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Periodicals

Elizabeth Tilley

The ephemeral nature of the periodical press means that an accurate and useful guide to its history is very difficult to produce. In 1866 *Notes and Queries* tried to continue the work begun by Richard Robert Madden in his *History of Irish Periodical Literature* through printing a two-part article entitled 'Irish Literary Periodicals'.¹ The article was compiled by John Power, with annotations taken largely from notes Madden had made in the catalogue of his own library. Following its publication in *Notes and Queries*, the list was revised and reprinted by Power as part of his own, short-lived periodical venture, *The Irish Literary Enquirer* (eight numbers in 1866).² Power's list was not for sale; he offered it free in exchange for the gift of an eighteenth-century book, or a book authored by the interested party.³ Like all such lists, both Madden's and Power's bibliographies were idiosyncratic and occasionally faulty. On the first page of his revised list Power wrote: 'Never was there a more fragile history than that of Irish periodical literature: like that of our ancient monarchs, it comprises little more than a narrative of untimely deaths'. Barbara Hayley used Power as her source for declaring that 'over a hundred and fifty periodicals were launched in Ireland between the Act of Union and the Rising of 1848, less than a quarter of them lasted a year, although many were of high literary standard'.⁴ Yet by its very nature, the periodical press is unstable. To survive, it must constantly re-invent itself, and that often means disguising the old as the new.

¹ Richard Robert Madden, *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, From the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century* (London: T. C. Newby, 1867). Two volumes of the *History* were published, taking titles to the end of the eighteenth century. A third, projected volume, never appeared; Madden's notes on the volume are now in the Pearse Street Library, Dublin.

² John Power, *A List of Irish Periodical Publications (Chiefly Literary) from 1729 to the Present Time; Reprinted from 'Notes and Queries', March and April, 1866, and 'The Irish Literary Enquirer', No. IV, With Additions and Corrections* (London, 1866).

³ John Power, 'Irish Literary Periodicals', *Notes and Queries*, 9 (28 Apr. 1866), 344.

⁴ Barbara Hayley, 'Irish Periodicals', *Anglo-Irish Studies*, 2 (1976), 83–108: 83.

Having said this, it is undoubtedly true that the entire publishing industry in Ireland after the Act of Union was in some disarray, and the periodical press would certainly have suffered along with book production. The rising in 1798, on the other hand, and the political turmoil in the decade preceding it, had created a thirst for broadsides, pamphlets, and newspapers read by a newly literate population of artisans and shopkeepers. 'Private' printing press enterprises operating just beyond the reach of the law managed both the production and distribution of material, though not without difficulty. 'The *Northern Star*, the *Cork Gazette*, the *Union Star*, and the *Roscrea Southern Star* were all suppressed legally or militarily' in the 1790s. An equal number of newspapers were 'given financial inducements to support the government', and by the spring of 1798 the authorities had succeeded in quashing all opposition to their policies. Newspapers that survived were sympathetic to, or in the pay of, Dublin Castle.⁵

Periodical literature beyond the newspaper press was particularly scanty in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The most interesting of the group were those journals that picked up the political issues of the 1790s from the radical newspaper press and applied them to the altered climate of post-union Ireland. Of these, the most entertaining, if not the most morally uplifting, was Watty Cox's *Irish Magazine and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography* (1807–15). A few years after the demise of Cox's journal, Robert Connolly, whom Cox had apparently once dismissed for incompetence and who was now the editor of the *New Irish Magazine and Monthly National Advocate*, wrote that 'the character of Cox is easily drawn: vulgar, coarse and faithless; he had few redeeming qualities, and those few, in the end, were perverted to the satisfaction of private pique'.⁶ Whatever Cox's character flaws, the importance of the threat he posed to the union through his publications cannot be underestimated.⁷ The *Irish Magazine* was one of the new miscellanies, a bewildering array of apparently random attacks on Cox's personal enemies and round denunciations of government policies, along with a great deal of the sort of biographical information on Irish notables promised in its full title. One of Cox's avowed aims was to promote the Irish language, and he tried to use Irish type whenever appropriate. Printed on good paper, in blue wrappers, at the price of 1s. 3d. per fifty page (approx.) issue, each number also carried anonymous editorials, puzzles, and extracts from newspapers. One of the journal's most startling features

⁵ Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760–1830* (Cork: Cork University Press 1996), 82 and *passim*.

⁶ Quoted in Séamus Ó Casaide, *Watty Cox and His Publications* (Dublin: Three Candles Press, 1935), 23.

⁷ Richard Robert Madden, *The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times*, James J. O'Neill ed., 3 vols. (Dublin: Martin Lester, n.d.), vol. 3, 102–21 and *passim*.

was the inclusion of engravings (rather than woodcuts) in all but three of the ninety-seven issues. Some were intended as illustrations to accompany the Irish biographies, but others were placed as visual reminders to the reader of the outrages perpetrated on the United Irishmen and their supporters during and after the rebellion.

Information on circulation figures comes from two sources: Connolly, in the *New Irish Magazine*, declared that the yearly circulation of the magazine was about 60,000. Cox himself, in an article on the demise of the *Belfast Magazine* in February of 1815, declared that his own *Irish Magazine*, which cost 1s. 3d. for each monthly issue, had a yearly circulation of 54,000, though he neglected to clarify whether the figure was the highest reached, or an average. Taking into account the habitual exaggeration of magazine editors, the figure is still very high, and comparison of these figures with those of later Irish periodicals, most of whom sold considerably fewer copies than this, confirms the influence of the *Irish Magazine*.

Though Cox's name and publications are little-known now, it is remarkable how often his activities and the productions of his press were evoked in nineteenth-century histories of the rebellion. Madden's three-volume history of the United Irishmen, first published in 1842, spends over twenty pages examining Cox's personality and his contribution to the printed record of the time.⁸ The *Irish Monthly Magazine* in 1832 placed Cox's *Irish Magazine* at the forefront of radical activity, declaring that the title of the journal was most often known simply as *Watty Cox*, and that both its failings and its triumphs were indissolubly linked to the personality of its editor. The *Irish Monthly Magazine* went on to say that 'the political papers in *Watty Cox* often betray the evidence of a mind superior to the education of its nominal editor, and form a striking contrast to the unrestrained badinage which he is supposed to have supplied'.⁹ As far as the *Irish Monthly Magazine* was concerned, Cox was an uneducated radical and his work, rather than aiding the cause of the United Irishmen, was seen as embarrassing to it. Cox's prior history of inflammatory prose included broadsides calling in the 1790s for the assassination of so-called enemies of rebellion, and his persistence in printing these lists of those he felt Ireland could do without eventually forced the Directory of United Irishmen to dissociate themselves from his sentiments. Cox, however, was not above playing one side against the other and may have offered to write anti-United Irish tracts for the government.¹⁰ On the other hand, it has been

noted that 'one bitter drawing in Cox's *Irish Magazine* of ascendancy cruelty outweighed a dozen... elegant arguments'.¹¹

The *Irish Magazine* illustrates just one of a number of experiments with genre at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century that can be seen as a direct response to political expediency and in imitation of radical action elsewhere, especially France. The handbills, broadsides, and highly serious newspapers published before 1798 became the miscellany after 1800; this relatively new form 'acted as a repository of genres reflecting a confused and severely repressed readership'.¹² Cox's *Irish Magazine* presented itself as innocent, as an outlet for information about notable Irishmen, but its reason for being, its polemic, was not that far removed from his earlier 'murder gazette' broadsides. The vast majority of the articles in the journal centred on the events of the previous ten years: the Irish rebellion, the Act of Union, and the consequent destruction of the United Irish cause. Cox used the format of the miscellany as a structure within which his polemical articles might be positioned, but there was never any attempt at subterfuge, at masking the names of those he condemned, or indeed at concealing the identity of the editor. In fact it is the voice of the editor that stands out so clearly in the pages of the magazine: strident, dangerous, 'highly coloured'. The genres that Cox utilized privileged the voice 'which in the dissenting and evangelical literary tradition, stood for individual integrity, the primal utterance which as unmediated expression stood close to experience and therefore to truth'.¹³ The effect of the magazine depended on the memory of the reader of events that took place during 1798, along with the hatred of that same reader for the present administration under the union. Cox's verbal and visual reminders of the rebellion and the government response to it deliberately manufactured and perpetuated a state of tension even after the main players in the original drama had either repudiated it or been eliminated.

One of the longest running series in the *Irish Magazine* concerned the veto controversy. This was the plan, first proposed as far back as 1782, to give the monarch the right to approve or reject candidates for appointment to the Catholic hierarchy both in Great Britain and in Ireland. In 1809 Cox claimed to have uncovered a plot to promote the veto amongst the Irish bishops, in return for an easing of restrictions on Catholics. His furious denunciations included names and character studies of those he believed were working in secret to promote the veto, clerics he called 'beastly

⁸ Madden, *United Irishmen*, vol. 3, 102–21 and *passim*.

⁹ 'Biographical Account of the Dublin Magazine Periodicals Who Have Lived and Died Since the Union', *Irish Monthly Magazine*, 1 (May 1832), 1, 7.

¹⁰ See Nancy J. Curran, *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1797–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 227 and *passim*.

¹¹ Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789–2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 81.

¹² Malcolm Ballin, *Irish Periodical Culture, 1937–1972: Genre in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 83 and *passim*.

¹³ Whelan, *Tree of Liberty*, 74.

ignorant... notorious profligates... unnatural men, who can perceive nothing repulsive in the human heart against submitting our religion into the hands of our natural and sworn exterminators—the Orangemen of Ireland'.¹⁴ With writing like this, it is not hard to see why Cox's magazine was both persecuted by the government and feared by those he named. At various times during his career Cox was arrested, pilloried, and finally imprisoned in Newgate for three years and four months, though he continued to write and edit the *Irish Magazine* from his cell. The most powerful illustration in the magazine is perhaps the one from the April 1811 issue which shows Cox himself, standing in a dignified posture, with a slight smile on his face. Madden noted that while Cox was still in prison the government seized a considerable number of issues just ready for publication, using as their justification the order to recover 18s. apparently owed for stamp tax.¹⁵ Those who sold the magazine on the streets were threatened and Cox's printers and compositors were beaten.¹⁶ By 1816 he had clearly had enough. Cox wrote on 9 January 1816 that he was

obliged to submit to the Government to avoid another dreary imprisonment and, as the Attorney-General threatened, in a remote jail. They insist, as one of the terms that I must leave the country; but have agreed to pay my passage to America and, when landed, to pay me £400... I am much gratified that my Magazine did not owe its dissolution to dullness, as you may see it required the overwhelming power of the British Government to suppress it.¹⁷

Indeed, the government had also agreed to give him a pension of £100 a year. Cox stayed in America until 1821 and continued writing pamphlets. He was caught in Ireland again in 1822 and deported to France, but seems to have been back in Ireland by the end of that year. He died in Dublin in 1837, the government having stopped his pension at the end of 1835.

Cox's contributions to the periodical literature of Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century are profound: coarse he may well have been, but his publications captured the fury of the populace following the union. His success, for a time anyway, was due to the fact that his work took advantage of the politically manufactured market for periodical literature, and that it fitted neatly into the structure demanded by the form: speed, topicality, repetition of sensation, product recognition, and value for money. Ultimately, the tone of Cox's articles breached the boundary between reading and speech, and his shrewd pairing of text and illustration looked back to Hogarth, and forward to the larger-than-life figures of

O'Connell—the Liberator—and the Young Irelanders who tried the whole process again in 1848.

Beyond Cox's adventures in periodical publishing, the early years of the nineteenth century seem to have been rather fallow in terms of new titles appearing. Other miscellanies, such as *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, published until 1811, performed a similar function to the *Irish Magazine*, though without the inflammatory prose peculiar to Cox. Those titles that appeared tended to have short lives. Yet there were titles that managed to achieve respectable circulation figures, and to compete—at least for a time—with imported English titles.

By the 1830s, antiquarian zeal had penetrated to Ireland, and the decade was particularly rich in scientific and what might broadly be considered learned journals. The 1830s also saw an increase in the establishment of mechanics' institutes in Ireland, as in England, and the reforming, educating function of various societies, like the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in England, had their counterparts in Ireland. The favoured format for publications from these bodies was the penny magazine, of which the Society's *Penny Magazine* (1832–45), *Knight's Penny Magazine* (1846), the Society's *Penny Magazine Journal* (1832–1956), and the *Saturday Magazine Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (1832–1956), and the *Saturday Magazine* (1832–44) were the most obvious English examples. Taking advantage of new technology that allowed a vastly more efficient, cost-effective operation, the penny papers were aimed at improving the minds of the working class, though the moral tone of most of these titles seemed to appeal more to an emerging middle-class audience. The high moral tone of most of the penny magazines reached its zenith in Ireland with the *Catholic Penny Magazine* (1834–5) and the *Protestant Penny Magazine* (1834–6) attacking the religious practices and supposed nefarious agendas of each other in every issue.

In contrast, *The Dublin Penny Journal* (1832–6), though superficially modelled on its English counterparts, was unique in its inclusion of exclusively Irish material on the geography, antiquities, folklore, and history of the country. The reader of the English penny magazines was as likely to find an article on the African continent there as he was to find one on his own county. In the *Dublin Penny Journal* all information offered pertained to Ireland. The project epitomized the cooperative efforts of Protestant and Catholic during this time, its original editors being Caesar O'way, a Church of Ireland clergyman, and George Petrie, antiquarian, painter, folklorist (see Chapters 39 and 40).¹⁸ Other well-known contributors included John

¹⁴ *Irish Magazine*, Jun. 1814.

¹⁶ *Irish Magazine*, Feb. 1813.

¹⁵ Madden, *United Irishmen*, vol. 3, 112–13.

¹⁷ Quoted in O'Casade, *Watty Cox*, 22.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Tilley, 'Science, Industry, and Nationalism in the *Dublin Penny Journal*', in Louise Henson et al. (eds.), *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 170–40.

O'Donovan, translator from the Irish of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and Eugene Curry. Though they were involved in only the first fifty-six issues, the vibrancy and quality of the articles O'way and Petrie supervised made the magazine highly successful. They aimed at a home audience, one they shamelessly flattered. Explaining in the first issue their editorial perspective, they noted that 'it is a positive fact that the tone of an Irish Penny Journal must be more elevated than an English one, because the lower classes of the Irish are more intelligent than the English'.¹⁹ In the second number the editors boasted a circulation of 15,000 copies four days after publication.²⁰ By November of 1832, 30,000 copies per issue were being sold, though this was the highest figure reached. The average, by 1833, was 10,000 (see Figure 10).

Caesar O'way's voice is rather difficult to discern in these early issues of the magazine; that of George Petrie, on the other hand, is clear. In the first year Petrie wrote (and signed with his initials) at least twenty-seven articles, mostly on Irish archaeology. Woodcuts copied from his highly accomplished watercolours of the geographical features of the country were often placed in prominent positions in the paper. The dependence of the penny paper on illustration is clear, and Petrie used this feature as a means of documenting what he saw as the disappearing physical heritage of the country. For him, illustration served to make immediate the archaeological history of Ireland and to augment the textual interpretations of objects with which his readers would be unfamiliar. The use of the penny magazine format meant high saturation of a previously untapped market and the possibility of educating the portion of the Irish population that Petrie felt was closest to the physical aspects of Ireland's past.²¹ An example can be seen in Petrie's re-use in the *Dublin Penny Journal* in 1832 of a watercolour originally published as part of Brewer's *The Beauties of Ireland*.²² The painting depicts a street scene in Kilmallock in County Limerick, and was produced by Petrie in 1821. The street is dominated by a decaying Norman tower and the houses surrounding the tower are in a similarly poor state of repair. The air of neglect and emphyse in the 1821 version has, however, disappeared in the altered, 1832 version. Originally smokeless chimneys are now shown as heartily in use; livestock are exiting the scene rather than dominating it, and the Norman tower no longer looms over the street. The emphasis is on the incorporation of the past into the present;

¹⁹ *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1 (1832-3), 21.

²⁰ *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1 (1832-3), 16.

²¹ See Tom Dunne, 'Towards a National Art?', in Peter Murray (ed.), *George Petrie (1790-1866): The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past* (Cork: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 2004), 125-36.

²² J. N. Brewer, *The Beauties of Ireland: Being Original Descriptions, Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, of Each County* (London: Sherwood, Jones, 1825).

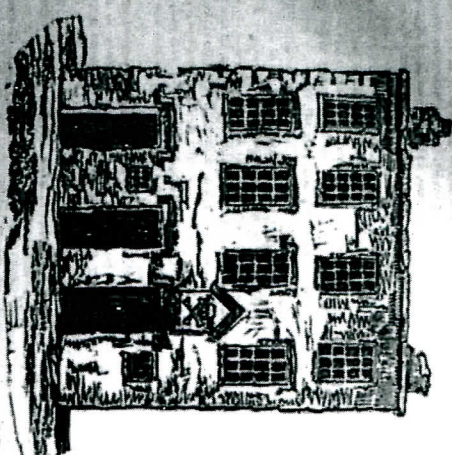
DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

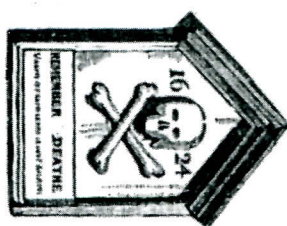
No 26. Vol. I.

J. S. FOLDS, 56, GREAT STRAND STREET.

JANUARY 12, 1832.



James's House and Jail over the Barracks, Galway.



THE WARDEN OF GALWAY.

There are few, if any, of our readers, who are unacquainted with the story of the Warden of Galway—the subject of an interesting legend in the very valuable history of that town by Mr. Hardiman, and of an excellent tragedy by our fellow-citizen, the Rev. Edward Grove. The woodcut prefixed, according to Mr. Hardiman, represents the house of that Brutus-like magistrate, and the tablet which the historian supposes was subsequently put over the doorway to commemorate the tragical event. With the love for truth which, we trust, will always be found to pervade the pages of our little Journal, we cannot but feel that we are somewhat sceptical as to the truth of a circumstance of which no historical evidence has been found; and, as antiquarians, we altogether deny the house to be of the antiquity assigned to it—namely the fifteenth century. The date over the doorway, 1624, is unquestionably the true period of its erection. Some houses were not known in Ireland at the time which Mr. Hardiman supposes this to have been erected. The evidence and motto prove nothing, for religious and moral maxims are usual on the domestic edifices of that age. We present our readers with the legend in a somewhat abridged form, which, though published more than once, will doubtless amuse them.

A few years before the battle of Keshkesh, an extraordinary instance of civic justice occurred in this town, which in the eyes of its citizens elevated their chief magistrate to a rank with the illustrious Roman, James Lynch. Lynch, an opulent merchant, was mayor of Galway in 1492. He had made several voyages to Spain, as a considerable adventurer was then kept up between that country and the western coast of Ireland. When returning from his last visit he brought with him the son of a respectable merchant named Gomez, whose hospitality he had long experienced, and who was now grieved by his family with all that warmth of affection which from the earliest period has characterized the natives of Ireland. Young Gomez soon became the intimate associate of Walter

Lynch, the only son of the mayor, a youth in his twentieth year, and who possessed qualities of mind and body which rendered him an object of general admiration; but in these was unhappily united a disposition to libertinism, which was a source of the greatest affliction to his father. The worthy magistrate, however, was now bent on entering into a favorable change in his son's character, as he was engaged in paying honorable addresses to a beautiful young lady of good family and fortune. Preparatory to the nuptials, the mayor gave a splendid entertainment, at which young Lynch invited his intended bride and her Spanish friend with too much regard. The fire of passion was instantly kindled up in his discontented brain, and at their next interview he accused his beloved Agnes of unfaithfulness to him. Irritated at his injustice, she offended him one dishonored to deny the charge, and the lovers parted in anger.

On the following night, while Walter Lynch slowly passed the residence of his Agnes, he observed young Gomez to leave the house, as he had been invited by her father to spend that evening with him. All his suspicions now received the most dreadful confirmation, and in undimmed fury he rushed on his unsuspecting friend, who, alarmed by a voice which the frantic rage of his pursuer rendered him from recognizing, fled towards a solitary quarter of the town near the shore. Lynch maintained the full pursuit till his victim had nearly reached the water's edge, when he overtook him, dived a pointed into his breast, and plunged his body, breathing, into the sea, which, during the night, there it lay again upon the shore, where it was found and recognized on the following morning.

The wretched murderer, after contemplating for a moment the deed of horror which he had perpetrated, sought to hide himself in the recesses of an adjoining wood, where he passed the night a prey to all those horrors which he had so justly expected, and a scene of grief of the deepest dye could not be. He at length found some degree of consolation in the thought of the resolution of surmounting himself to the law, as the only means now left to him of expiating the dreadful crime which he had committed against society. With

Petrie's commentary on the illustration is in line with the stated aims of the *Dublin Penny Journal*: the fostering of pride in the history and material culture of Ireland. Kilmallock, he says, was formerly a place of

intensely romantic interest... a noble town, walled, turreted, and filled with stately monasteries, castles, and houses of cut stone, all ruined, silent, and deserted; some wretched peasants had indeed here and there taken up their residence in the corner of a tower or mansion, which, like a solitary figure in a mountain scene, only added to the effect of sadness and desolation. It was at this period that the prefixed sketch was made. Kilmallock has since assumed a different aspect: it has become again a scene of life and animation, and though it has lost much of its poetic and pictorial interest, it will give greater pleasure to the eye of the philanthropist.²³

The assumptions made about the readers of such articles, based on journal format, price, size, editorial viewpoint, etc., are ones that valorize and confirm the importance of those readers and accept their dignity and right to access their own past.

The *Dublin Penny Journal*, while edited by Otway and Petrie, was actually owned by the printer J. S. Folds, and it is in Folds's occasional articles about the technology behind the printing and publication process that we find evidence of the state of affairs in the industry in Dublin in the 1830s. In an article simply entitled 'Machinery', Folds outlines the philosophy behind his refusal to employ the steam printing press in the production of the *Dublin Penny Journal*, and in the process envisages Ireland as a separate market from England and thus sees Irish printers as having the freedom to make their own decisions. When it came to mechanization, Folds noted that

Every printing press is, of course, a machine. Each press employs two individuals, and every thousand copies of the DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL takes up *four hours* in printing, there being two presses and four men constantly employed upon it, frequently working day and night. When any thing delays the sending it to press *ten days* before the date of publication, severe extra labour is required to bring up the lost time, and produce the number of copies requisite; and frequently the delay has very seriously interfered with the interests and circulation of the periodical. Here, then, is a case in point. The printer would be justified in the eye of common sense in procuring a machine, by which the Journal could be all printed off in a few days, and thus not only the annoyance, the loss of time, the extra expense be avoided, but the Journal enabled in every respect to compete with the English and Scotch periodicals. Yet from the fear of setting an example of reckless indifference to the interests of men, from the fear of awakening that spirit of avaricious emulation, which would indiscriminately introduce machinery, which would supersede manual labour, he has hitherto abstained. Doubtless, the case still

stands, that it is but *exchanging one machine for another*. Yet as numbers of men depend for subsistence on their labour at the *old* machines, the printing presses, the *new* machines should not be recklessly introduced; and as Ireland is yet comparatively *guiltless* of machinery, let it be introduced cautiously and deliberately, least [*sic*] in breaking up the soil for her future improvement, we hastily and wantonly plough through the hopes, the prospects, and the interests of her working classes.²⁴

The last issue of the *Dublin Penny Journal* to be edited by Otway and Petrie appeared on 27 July 1833. Folds sold the paper to Philip Dixon Hardy, already an experienced editor and proprietor of periodicals (he edited the *Dublin Literary Gazette*), and ironically enough, responsible for bringing to Ireland the first steam printing press in 1833. His editorship of the *Dublin Penny Journal* took it rather far away from the tone of cultural nationalism of its first year, and he clearly had in mind a wider and perhaps less homogeneous audience than did its first editors and proprietor. Hardy was politically conservative, a businessman who had already gained a reputation for hard dealings with his employees. His interest in archaeology and antiquities was slight, and under his editorship scissors and paste journalism became the norm. The focus of the articles was no longer exclusively on Ireland, and the readers he targeted were just as likely to live in England. Though his circulation figures were still impressive—12,000 in 1836—in fact his portrayal of Ireland as a tourist destination was a defining feature of his tenure, and by 1836, one-third of that sales figure was derived from English readers.²⁵ Extracts from the *Dublin Penny Journal*, including stories by Carleton, poems by Mangan, and musings on topography from others, including Petrie, were published by Hardy as *Picnics from the Dublin Penny Journal*,²⁶ suggesting that Ireland could be neatly encapsulated and defined through a series of harmless, representative tit-bits of information.

Beyond the penny magazines, the 1830s were notable for a number of literary and religious monthlies, such as another of Caesar Otway's ventures, *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*, begun in 1825 and still going strong until 1869, though Otway ceased to be involved in its administration in 1831.²⁷ Though the *Christian Examiner* spent a good deal of energy on proving the errors inherent in the Catholic Church, its tone was less offensive than that found in other journals of its type, and it

²⁴ J. S. Folds, 'Machinery', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1.28 (5 Jan. 1833).

²⁵ Francesa Bernati, 'Dublin Penny Journal', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (London: British Library, 2009), 182–3.

²⁶ *Picnics from the Dublin Penny Journal* (1836).

²⁷ Hawley, 'Irish Periodicals', 31–2.

did try to employ the literary talent of Irish writers. William Carleton, for instance, was a frequent contributor.

Another production from Hardy's steam press, and advertised as such, was *The Citizen: or, Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1839–43). The magazine used various combinations of the title throughout its run, but was consistently produced to a very high standard. It was a nationalist publication, full of the usual reviews of new fiction, poetry, occasional serial novels, and articles on the political situation in Ireland. Edited by Thomas Clarke Wallis and John Blake Dillon, the magazine's connections to the group that would later become Young Ireland were through the friendship of Clarke and Dillon with Thomas Davis. The magazine's editorial tone was clear and reproduced in articles like 'Turbulence in Ireland' offered by 'A Northern': 'if rebellions are such disgraceful things, we should like to know how Englishmen are to free themselves from the disgrace of those which appear so frequently in the pages of their history?'²⁸ One of the *Citizen's* most appealing features was the inclusion of engraved music plates as part of a series entitled 'The Native Music of Ireland', with music and words explicated, translations of the Irish given, and histories of the songs offered.

Trinity College as the locus for Ireland's literary endeavours was largely unaffected by the Act of Union. It continued to produce writers and poets, clergy and lawyers, whose work often found a home in the long-running *Dublin University Magazine* (see Chapters 36 and 37).²⁹ With a forty-four year, unbroken run of publication, from 1833 to 1877, the *Dublin University Magazine* had eight editors and a similar number of proprietors/publishers, all but the last publisher based in Dublin. The magazine was founded by Dublin Protestants—Isaac Butt, Caesar Otway, Samuel Ferguson, and others from Trinity—and was intended as a rival to *Blackwood's*. Both its format and concerns echoed that of the conservative Edinburgh publication. It showcased Irish authors, championed Irish culture, and was used by the English press as the source of educated, rational Irish opinion. The *Dublin University Magazine* presented itself as a monolith, a view aided by a virtually unchanged format: title page, layout, and length of issue for its entire history.³⁰ But this apparent stasis belies the extent to which the magazine was occasionally forced to reflect rapid changes in Irish society, and similarly the extent to which it became reflective of the position of its writers and audience. The most interesting periods of its existence: 1842–5,

when the editor of the magazine was Charles Lever, and 1861–9, when Sheridan LeFanu was editor, are similar in that both Lever and LeFanu were well-known novelists, and their work comprises the bulk of the fiction published by the magazine during those periods. Lever's tenure coincided with the great popularity of his novels; indeed, his contract with the *Dublin University Magazine's* publisher, James McGlashan, stipulated that each number should be fronted by a serial from Lever. Lever's literary style owed more to the eighteenth-century rake than the increasingly serious Victorian hero, but the popularity of his fiction brought the magazine its best circulation, from 2,500 copies per month in 1841 to a height of 4,000 per month.³¹ Lever began his tenure by stating that the magazine would retain its national focus: 'I shall endeavour to show that while we of Ireland are the acknowledged staff of periodical literature in England, we are able, and, better still, are willing to unite to obtain for our national journal, the same proud position in public estimation, that Scotsmen have won for their magazine before the eyes of Great Britain.'³²

Lever's time as editor was highly publicized and 'boisterous', for lack of a better term. His rollicking fiction and satirical style were already part of what readers expected from the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine*, as he had been contributing material since about 1837. He was hired by the magazine's proprietors, Curry and McGlashan, and it appears that McGlashan was lucky to get him. Lever had been offered £8,000 per annum to edit *Bentley's Miscellany*, and he used the offer to negotiate a salary of £12,000 per annum to edit the *Dublin University Magazine*, along with half-profits on his own writings published by Curry. For some time Lever had been publishing under the transparent nom de plume of Harry Lorrequer, and it was actually this Harry Lorrequer who, the publishers announced, would take over the editor's job. The adoption and continuation of the pseudonym (Lever's first address to his readers was signed 'Harry Lorrequer') allowed Lever to ascribe to a fictional character already familiar to readers any behaviour or tone that might have seemed ungracious or frivolous. The creation of this alter ego was soon seen as insulting to Irish readers, and the close association that developed in the public mind between Lever and his character caused a good bit of trouble. In any event, by 1845 Lever was finding the work of editing the magazine tedious, as it was an additional burden to the demands of writing serial fiction. He retired permanently to the continent and left the magazine to its own devices (see Figure 11).

²⁸ 'Turbulence in Ireland', *The Citizen: or, Dublin Monthly Magazine*, 3:18 (Apr. 1841), 247.

²⁹ See Wayne E. Hall, *Dialogues in the Margin: A Study of the Dublin University Magazine* (Washington: The Catholic University Press of America, 1999).

³⁰ Michael Sadleir, 'The Dublin University Magazine: Its History, Contents and Bibliography (A Paper Read before the Bibliographical Society of Ireland, 26 Apr. 1937)' (Dublin: Bibliographical Society of Ireland, 5.4 (1938), 50–85.

³¹ Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), 96.

³² *Dublin University Magazine*, 19:112 (Apr. 1842), 424.



11. *The Dublin University Magazine*. Courtesy of James Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway

It should be noted, however, that Lever's decision to leave Ireland and the magazine behind may not have been entirely unconnected with the continuous attacks levelled on his personality and his work by the newly formed *Nation* newspaper. The Young Irelanders took exception to Lever's depiction of Ireland in his novels, and attacked him three times between May and October 1843. Over 18,000 words were written about Lever's apparent betrayal of Ireland's attempts to portray itself to the English reader as intelligent, culturally aware, and dignified. It was certainly true

that the publishers of the magazine saw its appeal to an English market. Advertisements inserted in each issue, and printed on the covers of each issue, often offered goods and services for sale to the English, and often available to Irish readers only on application to English firms. As a highly regarded and successful cultural 'export', then, the *Dublin University Magazine* was seen by the radical papers as a dangerous carrier of misinformation about the Irish. One of the most damaging of claims against Lever was Charles Gavan Duffy's assertion in the *Nation* that Lever had plagiarized portions of Watty Cox's *Irish Magazine*. Ultimately, though, the attacks on Lever had very little to do with the man himself. Lever became a scapegoat whose literary prominence (as the Irish Dickens), and position as editor of the most widely read Irish journal in England, made him peculiarly unsuited to reforming the image of Ireland elsewhere (see Chapter 34). William Carleton was no fan of Lever's, and he accused Lever of being afraid of losing readers, and of using the *Dublin University Magazine* as

the instrument of his own interests with the English people, knowing that when banished from our literature he must fall back on English prejudices, and their consequent sympathy with himself. Since that magazine came unluckily into his hands, it has month after month, degenerated into such indescribable dullness, that it is even, with the best intentions, actually impossible to read it.³³

Still, those most critical of the *Dublin University Magazine* during Lever's time as editor—Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy of the *Nation*, along with William Carleton—privately acknowledged that, despite its failings, the magazine 'alone maintained the reputation of Irish genius... though it was more habitually libellous of the Irish people than the *Times*'.³⁴

The principal difference between the editorships of Lever and Lefanu was the fact that Lever was an employee of Curry and McGlashan. He had no stake in the continued existence of the *Dublin University Magazine* except insofar as it impacted on his reputation as a novelist. Lefanu owned the magazine and was therefore vitally concerned with its financial health. He had been contributing stories, often anonymously, to the *Dublin University Magazine* since the 1840s, and by that time also held shares in two Dublin newspapers, the *Statesman* and the *Warder*, maintaining an interest in the latter until 1870.³⁵ In addition, Lefanu wrote for the *Dublin Evening Mail*, and had been publishing novels, through both Irish and English publishers, since 1845. Lefanu used the same publication strategy that McGlashan had employed with Lever's work: each issue of the *Dublin University Magazine* was fronted by serial fiction; the strategy led, as has

³³ *Nation*, 7 Oct. 1843.

³⁴ Thomas Davis, in Charles Gavan Duffy, *Thomas Davis: The Memoirs of an Irish Patriot* (London: Kegan, Paul, 1890), 55.

³⁵ W. J. McCormack, *Sheridan Lefanu and Victorian Ireland* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1991), 86–7.

been stated, to a respectable circulation of 2,000 copies per month. His was not the only fiction offered, but it was certainly the most distinctive, even though he did not initially use his own name as McGlashan had used Lever's, as advertising. W. J. McCormack asserts that the magazine under LeFanu's control became less Irish and less interesting than it had been in the 1830s and 1840s under editors like Lever. Furthermore, there was 'no reflection of the particular Protestant culture from which the magazine nominally drew its identity'.³⁶

And yet there was a sense in which under LeFanu the magazine was still very much concerned with Ireland and the now perilous position of the Protestant Ascendancy. An air of unease pervades the magazine during his tenure. Close reading reveals an almost obsessive response in the writing to a prevailing tenseness in Irish political affairs, a vague fear of foreign influence on certain classes of the Irish, along with the rise of Fenianism and the threats it posed to the social order. It is instructive, for example, to examine the articles found in the *Dublin University Magazine* during the six month period, from July to December 1864. LeFanu's best known novel, *Uncle Silas*, was running as a serial, and the year was more or less half way through LeFanu's tenure as owner/editor. The principal writer of political articles in the magazine was J. A. Scott, LeFanu's sub-editor and general account keeper, and from his articles oblique rather than direct references to Ireland and its political situation emerge. In the only article dealing principally with Ireland, a ten-page paper entitled 'Notes on the Condition of Ireland' in the July 1864 issue, Scott refers to what he calls the 'State of Ireland' as a disease. The English neglect of its sister country is denounced as 'unnatural'; Scott speaks of the 'sinister croakings of a faction' in Ireland that desires a republic and he blames this desire on 'bad laws, which a powerful neighbour will not alter, and has a selfish interest in maintaining'.³⁷ The bewilderment of the writer about the new threat of Fenianism is expressed in words such as 'alien', 'inexplicable', 'fever'.

In December of 1864 Scott wrote on the current political situation in Italy. Here Italian brigandage was compared in an oblique way to Ribbandism in Ireland: 'Its basis [was] to be sought in the perverted moral sense of the people. Their government kept them poor, poverty caused ignorance, and ignorance, which an elaborate and over-offered ecclesiastical system failed to dispel, produced immorality, and brigandage was a very natural form for it to take under the circumstances'.³⁸ In contrast, the growing political instability in Ireland received almost no attention. Fenian newspapers, like the

Irish People, begun in 1863, were ignored. Articles harked back to the golden age of Irish ethnography expounded in the 1830s penny weeklies like the *Dublin Penny Journal*. Series like that of Patrick Kennedy on Irish folklore and the connections between the Irish and other Celtic peoples presented an ideal of cultural homogeneity.

When one takes into account the overwhelmingly oppressive atmosphere created by the presence of instalments of LeFanu's *Uncle Silas* in these issues, the difference between the *Dublin University Magazine* under the editorship of LeFanu as opposed to Lever is obvious. The environment of the heroine in the novel has been described as 'a vaguely haunted atmosphere whose uncanniness is associated with cultural isolation and the absence of a coherent, unifying religious influence'.³⁹ The resemblance between the interior of the novel and the interior of the periodical during LeFanu's tenure is similarly striking.

This claustrophobia was also reflected in the very limited number of authors writing for the magazine under LeFanu. Two-thirds of the fifty-six articles published in the July to December 1864 period were written by just five individuals. The relative cultural diversity of early volumes of the *Dublin University Magazine*, when writers like Carleton, Lever, and Isaac Butt were active, was replaced by an increasing garrison mentality. Perhaps the best measure of change from the 1840s to the 1860s is the difference between Lever's fictional characters: irreverent, buffoonish, but ultimately harmless; and those of LeFanu: secretive, obsessive, haunted, and increasingly isolated.

The 1850s ended with the founding of the *Irish Times* in 1859 but with the demise of other newspapers whose origin lay in the turbulent decades after the Act of Union. The years following 1851 also saw a general improvement in living standards and an increase in the commercial prosperity of towns, along with a rise in the population of Dublin and Belfast.⁴⁰ A relative building boom followed, and periodicals aimed at the commercial sector were more frequently launched.⁴¹ Grocers' and vintners' magazines, along with farmers' journals and more 'high-class' periodicals aimed at the building trade were all available during the middle years of the century. *The Irish Builder* was the most impressive of these magazines. Reflective of its growing importance, its original title of 1859, *The Dublin Builder: or, Illustrated Irish Architectural, Engineering, Mechanics' and Sanitary Journal*,

³⁶ James Walton, *Vision and Vacancy: The Fictions of J. S. LeFanu* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2007), 58.

³⁷ L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660* (2nd edn.) (London: B. T. Batsford, 1987), 134 and *passim*.

³⁸ Enda McKay, 'A Century of Irish Trade Journals, 1860-1960', in Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay (eds.), *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals* (Mullingar: Lilliput Press, 1987), 103-22.

³⁹ McCormack, *LeFanu*, 201.

⁴⁰ 'Notes on the Condition of Ireland', *Dublin University Magazine* (Jul. 1864), 110-20.

⁴¹ 'Italy in 1864', *Dublin University Magazine* (Dec. 1864), 637.

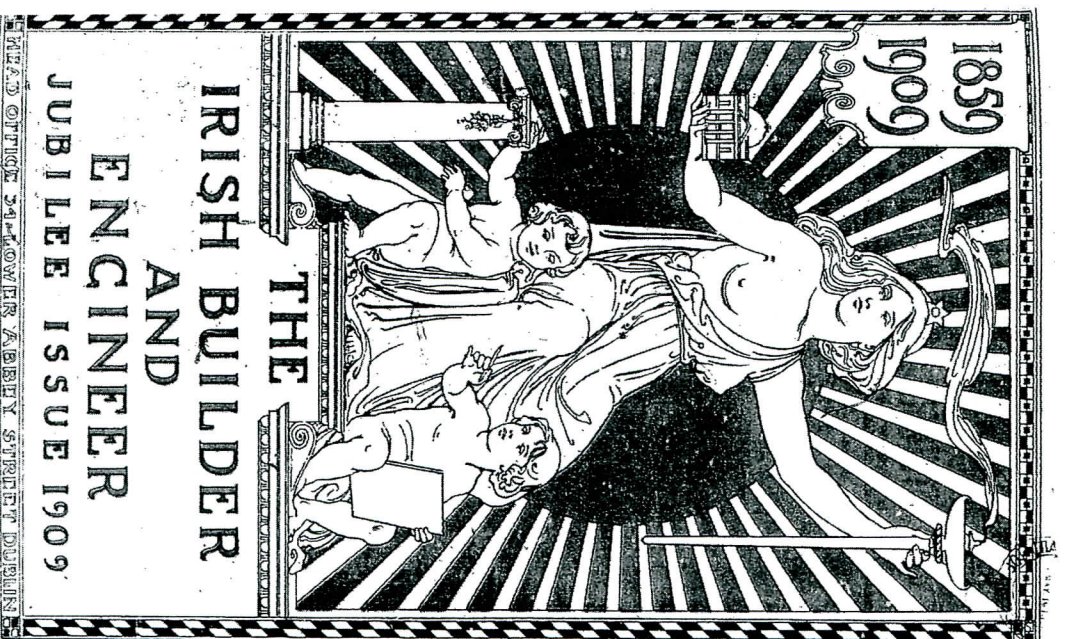
changed in 1867 to the *Irish Builder and Engineering Record*, and again in 1899 to the *Irish Builder and Technical Journal*. The magazine celebrated its jubilee in 1909 and was still going strong until 1979. In true Victorian fashion, *The Irish Builder* interested itself not just in architecture and the building trades, but in social questions surrounding the housing market and stock, scientific advance in relation to improvements in materials, and Europe-wide developments in urban planning. Appearing monthly from 1859, its popularity soon enabled a bi-weekly production schedule (see Figure 12).

The *Irish Builder's* first proprietor and editor was J. J. Lyons, an architect who used his contacts and business knowledge to good effect. It sold for 4d. (reduced to 3d. in 1866) for four pages of material, each broadsheet page having three columns. In the first year, its subscribers list doubled, advertisements trebled in value, and the length of issues increased. Lyons was particularly astute in targeting building and manufacturing interests as part of its 'free' list, rightly using the free issue scheme as a means of attracting advertisements. At the end of its first year of production, an editorial noted that its subscribers included 'with very few exceptions, all the Architects, Civil Engineers, Surveyors, Builders, Clerks of Works, Foremen, Mechanics, &c.; likewise Reading-rooms, Hotels, Mechanics' Institutes in every town in Ireland, very many throughout the United Kingdom, and in the Colonies'.⁴²

With such free and paying saturation, the magazine could not fail, and, as the editor observed, the *Irish Builder* in its first year had a higher circulation than any periodical outside of London. In 1861 the *Irish Builder* began including engravings and lithographic illustrations with each issue (photolithographs by the end of the century). These illustrations were often full page, highly detailed architectural drawings of civic buildings and model housing. Many of them were submitted by the profession as part of an invitation from the editor to 'provide space for meritorious subjects, the blocks—artistically executed—being supplied'.⁴³ A large part of the *raison d'être* of the periodical was its publication of invitations to tender, and its respectability reflected well on the building trade in Ireland in general. Not confining itself to Dublin meant that its pages became a record of the changing face of Ireland's urban landscape in the nineteenth century. Articles in the magazine were for the most part unsigned, concerned with issues of the day, but the emphasis was always on Ireland, and the *Irish Builder* prided itself in reminding architects that Ireland was now as important a venue for their work as London had been in the past.

⁴² *Irish Builder* (1 Dec. 1859), 160.

⁴³ *Irish Builder* (1 Jan. 1859), 2.



12. *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. Courtesy of James Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway

One of the defining characteristics of the *Irish Builder* from the outset was its willingness to cater both for the professional and artisan classes. This was clearly a business strategy, but its effect was to widen the sphere of influence of the magazine, and as the years went on its educational function was clearly evident. The editor made this clear in the first issue:

we hope to find ourselves as welcome visitors in the studio and drawing-room of the professor, as in the humblest domicile of the intelligent mechanic; without being specifically identified with either, but devoting ourselves equally impartially, and independently to serve the interests and contribute to the gratification of both.⁴⁴

Public education, such as that provided by mechanics' institutes, was never a great success in Ireland.⁴⁵ But journals like the *Irish Builder* seem to have assumed a knowledge-hungry audience and did as much as possible to provide information about scientific and technological advance in language that was accessible to all. Reporters were present at Royal Dublin Society and Royal College of Sciences meetings, and papers read were summarized for those who, the journal assumed, were too busy with business to attend themselves. Lecturers who failed to engage their audiences, or whose language was deemed impenetrable by the reporters, were told as much. The question of public education runs right through issues of the *Irish Builder* in the nineteenth century: it should, said the paper, be free of charge to mechanics, upon 'written recommendations of manufacturers and employers', on the principle that the better educated the work force, the higher the quality of the products manufactured by that work force.⁴⁶

For historians of the book trade the *Irish Builder* is of special interest. From July of 1877 until June of 1878, the *Irish Builder* ran a series entitled 'Notes on the Rise and Progress of Printing and Publishing in Ireland'. The series was written by Christopher Clinton Hoey, a regular contributor.⁴⁷ The impetus for the series was the opening of the Caxton exhibition in the South Kensington Museum in London (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) on the 30 June 1877, whose purpose was both to make the public aware of the history of English printing and to raise funds for the English Printers' Pension Fund. It was clear to the *Irish Builder* that the Irish printing and publishing industry was in dire straits, and that no such public demonstration of support comparable to the English example was forthcoming. The series, then, was intended both as an idiosyncratic history of the industry in Ireland, and as a way of calling attention to the lack of either governmental or private support for those printers and publishers who had need of it. Hoey was a nationalist, a strong opponent of governmental censorship, and, as it happens, an eyewitness to events sure

to interest the *Irish Builder's* readers. His series was divided roughly in half, the first part relating the story of the industry from its beginnings in Ireland up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The second half covered the period of greatest activity: from the years leading up to the 1798 rebellion to around 1860. Hoey's vigorous tone and entertaining style of writing proved popular; his constant condemnation of those in the pay of the Castle (in its various forms) made his political sympathies clear. His reminiscences of the day John Mitchel was transported are typical of his style and are worth quoting:

During the revolutionary year of 1848, several periodical ventures were started—some dying with their first or second issues, and others lasting a few months. Of one or more of these we have already given some notes. The *United Irishman* of John Mitchel lasted from February till the end of May. On the morning of his transportation, we witnessed his departure from the North Wall, saw the dock draw-bridges withdrawn, as the police van passed over, and the people beat back by a cordon of policemen... Within an hour afterwards we made our way to the *United Irishman* office in Trinity-street, and on our arrival we found two drays drawn up outside, and the police and dray-men engaged in carrying out the cases of type and other printing plant belonging to the convicted journalist. The plant, if we remember aright, was carted to stores in the Lower Castle-yard. The *Felon* newspaper, by John Martin, the successor to Mitchel's paper, lasted only about five numbers before its suppression and the subsequent surrender of its proprietor. The *Tribune* of Kevin Izod O'Doherty and Richard Dalton Williams, had about the same brief existence before its suppression and the arrest of its conductors... There were hot and stirring times in sooth 'twixt the early days of February and the last days of July in Dublin in the year 1848. With the succeeding State Trials came a depression in many industrial fields, and perhaps in no field in Dublin was greater depression felt than in the literary market. Printers and publishers—of the national type at least—printed no longer with 'a vigour and a vengeance'; but even apart from national literary ventures, there was dearth and dampness in the printing and publishing trades, and little literary activity.⁴⁸

The rest of the article, the last in the series, decries the lack of enterprise in Dublin publishers and their demotion, in terms of literary magazines at least, from originators to what Hoey calls 'nominal booksellers... mere English and Scotch publishers' agents'.⁴⁹ By 1877 even the *Dublin University Magazine* was in its final incarnation, its last editors announcing that 'Dublin' would be dropped from the title, calling forth a furious denunciation from the *Irish Builder* which referred to a previous decision in 1848 to change the title:

⁴⁴ *Irish Builder* (1 Jan. 1859), 1.

⁴⁵ Jim Cooke, 'The Dublin Mechanics' Institute, 1824–1919', *Dublin Historical Record*, 52.1 (1999), 15–31; Elizabeth Neswald, 'Science, Sociability and the Improvement of Ireland: The Galway Mechanics' Institute', 1826–51, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 39 (2006), 503–34.

⁴⁶ 'Education for the Working Classes', *Irish Builder* (15 Jan. 1870), 18.

⁴⁷ I take pleasure in acknowledging Dr Anthony McNichols, of the University of Westminster, who kindly identified Hoey from the cryptic initials (CHC) appended to the last instalment of the series.

⁴⁸ 'Notes on the Rise and Progress of Printing and Publishing in Ireland', *The Irish Builder* (1 Jun. 1878), 160.

⁴⁹ *The Irish Builder* (1 Jun. 1878), 163.

The reason assigned in 1848 for sinking the word 'University' or making it small, was that the magazine was known in the London trade as 'the Dublin'. The present conductors of our once native periodical have assigned their reason, too, for a change; but the truth is, we fear, that the word Dublin is obnoxious, and stinks in their nostrils... Henceforth, the *University Magazine* will no longer belong to us. Being ashamed of its former title and the place of its birth, its conductors will perhaps have the candour to say it needs no longer Irish subscribers or Irish readers.⁵⁰

In spite of this general trend, however, 1873 had seen the foundation of the long-running literary magazine, the *Irish Monthly*, under the editorship of the Jesuit, Matthew Russell. Noted for its promotion of Catholic novelists, it was also one of the earliest journals to publish the work of Oscar Wilde and W. B. Yeats.

The *Irish Builder* occasionally offered small articles on news of interest from other papers. In 1871 a piece entitled 'Native Literature and the Publishing Trade' attracted the notice of the *Bookseller*, whose comments on the points made in the article included the following: 'The *Irish Builder* has an excellent article upon the decay of the book trade in Ireland; a lament for the past. It should awaken the attention of rising James Duffys—and there must be many of them in the country—and induce them to cultivate a branch of native industry that cannot fail to pay those who embark on it.'⁵¹ The James Duffy referred to in the article had died that year, but had been a strong presence in the Dublin publishing world since the 1830s. He was also responsible for the invention of a 'new kind of cosy family Catholicism', providing a bewildering variety of periodicals to cater for it (see Chapter 9).⁵² Duffy's productions were aimed almost exclusively at a domestic market in the 1850s–1860s, when overhead costs to producers had begun to decline, rail transportation within Ireland made distribution easier, and the removal of the paper tax, along with an increase in literacy rates, created a new market in the lower middle class.

Duffy first came to prominence as the preferred publisher of the Young Ireland movement. His numerous reprints of the *Spirit of the Nation* seemed to make permanent the ephemeral ballad poetry first published in the *Nation*, at the same time helping to legitimize the Young Ireland enterprise as a whole. Capitalizing on the association in the public mind of his firm with the creation of a 'national literature', Duffy produced eight periodicals between 1833 and 1862, all of them nationalist, all using predominantly Irish material. He was a businessman first and foremost;

his interest in publishing was not academic, and his publishing decisions always put sales figures above quality or literary merit. Indeed, his early reprinting of old romances and prayerbooks often embarrassed the Young Irelanders as they realized that their own seriousness of purpose might be undermined through the connection of their enterprise with the cheap publishing ventures that were Duffy's forte.

Duffy seemed content to confine his business to Ireland; there is anecdotal evidence of complaints from authors about his apparent refusal to advertise new books in England. Lacking business records or letters from him, it is difficult to speculate about the reasons behind this apparent neglect of new marketing opportunities, but it would appear that Duffy was satisfied with the range of his influence. He maintained a close, lucrative business relationship with the Catholic Church. Indeed, he made a public display of this relationship, turning it into an opportunity for self-promotion in a letter to the *Nation*, replying to their notice of his contribution to the national interest: 'I have to thank you for connecting my humble name with our national literature; but the praise is due to the kind patronage and extensive support which I have received from the Catholic hierarchy, clergy, and the laity of Ireland.'⁵³

The 1851 title of Duffy's catalogue was also very revealing: *A Catalogue of Standard Catholic Works, and Books Relating to Ireland*. Compared by his authors to those public-spirited publishers Knight and Chambers, Duffy too regaled his public with the same sort of eclectic collection of information, entertainment, and piety.⁵⁴ It is well to remember that between 1845 and 1851 the population of Ireland fell by some two million, from over eight million to just over six million, and from 1851 to the beginning of the twentieth century the population fell by another one and a half million. It was a shrinking market to some degree, though of course the population decline was felt more at the lower than at the more literate middle ranges of the social scale. It was certainly a more insular and homogeneous market and Duffy was forced constantly to re-invent his product. His stable of periodicals came in all sorts of formats, from penny magazines to monthlies, and at all sorts of prices. His distribution network was also fairly extensive, though he confined himself to Ireland and to the Irish abroad, eschewing competition with English publishers with a broader audience. Agents were placed in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, with four agents in Manchester. There is at least one instance of Duffy having spread

⁵⁰ 'Anent the *Dublin University Magazine*', *The Irish Builder* (1 Dec. 1877), 346.

⁵¹ 'The *Bookseller* on Irish Literature', *The Irish Builder* (15 Sept. 1871), 242.

⁵² Barbara Hayley, 'A Reading and Thinking Nation': Periodicals as the Voice of Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in Hayley and McKay, *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*, 29–48; 42.

⁵³ *Nation*, 29 Apr. 1843.

⁵⁴ S. H. Bindon, 'Preface', to *The Historical Works of The Right Rev. Nicholas French, D.D.* (Dublin: Duffy, 1846), x.

his influence to the colonies: an agent is listed for *Duffy's Fireside Magazine* (1850-4) in Newfoundland.

The titles Duffy chose for his periodicals were usually indicative either of the house from which they issued, or of the audience they intended to capture. The *Irish Penny Journal* (1842),⁵⁵ with contributions by both Samuel Lover and Charles Lever, offered itself as a compendium of stories and information about the Irish countryside; *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* (1847-8) reflected an ambitious alliance of culture and religion. The full title of the journal was *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine: A Monthly Review, Devoted to National Literature, Arts, Antiquities, Ecclesiastical History, Biography of Illustrious Irishmen, and Military Memoirs*. At 1s. per issue, the journal was expensive, though it offered high quality woodcuts and an encyclopaedic format as part of its appeal. Duffy kept it going for two years, but the depression in the trade caused by the famine (along with Duffy's own precarious financial position) meant that the title was no longer viable. Duffy did manage, however, neatly to fill two volumes with material, and the set was sold, bound, from his office on Wellington Quay. In 1850 Duffy tried a cheaper format and aimed at a more diverse audience. At 4d. per month, *Duffy's Fireside Magazine* was exactly the sort of thing later critics would poke fun at. The crude woodcut chosen for the title page was actually rather misleading, as the contents revealed a determination to foreground Irish authors and Irish stories. Duffy no doubt saved money in producing it by including long extracts from and favourable reviews of the publications produced by his own firm, but there were also articles dealing, in an oblique way, with the issues of the day. Duffy seems to have understood very well the mood of the time, and the majority of the articles included in it were concerned with family, industry, and community as a positive force countering the effects of emigration, poverty, and the disempowerment that comes with colonialism.

In 1854 *Duffy's Fireside Magazine* ceased publication, but by that time two other titles from Duffy's house were already established. *The Catholic Guardian*: or, *The Christian Family Guardian*, was, again, a cheap weekly publication costing 1d. per issue, and offered, as the title page noted, 'upwards of three hundred original articles... by the most eminent writers'. It lasted from February to November of 1852, and was sold, like *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine*, as a bound volume after publication ceased. In 1854 *Duffy's Catholic University Gazette* continued his association with the Church. The *Gazette* is known chiefly for containing information compiled by John Henry Cardinal Newman regarding the establishment

of a Catholic University in Dublin. From 1854 to 1856 the *Gazette* offered reading lists for the University, advice about admission requirements, and contemplations by Newman himself about the philosophical basis for the founding of such an institution. Crucially, he noted, 'I have it in purpose to commit to paper, time after time, various thoughts of my own or of others, seasonable, as I conceive, when a Catholic University is under formation, and apposite in a periodical, which is to be the record and organ of its proceeding.'⁵⁶ Duffy's history as unofficial printer to the hierarchy enabled his entry into this potentially lucrative market; Newman's recommendation of the periodical as the natural home for ongoing discussion about Catholic education was clear and open-ended. Duffy's prominence here also meant that he would be a natural choice should the University appoint an official printer. Accordingly, each issue of the *Gazette* included two or three pages of Duffy's volumes for sale, all titles uplifting in nature.

In 1860 Duffy tried the monthly format again with *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*. At 8d. per ninety-six column issue (quarto), it was edited by Martin Haverly (author of *The History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern*, published, of course, by Duffy) and offered general articles, stories, and poetry, by named authors: O'Donovan, Carleton, D'Arcy McGee, W. J. Fitzpatrick, and others, lending their support to 'reflect thoroughly the national mind of Ireland'.⁵⁷ The prospectus presented *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine* as a vehicle for advertising not only within Ireland but also in Great Britain and the colonies, including Canada. The first issue of the magazine began with John O'Donovan's 'The O'Donnells in Exile', retelling the story of the great Irish families forced to flee during the reign of Elizabeth. The first work of fiction ('The Man With the Black Eye') was contributed by William Carleton, whose tales had helped form the core of Duffy's list. By the second issue in August 1860 Carleton's new work of fiction, *The Rapparee*, had bumped O'Donovan's series out of the headline position, and *The Rapparee* remained the lead story until supplanted in turn by Julia Kavanagh's 'Conquered Languages—Modern Provençal' in October. By that time Carleton had both *The Rapparee* and his new novel, *The Evil Eye*, running in the same issue, both titles for sale in volume form from Duffy's firm.

Duffy's Hibernian Magazine seemed to do well, but was subject to competition from another of Duffy's organs, *The Illustrated Dublin Journal*, which began its weekly schedule at 1d. a copy from September of 1861. By December of 1861 Duffy had announced that the *Hibernian Magazine* was to alter its appearance, from two column pages to book format, from 8d. per

⁵⁵ The *Irish Penny Journal* and the *Irish Penny Magazine* were both issued by Duffy in 1842, but both seem to be reprints of earlier titles first published by Tegg in the 1830s.

⁵⁶ *Catholic University Gazette*, 1 (1 Jun. 1854), 3.

⁵⁷ Prospectus, *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*.

month to 6d., an important change reflected in the title, *Duffy's Hibernian Sixpenny Magazine*. Less immediately apparent was the loss of named authors. Carleton published much less during the last ten years of his life (he died in 1869) and John O'Donovan had died in December of 1861. Indeed, the first page of the *Sixpenny Magazine* 'Advertiser' began with an appeal for subscriptions to the fund set up to assist O'Donovan's family (see Figure 13).

The change in format of the magazine was apparently brought about by the abolition of the tax on paper. Duffy noted that it was his original intention with the abolition of the paper duty, to reduce the HIBERNIAN to the rank of a cheap weekly periodical; but during the period which intervened between its appearance and the great legislative boon of the last session, the HIBERNIAN had taken a permanent and honourable place amongst the monthly literature of these kingdoms, and the field which it was intended it should occupy was already in possession of a new and prosperous candidate for public patronage, the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*.⁵⁸

The *Illustrated Dublin Journal* was another of Duffy's publications, and his solution to the peculiar problem of competing with his own house was to increase the size of the *Hibernian* to 100 pages or so per issue, and to decrease the frequency of 'named authors' on its table of contents. In any event, the new incarnation of the *Hibernian* lasted longer than the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, its final issue appearing in June 1864.

The *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, in contrast to the *Hibernian*, appeared to be more illustration than text. A highly decorative masthead, illustrated capitals, and centred illustration broke up the two-column paper. Carleton again was the author of choice, beginning the first issue (Saturday, 7 Sept. 1861) with his three-chapter tale 'The Miller of Mohil' and another tale, making up between them six pages of the sixteen-page issue. The remainder of the articles concerned topography, general knowledge, and an interesting piece entitled 'Retrospect of the Dublin Stage'. The weekly paper was intended to be a 'Miscellany of Amusement and Popular Imagination'. The offices of the editor must have been inundated with material of an unsuitable sort, as he despairingly noted at the end of the second issue: 'Many of the papers already forwarded to the Editor for perusal are not in accordance with the spirit and purpose of this Journal. It has been designed solely as a "Miscellany of Amusement and Popular Information", irrespective of sect or party, and everything having a contrary aim will be most rigidly excluded.'⁵⁹



13. *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*. Courtesy of James Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway

⁵⁸ Frontmatter to *Duffy's Hibernian Sixpenny Magazine* (Jan. 1862).

⁵⁹ 'Note to Contributors', *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, 14 Sept. 1861.

Duffy was quick to understand the mechanics of 'added value'. In the second month of production of the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, the editor announced that *Webster's Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*, broken up into thirty-six-page parts, would be included, gratis, with each issue of the magazine, beginning with the 19 October number. Printing 100,000 copies of the journal (the number Duffy anticipated selling) proved impossible in the month between the announcement of the free gift and the beginning of its appearance in the pages of the *Illustrated Dublin Journal*. Accordingly, a delay of two weeks was announced. It is impossible to say what the success of the journal would have been had the *Dictionary* not been offered as an incentive to buy, but the evidence of early success is certainly there, chiefly in an abrupt rise in rates charged for advertising. For example, the 28 September 1861 issue offered three columns or a whole page for £3. By the 5 October, this rate had increased to £6 per three columns or a whole page. By November Duffy had had to employ additional press machinery to keep up with the demand for copies. In any case, the popularity of the *Illustrated Dublin Journal* did not last and its final issue was published on 17 May 1862, still priced at 1d. It is possible that Duffy was disappointed in his contributors. A serial by Blanchard Jerrold was patchily published, partly, as the editor publicly complained in the pages of the journal, due to Jerrold failing to send on sufficient copy. Jerrold's excuse—also published in the pages of the journal—was that he had been out of town and had not realized that the publisher's supply of material was exhausted.⁶⁰ Such disappointments were to be expected, and in any case Duffy had already begun publishing *Duffy's Hibernian Sixpenny Magazine*. The *Illustrated Dublin Journal* was allowed to disappear, or, as Duffy would prefer it, was absorbed into the new magazine.

Duffy's energy, his skill at diversification, his easy acceptance of a host of formats and price points, made him a formidable opponent in the relatively small world of Irish publishing. Duffy died in 1871, but the firm continued to trade, albeit in reduced circumstances, well into the twentieth century. Duffy's career, like those of Watty Cox at the beginning of the century and the producers of the penny journals, the *Dublin University Magazine* and the *Irish Builder*, illustrates the volatility of the Irish market for periodicals in the nineteenth century and the constant need for adaptability on the part of publishers and editors.

⁶⁰ *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, 5 Apr. 1862.

IV BOOK DISTRIBUTION AND READING