspect of the periodicals reveals a network that has not been fully considered – James O'Donovan appealed to Patrick

⁹⁴⁶ *The Dublin Magazine*, Jul.-Sept.1948.

McCartan in the U.S.; Seumas O’Sullivan enlisted the help of Julia Feely in New York; John Ryan called on Leslie Daiken in London; Peadar O’Donnell’s thwarted tour of the U.S. was designed to drum up 1,000 subscribers; and Father Senan, naturally, called on Irishmen and Irishwomen everywhere to support his work.

This panoptic analysis of periodical publishing from 1930 to 1955 complicates the perception of a closed-off culture. Imported intellectual periodicals such as *The Criterion*, *Cornhill Magazine* and *London Mercury* were distributed through Eason’s in Dublin. *Motley* argued for a repertory cinema modeled on the Academy Cinema in London; *Commentary* provided a regular platform for the work of the White Stag artists; *The Dublin Magazine* and *The Bell* provided a platform for international ideas and debates; and *Envoy* proclaimed that it would serve abroad as an envoy of Irish writing and at home as envoy of the best in international writing. Of course, the mere existence of individual outward-looking journals does not demonstrate that Irish society was less closed-off than has been assumed. However, in the period from 1930 to 1955 these periodicals were published simultaneously and consecutively. There was an audience for these intellectual and literary periodicals, as evidenced by Eason’s data, and a commercial base that sustained them, at least in the short to medium term. That this readership was niche is incontrovertible but that was not unique to Ireland – in the U.S.A. Harriet Monroe, the founding editor of the iconic *Poetry*, despaired that in a country of 120 million, the journal could not secure even ‘5,000 \$3 subscriptions.’⁹⁴⁷ These Dublin periodicals operated within a culture notable for its Catholic nationalist

⁹⁴⁷ Cited in an email to this author from Don Share, editor of *Poetry* (13 Sept. 2017).

consensus yet they made an impact – as evidenced by the campaign to take the ‘red rag’ *Ireland To-Day* off the shelves;⁹⁴⁸ they attracted the support of Establishment oligarchs like Joseph McGrath; and they acted as incubators for the next wave of writers and editors such as Pearse Hutchinson. It is true to say that the most successful of the periodicals under review here championed the dominant traditional Catholic nationalist perspective, but operating within this framework, Father Senan was in the vanguard of supporting writers and artists, skillfully utilizing colour printing and photography to present his vision of Irish culture, of a ‘cultural Republic’ to an audience within and beyond Ireland.

In the marketing of their periodicals, these editors demonstrated significant awareness of international intellectual publishing. While the operation of contemporaneous periodicals in Northern Ireland merits further research, the example of *Rann* suggests that it looked inwards for its audience, while these Dublin periodicals looked outwards. From his office on Crow Street in Dublin, O’Sullivan placed *The Dublin Magazine* in front of the readers of *The Modern Scot* in St. Andrews, the *English Review* in London, *Poetry* in Chicago and *The Hound and Horn* in New York. *The Modern Scot* was inspired in part by *The Dublin Magazine*, and *Poetry* used *The Dublin Magazine* as a mark of credibility when introducing Irish writers to its readers. O’Sullivan also assiduously dispatched *The Dublin Magazine* to university libraries around the world. In an era before the State acknowledged the value of ‘cultural propaganda’ and its impact on the intelligentsia and opinion leaders, *The Dublin Magazine* was a representation for

⁹⁴⁸ O’Donovan, *Little Old Man Cut Short*, p. 16.

many of ‘the best of Irish thought.’⁹⁴⁹ Father Senan presented *The Capuchin Annual* as a cultural ambassador, offering his version of Ireland to an audience as far afield as *The Advocate* in Melbourne, and his periodical was welcomed as ‘first class cultural propaganda’ by the Legation d’Irlande in Rome.⁹⁵⁰ John Ryan exchanged review copies and advertisements with *Sewanee Review* in Tennessee, *Points* in Paris, and *Meanjin* in Melbourne. Irish writers had long been published in international journals and by international publishers. However, these periodicals presented curated collections of Irish literature, art and cultural debates. They were, in a very tangible sense, cultural ambassadors.

The belated acknowledgement by the State of the importance of promoting Irish culture abroad and the establishment of the Cultural Relations Committee (C.R.C.) in 1946/7 did not, in fact, change the publishing landscape. The Department of External Affairs purchased ten copies of *The Dublin Magazine* on 27 January 1951⁹⁵¹ and a further thirty copies on 7 May 1951.⁹⁵² It is salutary to note that, despite the existence at the time of *Envoy*, which had been founded to act as an envoy for Irish writing abroad and was impressively active among an international network of intellectual journals, the C.R.C. did not provide any funding support. Instead, over the period from 1949 to 1952 the C.R.C. allocated funding of £986 to ‘a series of booklets on Irish life and culture, produced in Ireland, but principally

⁹⁴⁹ Quote attributed to the *New York Herald Tribune* in *The Dublin Magazine*, Jan.- Mar. 1935.

⁹⁵⁰ From ‘Mac’ [illegible] to Father Senan Moynihan, 10 Apr. 1942 (Leeds University, Brotherton Special Collections, Father Senan Moynihan Papers MS 679, Book 5, ii).

⁹⁵¹ Department of External Affairs order 27 Jan. 1951 (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, MS 4640-2505).

⁹⁵² Department of External Affairs order 7 May 1951 (T.C.D., Seumas O’Sullivan/Estella Solomon Collection, Ms 4640-0523).

intended for distribution abroad'.⁹⁵³ Kavanagh memorably described the fate of Micheál MacLiammóir's booklet on theatre and Austin Clarke's booklet on Irish poets, commissioned by the C.R.C. and shipped to America for want of any other use for them where they languished in a distribution centre in New York while the centre's owner, according to Kavanagh, wondered 'whether the Cultural Committee intends to pay storage on this stock of Irish culture.'⁹⁵⁴

By the end of the 1950s *The Bell* was no more; the final issue had been published in December 1954. *The Dublin Magazine* ceased publication in 1958 following the death of Seumas O'Sullivan. Father Senan resigned from the Capuchin Order in 1958. In a letter to his lifelong friend Thomas McGreevy in 1959, he confided:

Another cap. has flown away – this time a young man Father Myles, just two years ordained. Unfortunately he headed from Raheny into outer space without benefit of congregation. But three in a few months: Louis, Myles, agus mise. Something wrong somewhere.⁹⁵⁵

Father Senan sought refuge with an old schoolfriend, Redmond Prendiville, Archbishop of Perth, who incardinated Father Senan in his diocese,⁹⁵⁶ appointed him as chaplain to the Sisters at St Anne's nursing home, and had a two-bedroom house built for him on the grounds, where he lived for the remainder of his life. Father Senan departed Ireland for Australia in 1959, a fact recorded by the *Irish*

⁹⁵³ Frank Aiken, T.D., Dáil Debates, 21 Nov.1951 (<http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/dail1951112100039?opendocument>) (9 Jan. 2017).

⁹⁵⁴ 'Four Pillars of Wisdom', *Kavanagh's Weekly*, 19 Apr. 1952, p. 4.

⁹⁵⁵ Father Senan to Thomas McGreevy, 16 Dec. 1959 (T.C.D. The Thomas MacGreevy Archive, Correspondence with friends 1946-1967, MS 8137).

⁹⁵⁶ Archdiocesan Catholic Archives (Perth: Archbishop Redmond Prendiville's papers)

Times in an illustrated news item ('Leaving for Australia')⁹⁵⁷ and the cultural tour de force that was *The Capuchin Annual* declined in his wake.

In 1938, as *Ireland To-Day* failed, James O'Donovan drew up the I.R.A.'s 'S' Plan for the 1939 bombing campaign in Britain and became the I.R.A.'s chief liaison officer with the Nazis before being interned in the Curragh for twenty-three months during World War II. O'Donovan severed his links with the I.R.A., though his fervent belief in a united Ireland endured.

Sean Dorman moved to the U.K. and founded the Sean Dorman Manuscript Society to support aspiring writers and published several books under his imprint, Raffeen Books. Mary Manning had long since departed for Boston. Her daughter, the poet Susan Howe, recalled that 'for a woman of her ambition and intellectual reach, an Anglo-Irish woman during those years and one who had almost no money it was time to leave'.⁹⁵⁸ Mary Manning co-founded the avant-garde Cambridge Poets' Theatre in Boston but returned for a time to Ireland in the 1950s where she was the drama critic for *Hibernia*.

John Ryan briefly resurrected *The Dublin Magazine*, fifty years after it had first appeared. Peadar O'Donnell remained a prolific writer, journalist and activist, notably advocating on behalf of Irish emigrants. Seán O'Faoláin was appointed the second director of the Arts Council in 1956, and under his tenure the first grants

⁹⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 21 Aug. 1959, p.4.

⁹⁵⁸ Email correspondence with Susan Howe, 10 Oct. 2016.

(or guarantee against loss) were given to periodicals, namely, *Studies*, *Irish Writing* and *The Dublin Magazine*.

It has been suggested that the remarkable proliferation of new intellectual and literary periodicals from the 1950s onwards (seventy new titles were founded from 1953-85) was a consequence of State subsidy, which relieved publishers of commercial pressures and encouraged experimentation.⁹⁵⁹ Analysis of this next wave of periodicals and their place in the broader publishing market merits further attention, but is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is salient to note that Arts Council funding for periodicals in 1959 was nil,⁹⁶⁰ and in 1969 only *The Kilkenny Magazine* and *The Dublin Magazine* received a grant or guarantee, though the value of the grant was not recorded in the annual report.⁹⁶¹ In 1979, *Cyphers* was awarded £650, *The Crane Bag* £1300 and *Books Ireland* £1500.⁹⁶² In 1989, *Books Ireland*, *Comhar*, *Cyphers*, *Graph*, *The Irish Review*, *Krino*, *Passages* and *Riverine* received funding support totaling £18,552, of which *Books Ireland* received £6,678.⁹⁶³ There is little evidence here to indicate a level of Arts Council patronage of periodicals that could account for the proliferation of new titles. It might further be argued that the commercial pressures faced by O'Sullivan *et al* have merely been replaced by increasingly competitive and bureaucratic applications for Arts Council funding. Indeed, as we have seen throughout this thesis, the climate in which Irish periodicals were born, flourished and terminated

⁹⁵⁹ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 48.

⁹⁶⁰ Eighth Annual Report of the Arts Council, 1959-60.

⁹⁶¹ Seventeenth Annual Report of the Arts Council, 1968-9.

⁹⁶² Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Arts Council, 1979.

⁹⁶³ Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Arts Council, 1989.

was shaped by many influences, and government support or its absence was never to be the dominant one. Rather it is the ever-changing cultural, intellectual and commercial environment that should remain the focus for future research into the rich history of twentieth-century Irish periodicals.

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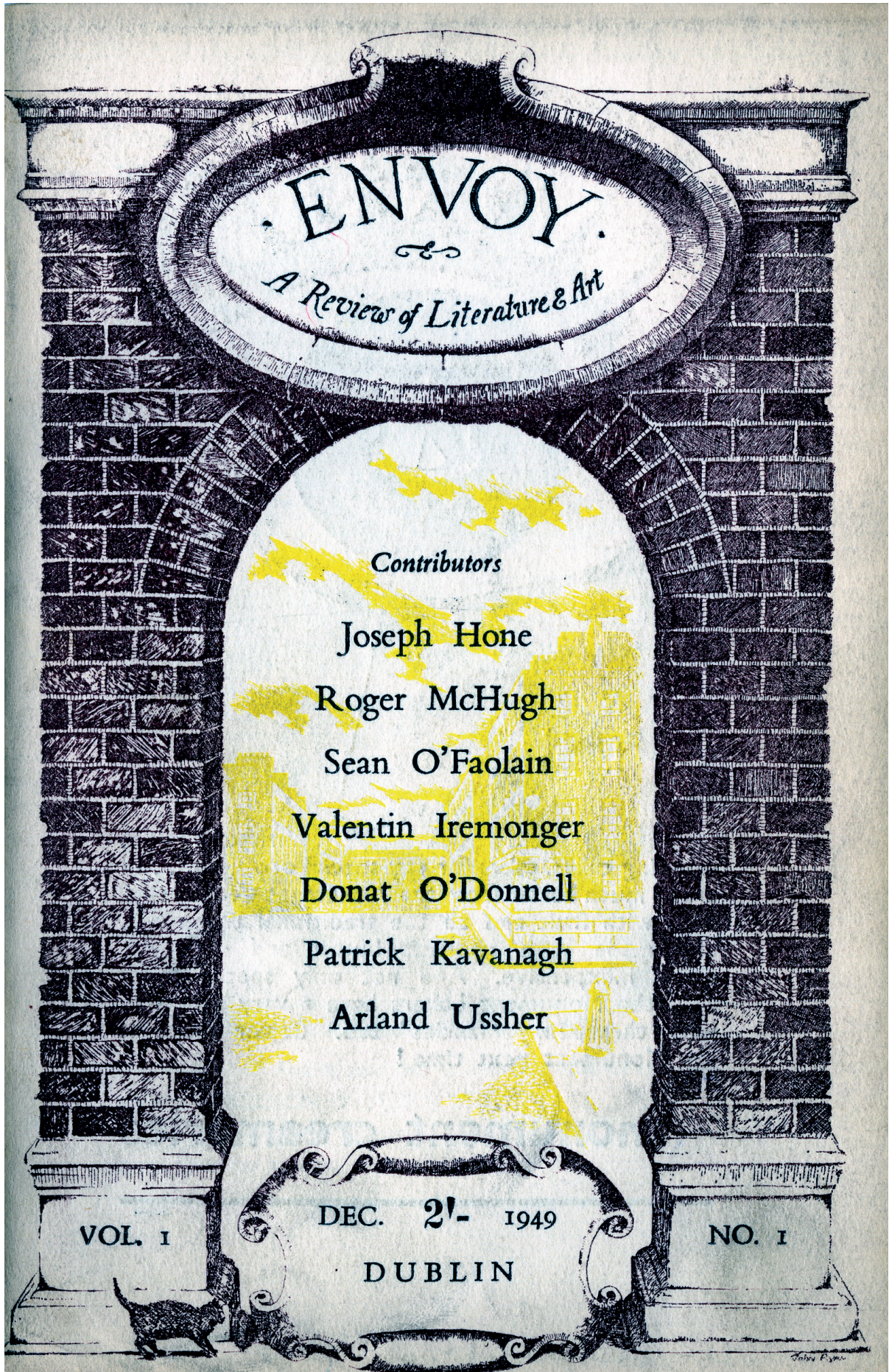
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Appendix I. Periodical cover illustrations



ENVOY.
A Review of Literature & Art

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Joseph Hone

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Donat O'Donnell

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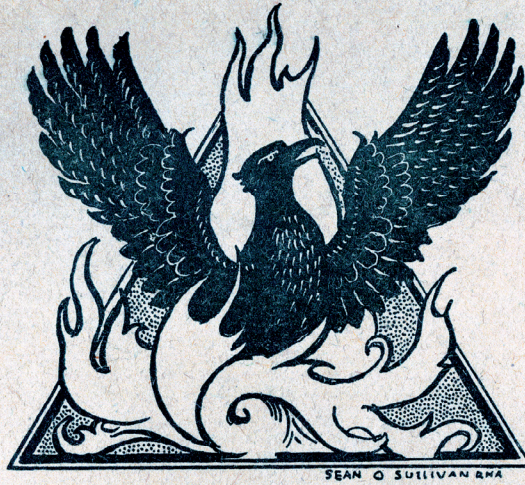


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AUGUST 1936

IRELAND TO-DAY



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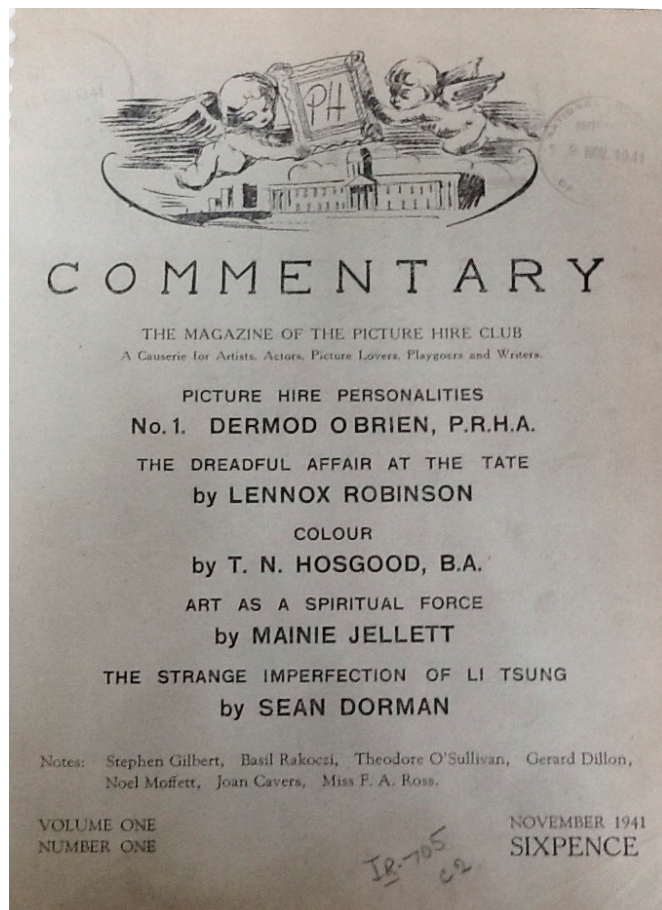
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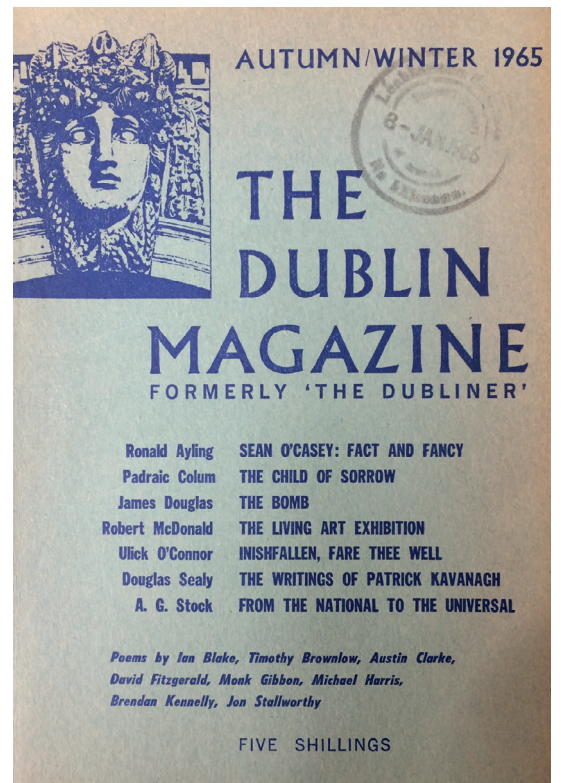
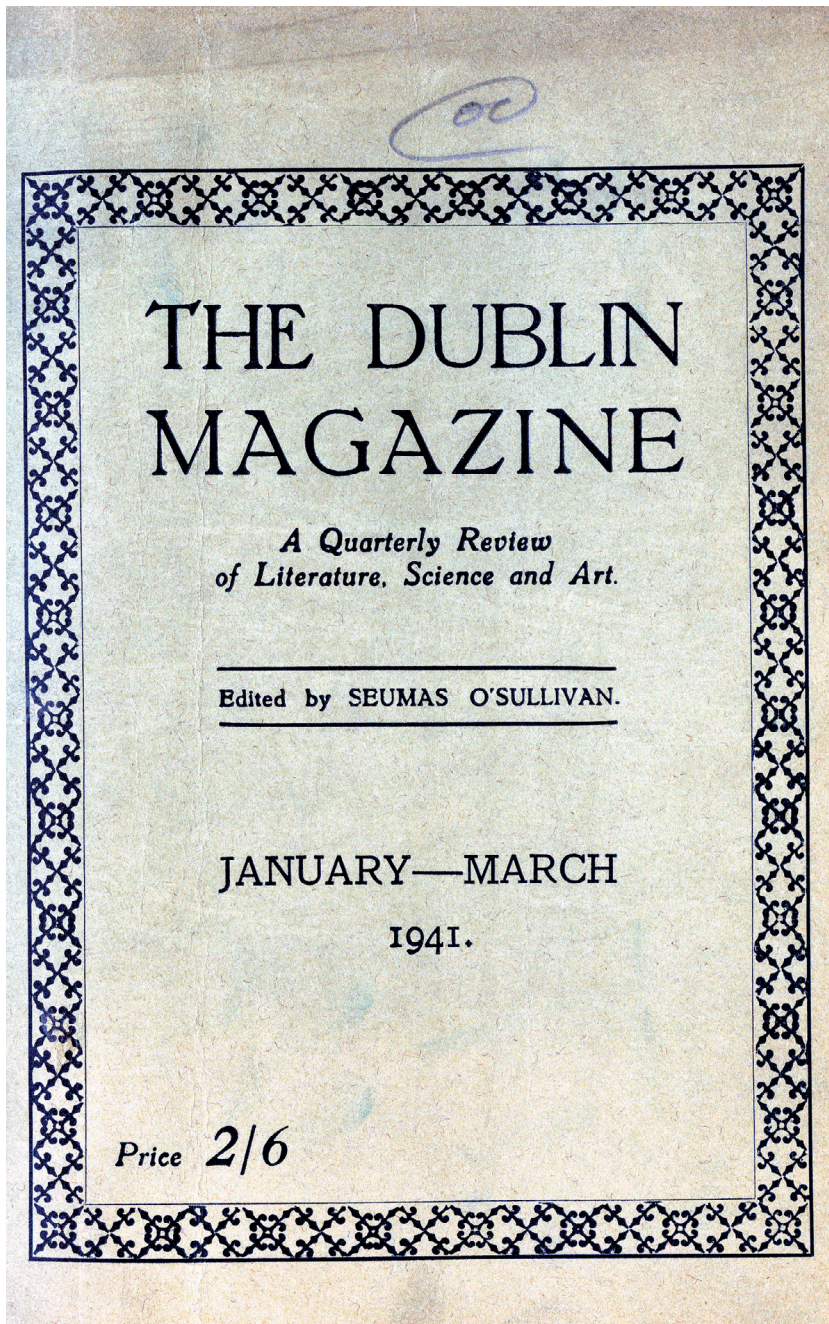
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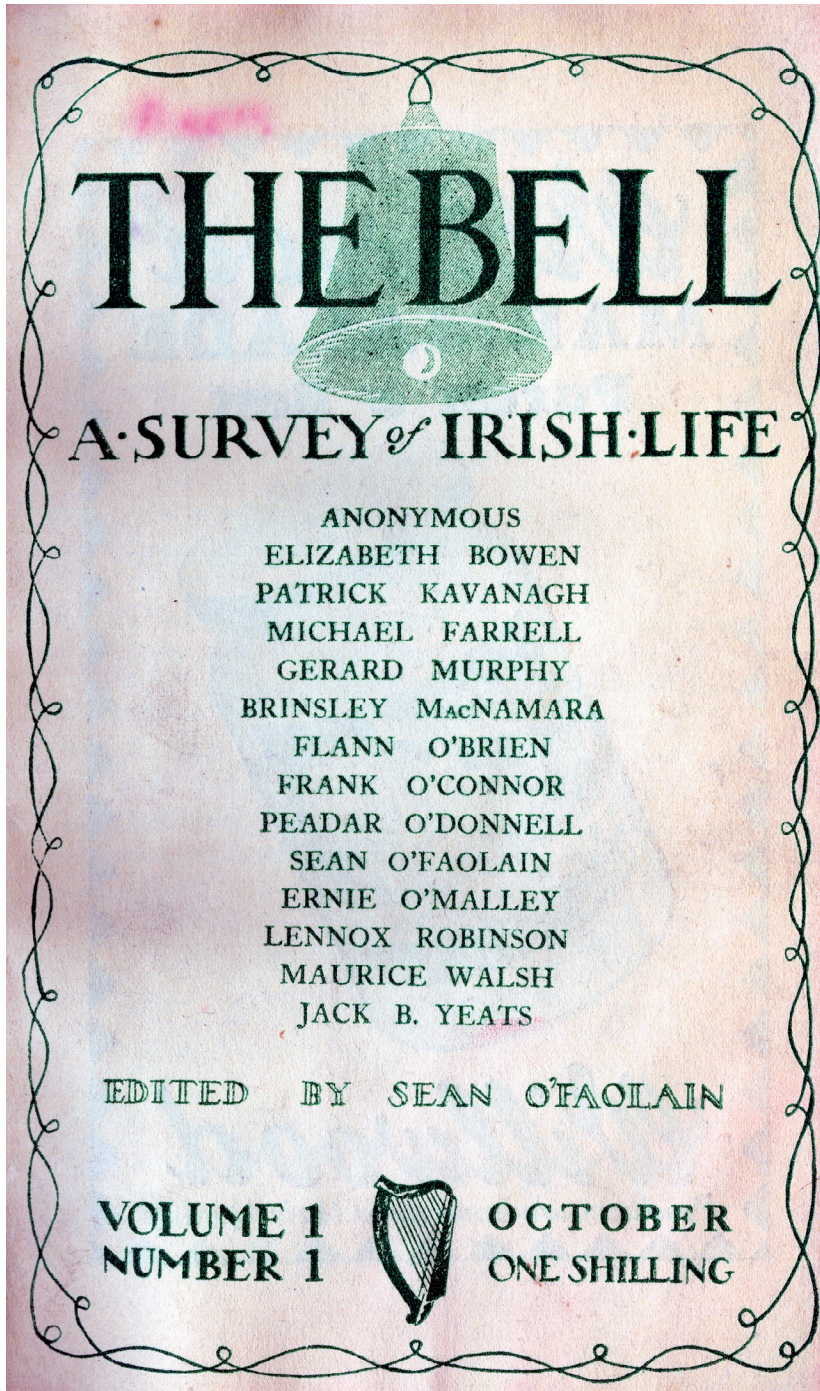
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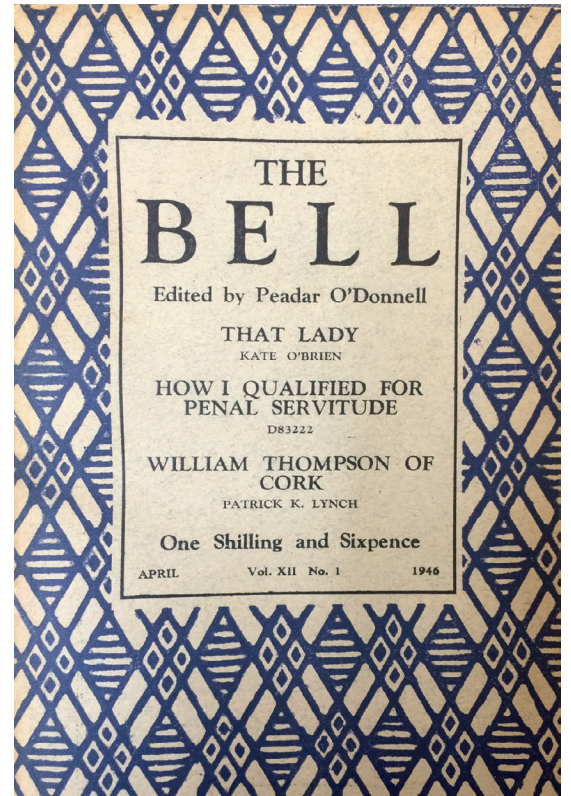
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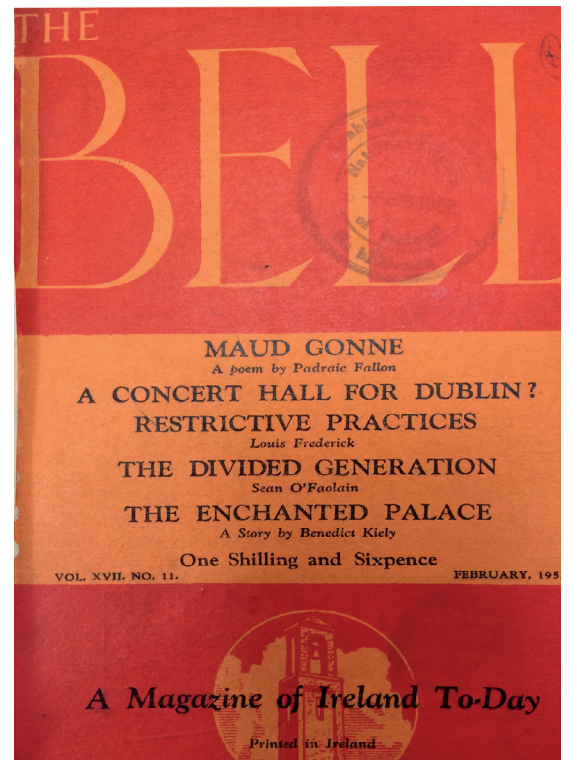
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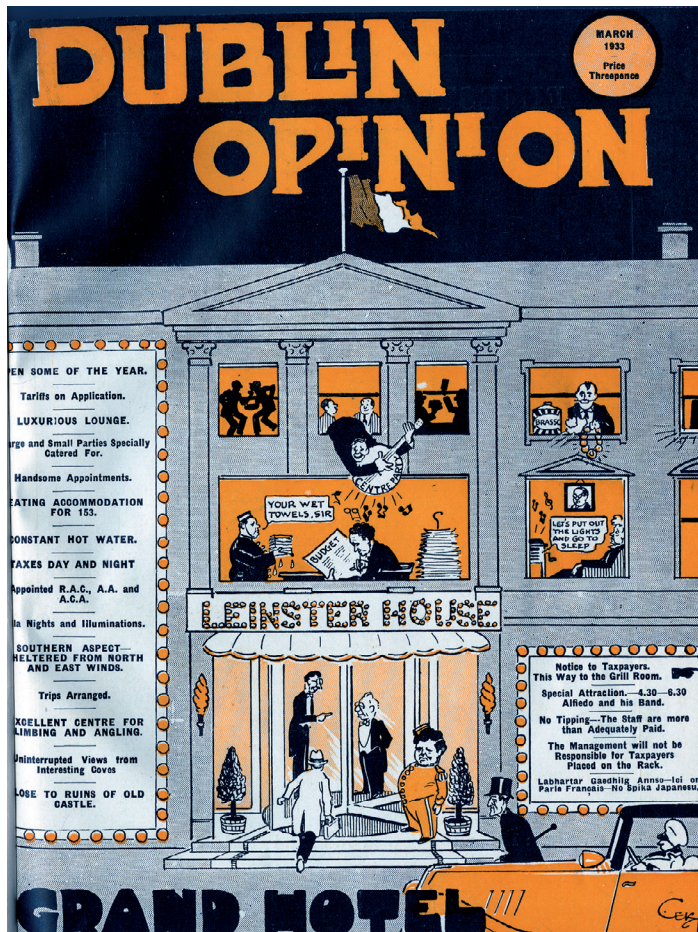
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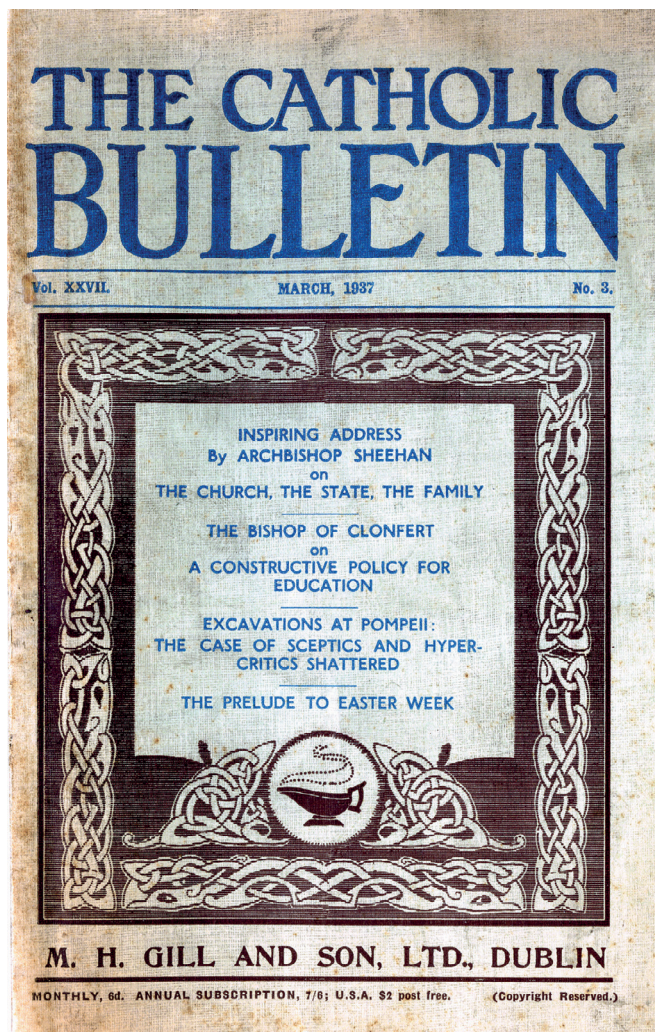
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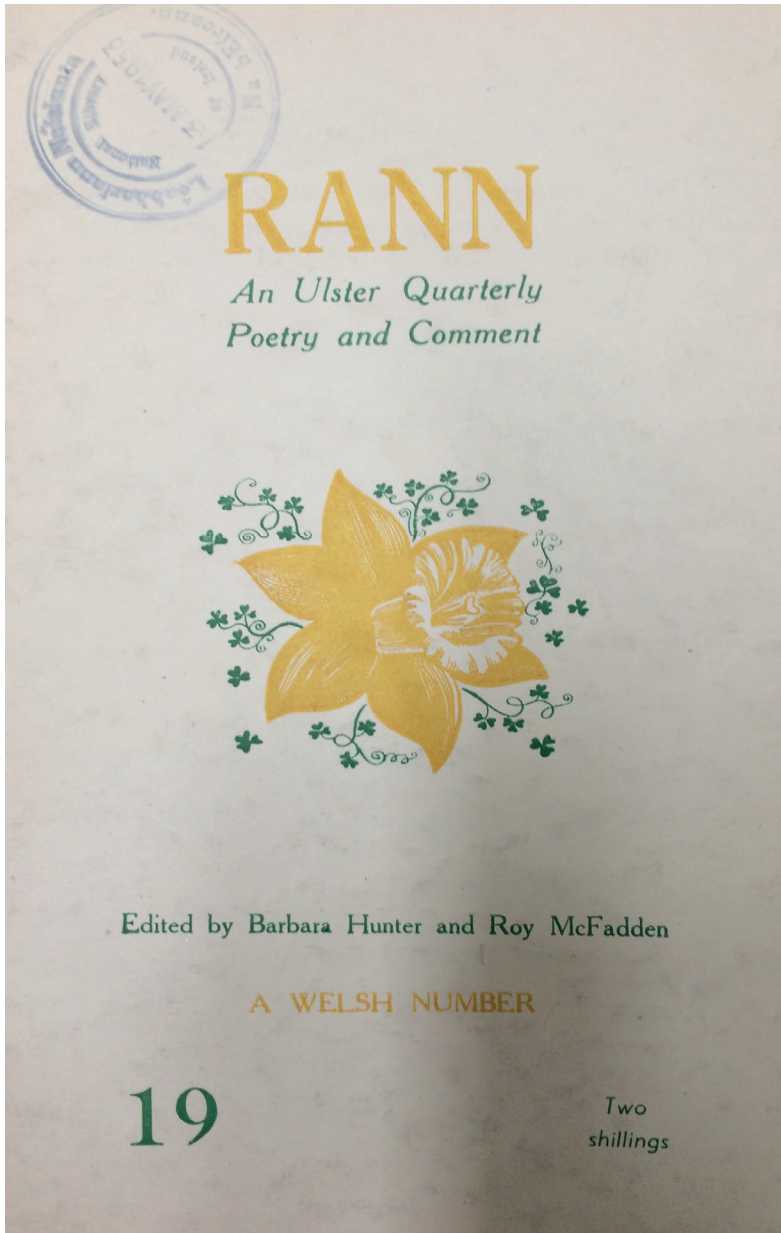
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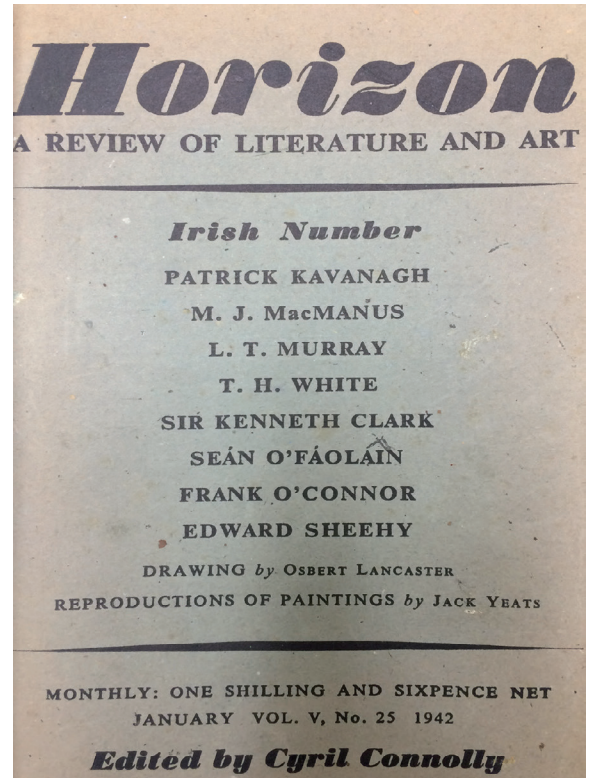


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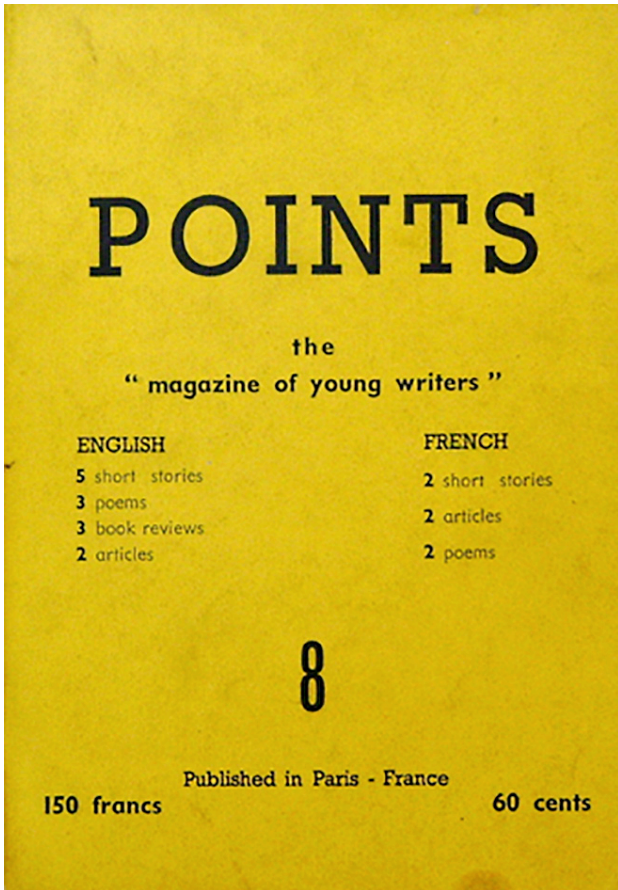


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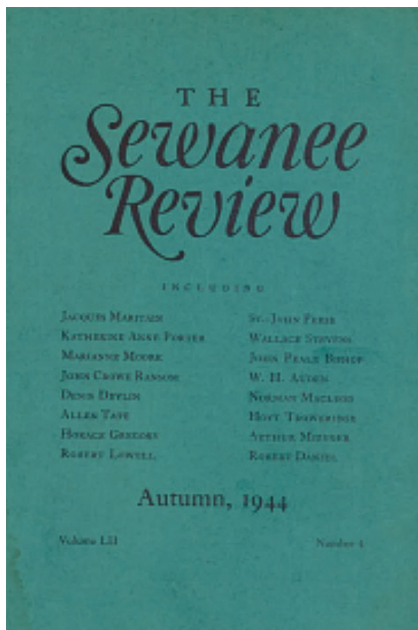
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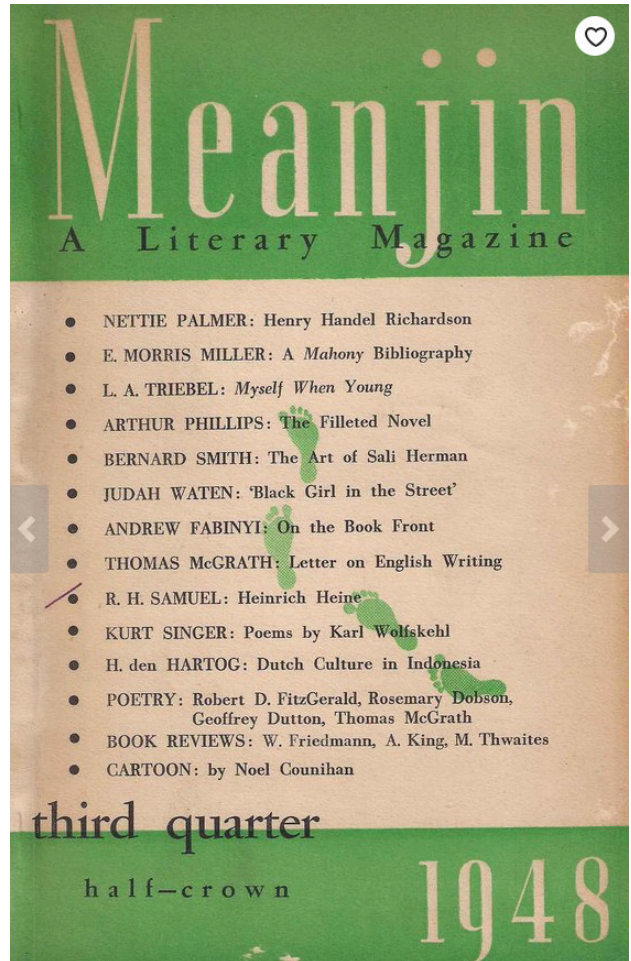
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