MIDWEST VICTORIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Summer 2004 Newsletter

Edited by Alisa Clapp-Itnyre*

Executive Committee: Officers--Micael Clarke (English), President (2003-5); James Sack (History), Vice-President and President-Elect (2003-5); Julie Melnyk (English), Treasurer (2004-6); Alisa Clapp-Itnyre (English & Music), Executive Secretary (2003-5); Anne M. Windholz (English), Past-Executive Secretary; Members-at-Large--Patrick Leary (History, 2003-7), John Reed (English, 2003-7), Tom Prasch (History, 2000-5), and Anne Helmreich (Art, 2004-8).

MVSA Annual Conference 2004: "Structures of Belief in Nineteenth Century Ireland:"

The Twenty-Eighth Annual MVSA Meeting was held April 16-18 on the beautiful Lincoln Campus of DePaul University. A joint conference with The Society for the Study of Nineteenth Century Ireland, it was new and inspiring for MVSA members who experienced panels on such topics as "Anxiety in the Age of Catholic Emancipation," "Women, Religion, and Resistance," and even a delightful presentation of "Nineteenth-Century Irish Opera" explained by our own Nicholas Temperley with excerpts sung by two opera students of the University of Illinois. Key-note speakers included three prominent Irish-Studies scholars: Emmet Larkin; Marjorie Howes; and D.W. Miller. See pages 4-18 for paper abstracts.

MVSA Annual Conference 2005
Chicago, IL April 15-16, 2005

VICTORIANS IN SIGHT & SOUND

--Call for Papers--

The Twenty-Ninth Annual MVSA meeting will be held in Chicago once again. In keeping with its long interdisciplinary and inclusive tradition, MVSA welcomes proposals from any disciplinary perspective dealing with any aspect of Victorian visual and aural culture. Possible approaches might include:

*with thanks to my institution, IU East, for funding the cost of this and other MVSA publications.

- the relationship between text and illustration in the Victorian novel
- visual adaptations of Victorian texts
- the role of advertising in changing London streetscapes and soundscapes
- political iconography in the Victorian cartoon
- oratory and the aural context of 19th-century politics
- representations of the Victorians in 20th-century cinema
- photography's commentary on contemporary science and social life
- musical re-interpretations of Victorian literature and art
- 20th-century adaptations of Victorian aesthetics through novels, music, art, or film
- parlour music and the middle-class home
- visual vocabularies and the illustrated periodical
- stagecraft and sensation in the Victorian theatre

Our keynote speaker will be Elaine Hadley, from the University of Chicago, whose *Melodramatic Tactics* (1995) represents this interdisciplinary approach (see her biography, below).

Submissions: By October 31st, email a 500-word (only) abstract to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, Asst. Professor of English, Indiana University East: aclappit@indiana.edu. Please mention "MVSA 2005 Paper Submission" in the Re: line and include your own name, title, institution, email and snail mail addresses, and a phone number in

the text. If you do not receive an email confirmation of receipt, please re-submit.

We also hope to have a large-group discussion of one primary text (music, book, or film) which attendees are invited to become familiar with ahead of time. And, no doubt, music and art will figure prominently throughout the two days. It should be an aesthetically engaging conference and we invite all members to attend, whether presenting or not. Victorians studying and working in the midwestern United States are especially encouraged to attend at MVSA, and to make a home in this distinguished scholarly organization.

Graduate students are especially welcome as attendees and presenters at MVSA conferences, where they will find a stimulating and collegial atmosphere, and conference fees are adjusted to make attendance more affordable. MVSA annually awards the Bill and Mary Burgan Prize for an outstanding paper by a graduate student at the conference, while the prestigious Arnstein Prize supports dissertation research of an interdisciplinary kind (see below for details).

MVSA 2005 Keynote Speaker, ELAINE HADLEY:

Elaine Hadley received her Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University in 1991 and is now Associate Professor of English at the University of Chicago. Her areas of specialization include the novel, theater, popular culture, politics, and cultural theory. She is the author of *Melodramatic Tactics* (1995), which won the MLA Prize for a First Book, along with articles in *Yale Journal of Criticism, PMLA, Victorian Studies, and TSLL*, and she is currently completing a book, *Living Liberalism*, which examines specific cultural manifestations of Victorian liberalism, such as the ballot, the political celebrity, and the periodical signature.

Jane W. Stedman Memorial Lecture

The Midwest Victorian Studies Association would like to establish a memorial fund in honor of the many contributions to Victorian studies and to our organization of Jane Stedman (1920-2003). Jane Stedman was professor emerita at Roosevelt University, the recipient of American Council of Learned Society and Guggenheim Fellowships, and the author of numerous articles and several distinguished books on Victorian theater, among them *Gilbert Before Sullivan* (University of Chicago, 1967), *W. S. Gilbert, A Classic Victorian and His Theatre* (Oxford University Press, 1996) and *W. S. Gilbert's Theatrical Criticism* (edited, Society for Theatre Research, London, 2003). In addition to her exemplary scholarship, Professor Stedman provided a model of continued intellectual commitment over an entire lifetime, for she continued to write long into retirement, delivering her last MVSA paper in 2001 at the age of eighty-one.

Our intent is to use the fund to provide an honorarium for an invited speaker, each year if possible, and if not, in alternate years. In recognition of Professor Stedman's contributions to theater studies, it will be assumed that many of the invited speakers will consider topics related to the theatre, performance or parody.

If you would like to give money towards this honorarium, please use the membership form at the end of this newsletter.

--Florence Boos

MVSA Thirtieth Annual Conference

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has offered to host the 2006 MVSA conference. Nicholas Temperley is negotiating with the university's opera department to select Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* for its Spring Opera Workshop, a fully staged production. If the plan goes forward, the conference will be held the weekend of April 28-30. In keeping with the themes of this operetta, the conference theme would likely be about class in Victorian society, for which this opera is certainly appropriate, with numbers like "Blue blood" and "Bow, bow, ye lower middle classes." If you live locally and would like to help Nicholas with conference arrangements, please email him at ntemp@uiuc.edu.

Future MVSA Annual Conferences

Plans are in the works to locate the 2007 conference back in Chicago; and the 2008 conference at the University of Iowa. If you are interested in helping to plan any of these conferences due to your own near locale, please contact Micael Clarke (mclarke@wpo.it.luc.edu) or Alisa Clapp-Itnyre (aclappit@indiana.edu) who will put you in touch with the organizers.

IN MEMORIAM: Josef Altholz (1933-2003)

Altholz, who taught British and Irish history at the University of Minnesota from 1959, until his retirement in May 2003, died on 2 August 2003 of a massive heart attack while driving his car. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1960. A witty and from all accounts a popular lecturer, Altholz came from a generation which prized quality teaching at the graduate and the undergraduate levels as the highest form of academic accomplishment. I knew a number of his twenty-six Ph.D. students and I never heard one speak unkindly of him. His considerable scholarly achievements centered upon the study of English Roman Catholicism in the Victorian era and on the Victorian periodical. His two most important books were, arguably, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The "Rambler" and its Contributors, 1848-1864* (1962) and *Anatomy of a Controversy: The Debate over "Essays and Reviews," 1860-1864* (1994). According to the *British Studies Intelligencer*, "he was the first and only Jew to be elected President of the American Catholic Historical Association, an irony that he thoroughly relished." Josef Altholz was, with Larry Poston, one of the founding members of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association. Walter L. Arnstein in a moving tribute to him, read at the Autumn meeting of the Midwest Conference on British Studies, spoke of his "acerbic wit" and his "thought-provoking" comments at scholarly con- ferences. True enough. I know of at least one young scholar who, during the early 1970s, when presenting his first scholarly paper at a conference, spent two sleepless nights before one of those "thought-provoking" Altholzian comments.

--Jim Sack

From the President

This has been a busy year for MVSA. The establishment of the North American Victorian Studies Association has led to much discussion of how a national organization should relate to “regionals” such as MVSA. The hope is that we can strengthen one another, but how to do that remains to be worked out with care and mutual good will. A good beginning is that MVSA has been invited to contribute a specially-designated panel to each of the first two NAVSA conferences.

Our 2004 MVSA Conference collaboration with the Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland gave a stronger than usual international dimension to the meeting, and we owe many thanks to James Murphy for the financial support, fine planning, and especially the warm-hearted Irish hospitality that he brought to the event. James will be bringing out a collected edition of papers from this conference with Four Courts Press.

Although the 2004 conference was well-attended, *MVSA* member attendance was down due, it seems, in large part to the somewhat specialized nature of the topic. We hope that our 2005 call for papers will attract a wide range of (interdisciplinary) proposals in Victorian subjects. MVSA continues to provide an excellent mix of established and new scholarship, interdisciplinary perspectives, and, most importantly, a warm collegiality that is most conducive for promoting good research and teaching in Victorian studies, and that makes our annual conferences such a pleasure to attend.

It is indeed an honor to serve as President of MVSA, and I am most grateful to all who contribute so much -- to Jim Sack, our vice-president, for the work he put into this year's conference and the Arnstein fund, to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre and Julie Melnyk for their good work as Executive Secretary and Treasurer, to Susan Dean and Kris Garrigan, our most recent presidents, for advice and encouragement, and to the Executive Committee at-large members for their work on the program and on MVSA business of all kinds. Special thanks to Florence Boos for continuing service, now in taking the lead in establishing the Jane Stedman Memorial Lecture. And a hearty welcome to Anne Helmreich, newest member of our Executive Committee.

If I might close with an invitation: having set up and run our wonderful Web site for several years, Bob Koepp would like to pass that responsibility on to someone new -- do we have a volunteer? If so, please contact me at mclarke@luc.edu.

Cordial best wishes, and I hope to see you next year--Micael Clarke

From the Treasurer

17 April 2004

The current funds of the MVSA total $4781.10. This figure does not include conference fees: any money remaining after conference expenses have been paid will go toward subsidizing the publication of a book consisting of papers from conference presenters. The balance on the Arnstein fund is $25,106.27, including donations this year totaling $1055. Interest income from the investment of the fund totaled $825.31 in 2003. Further Arnstein donations would be most welcome! We hope to have contributions sufficient to meet at least the amount of the Arnstein award this year, $1500, so that we can continue to build our endowment.

Sincerely,
Julie Melnyk

Membership Renewals

If you haven't already, we encourage you to renew your membership with MVSA at this time. In this way, 1) your current information will make it in our 2004 Directory to be compiled in September, and 2) you will continue to help the organization in giving prizes, planning conferences, and making contact with its members. Membership costs continue to be extremely reasonable: $20 for regular members; $10 for graduate students; and free for graduate students for the first three years. Please complete the membership form at the end of this newsletter and mail it in today.

ARNSTEIN PRIZE, 2004

At the Chicago meeting, the 2004 Walter L. Arnstein Prize for Excellence in Dissertation Research in Victorian Studies was awarded to Anna Henchman, a Ph.D. candidate in English at Harvard University. Her topic, "Astronomy and the Problem of Perception in Victorian Literature" explores the impact of evolving astronomical knowledge on the writings of Alfred Lord Tennyson, Thomas De Quincy, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy. Her dissertation explicates the manner in which scientific understanding imposed on such writers two contradictory modes of seeing and uncovers "a peculiar affinity between the perceptual problems posed by astronomy and the pistemological problems that the form of the Victorian novel brings to light."

Anna Henchman, who holds a B.A. degree from Yale University and an M.A. degree from Harvard, has served as both an instructor and a conference organizer at Harvard. She has also contributed an article to *Victorian Poetry.*

--Walter Arnstein

Submissions for 2005 "The Walter L. Arnstein Prize for Dissertation Research in Victorian Studies."
Prize Amount: $1500
Application Packet from:
Prof. James Sack

Professory of History
Univ. of Illinois, Chicago
601 S. Morgan St.
Chicago, IL 60607-7049
jsack@uiuc.edu

If you would like to donate money towards this prize, please complete the form at the end of this newsletter.

"STRUCTURES OF BELIEF IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND"

a joint international conference with

The Society for the Study of Nineteenth Century Ireland

sponsored by the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences and the University Research Council of DePaul University

16-18 April 2004

DePaul University, Lincoln Park Campus, Chicago

PAPER ABSTRACTS

(alphabetical by speaker)

Prof. Walter L. Arnstein (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA)

"Charles Bradlaugh: A Victorian atheist encounters Roman Catholic Ireland."

Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891) was an unusual Victorian. In the course of the 1860s and 1870s he because notorious as an advocate of atheism, of the transformation of Queen Victoria's United Kingdom into a secular republic, and of mechanical contraception as a method by which married couples should limit the size of their families and escape from poverty. In 1880 the electors of Northampton defied such notoriety by electing Bradlaugh to the House of Commons as a left-wing member of the Liberal Party. His six-year-long campaign to be permanently admitted to that body because a major *cause célèbre* of the late-Victorian era, one that I have assessed in *The Bradlaugh Case* (1965; 1984) just as Bradlaugh's life has been charter in Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner, *Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work* (2 Vols, 1895), in David Tribe, *President Charles Bradlaugh, MP* (1971), and in other books.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Bradlaugh's career involved his successive encounters with Ireland, the land that in the course of Bradlaugh's life-time was becoming a predominantly Roman Catholic society in terms of the "Devotional Revolution," of popular education, of changing patters of land ownership, and of political leadership (in municipal government and in the rank-and-file members of the Irish Nationalist Party).

(1) In 1849-50, as a British soldier stationed in Ireland, he developed a keen sympathy for Irish causes.

(2) In the later 1860s, he because a partial sympathizer with the Fenian movement and help draft a statement proclaiming an Irish republic. Once the Fenian uprising had been suppressed, he because a champion of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and in the course of the 1870s he collaborated with Irish radicals in the cause of land reform.

(3) During the campaign to enter Parliament (1880-1886), initial Irish Nationalist sympathy gave way, under the influence of Cardinal Manning, to vocal opposition.

(4) During Bradlaugh's final years, his ardent championship of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule bill led to another change of course, a *de facto* alliance with the Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons.

The whole purpose of the presentation will be to call attention to the manner in which the tensions implicit in Bradlaugh's complex life-long involvement with Irish causes undermines simplistic interpretations of the manner in which religion – as manifest both in belief systems and in institutions – determined the place of Ireland and the Irish in Victorian society.

Ms Andrea Bobotis (University of Virginia, USA)

"Rival femininities: Queen Victoria, Maud Gonne, and the ethics of motherhood."

On 7 April 1900, Maud Gonne's article "The Famine Queen" appeared in the *United Irishman*, Arthur Griffith's nationalist newspaper. In this diatribe against Queen Victoria, Gonne blames the Queen for exploiting the Irish through famine, evictions, and recruitment into the British army, and calls on the Irish people to rebuke her 1900 visit to Ireland (the queen's fourth and final one during her reign). What is salient about this attack is that Gonne wages it against Victoria both as a figurehead of the British Empire *and* as a woman. Gonne suggests that Victoria wields immense representational power. But her representational power as the monarch of a once indomitable imperial nation has been weakened by the British defeats during the Boer war. Confident about the Empire's loss of military strength and prestige, Gonne endeavours to undermine another source of Victoria's representational authority: her "bourgeois virtue," an essentially "feminine" characteristic.

I argue in this paper that Maud Gonne employs the representational figure of Queen Victoria in "The Famine Queen" to stage a confrontation of rival femininities in which she attempts to outmaneuver and outdo the queen by disparaging Victoria's brand of imperial femininity and substituting in its place a national femininity which serves Ireland rather than

England. Drawing on the recent explosion of feminist scholarship on Queen Victoria, I claim that Gonne wages this battle with Victoria by relying on an ideology of ethical motherhood, a system of belief which paradoxically undermines Gonne's own feminist notions of women's roles in politics, including the national politics to which she was fiercely dedicated. Though Gonne places herself and her sense of national femininity in opposition to the Queen, I contend in this paper that Gonne's manipulation of Victoria's femininity ultimately reveals that the two women had much in common.

Professor Jill Brady Hampton (University of South Carolina, Aiken, USA)

"The Catholic Church, colonialism and agency in the fiction of May Laffan."

Perhaps because May Laffan was the product of a "mixed marriage," a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, her fiction often works to undermine the hegemonies of the Catholic Church and Irish Nationalism while revealing the desperate need for social and political change. Her realistic portrayals of Ireland's urban and rural worlds, rather than the sentimental Celtic Romanticism of the Irish Revival, subvert both the nationalist and religious ideologies of her time. Unlike some of her Catholic contemporaries, such as Margaret Brew, who also wrote in the same realistic vein, she often directly criticizes the Church's role in the lives of the Irish. For this reason alone, Laffan is an important voice in late nineteenth-century Irish fiction.

James Murphy argues, "a socio-cultural reading drives the study of 19th-century Irish literature." Laffan's fiction, as much or more than anyone else writing at that time, articulates the seriousness of the social and political realities of her time for an audience of the rising Irish middle class. She argues that the problem as well as the solution to Ireland's cultural and social problems lay within Ireland itself, within both secular and religious organizations, and especially within education. In her novel, *Hogan M.P.* in particular, the priest and nuns speak and act as individuals in everyday situations rather than as figures set on theological and ideological pedestals. Some of the clergy contribute to the good of their communities, but never in the sentimental idealistic manner expected. Rather, the priests and nuns are often seen acting in their own agency rather than in the people's interest. In addition, she looks pragmatically at the differences between how well many English girls are educated and how poorly the Irish girls are educated in the convent schools.

My presentation will focus on the actions of the numerous religious figures in Laffan's novel *Hogan M.P.* and her short stories, "Flitters, Tatters, and the Counsellor". I hope to show that her depiction of these characters as flawed human beings rather than idealized religious figures helped to undermine the stereotypes in much of 19th-century Irish fiction. Rather than denouncing or promoting all things English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic, she mediates the dichotomy, advocating the best of each.

Mr Matthew Brown (University of Wisconsin Madison, USA)

"Evolution, conversion, and religious faith in nineteenth-century England and Ireland."

In Lecture X, "Conversion – Concluded," in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, William James defines conversion as an instance where "a complete division is established in the twinkling of an eye between the old life and the new" (James, *VRE*, 217). For James, conversion figures as a significant phase of religious experience in Protestant theology while Catholics "set no such store by instantaneous conversion" because "Christ's blood, the sacraments, and the individual's ordinary religious duties are practically supposed to suffice to his salvation" (227). Rigorous devotional practice characterized by persistence over time rather than instantaneous deliverance from sin is what wedges this difference in faith. Taking the divide on the subject of conversion as axiomatic for the larger cultural conversations between Protestantism at large (and not just the Anglican Church) and Irish Catholicism, this paper will examine the contest between the discourses of conversion and evolution during the nineteenth century in England and Ireland. To scope these various conversations, this study will look at selected works from John Tyndall and W.B. Yeats within the wide field of writings on the subject of conversion, evolution, and religious faith in late nineteenth-century England and Ireland.

By the 1860s, just a few years after the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859), gradualist/evolutionary models began to dominate theories on human change and added great weight to theories of revolutionary change, as Matthew Arnold suggest in his "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (1864). Conversion was arguably one of the last remaining challenges to models of evolution in science and politics. From the late 1870s a steady stream of articles and books was devoted to the study of conversion, most notably Duren James Henderson Ward's *How Religion Arises: A Psychological Study* (1888), James H. Leuba's *Studies in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena* (1896), and Edwin Diller Starbuck's *Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Study of the Growth of*

Religious Consciousness (1901), a work which heavily influenced James. Compromise positions were, of course, achieved, most notably in the "gradualist model of conversion", accepted by Catholics and Protestants alike. *Harpers*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Lutheran Quarterly*, *Methodist Review* and *Catholic World* all published articles emphasizing the mysterious moment of conversion while, at the same time, confirming the necessity of a "gradual awakening," what otherwise might be called a gestation period where the individual gradually undergoes religious change in the unconscious and then, within the conversion experience, this change leaps into consciousness.

Taking these perspectives on evolution, conversion, and the "gradualist view of conversion" as the wider cultural context, this paper seeks to examine Ireland's involvement in these various conversations by examining John Tyndall's staunch support of evolution in his famous Belfast Address (1873) and W.B. Yeats's essays, "The Symbolism of Poetry" (1900) and "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry" (1900) and selections from two poetry collections, *The Rose* (1893) and *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899). Briefly, while both authors have very different opinions on the subject of evolution – Tyndall a hearty advocate, Yeats a skeptic towards traditional scientific practice – there is a detectable desire in both writers to conceptualize the religious experience as a gradualist change within the individual.

By way of conclusion, this paper will look at the Catholic Church's reponse to Tyndall, neatly summed up in the Bishops' pastoral of 1875 that stated "under the name of Science, [Tyndall] obtruded blasphemy upon the Catholic nation," to show how their Irishness did not ingratiate Tyndall and Yeats to traditional systems of religious belief in Ireland, but won them, and perhaps ironically so, much acclaim in England.

Dr Mary Burke (University of Notre Dame, USA)
"Post-Darwinian evangelical anxiety and the writings of JM Synge."

Existential hopelessness in the face of evolutionary theory is evinced in a passage from Synge's autobiography *Étude Morbide*: "I have been reading Herbert Spencer and my creed is now very simple. Humanity has evolved from the conditions of the world, and will return to the nothing it has come from." Moreover, the autobiographical account of the shock induced by his adolescent discovery of Darwinian theory avers that the evangelical Protestant youth considered the floodgates of "incest and parricide" suddenly open. Synge's actual understanding of evolution is unclear, but he appears to have seized upon his early trauma as a trope for the demise of Edenic or pre-lapsian "innocence" or unselfconsciousness in the sexual and political spheres; he links his subsequent loss of faith to the passing away of naiveté in sociopolitical matters by recording that allegiance switched from "the Kingdom of God" to the "kingdom of Ireland". Although Yeats likewise castigated TH Huxley and John Tyndall for depriving him of "the simple-minded religion" of childhood, he later found comfort in mysticism. Since Huxley suggests that the evangelical view of a Fallen world was closer to the evolutionist's vision, Yeats's liberal Protestant background may have predisposed a resistance to the seemingly nihilistic Darwinian view of life the youthful Synge succumbed to. An address made by Presbyterian minister, Rev. WT Martin in the wake of Tyndall's controversial endorsement of evolutionary theory in Belfast in 1874 posits a *Playboy [of the Western World]*-like view of reality when he suggests that Darwinisim was "eradicating the very idea of sin from human consciousness […]. Vice was eliminated; the pleasure principle reigned supreme […]. A Darwinian society was […] one in which all sorts of alarming practices would be legitimated […]." In Synge's Fallen dramatic universe, where ostensible father-slayer Christy is almost married off to his former wet nurse, the floodgates certainly are opened to something like incest and parricide. The post-Tyndall Irish evangelical understanding that evolution was "irretrievably wedded to materialism" is evoked by *Playboy*: Paradise has been infiltrated by consumerism – Christy pays tribute to Pegeen by suggesting that "It's her like is fitted to be handing merchandise in the heavens above" – the playboy compares his gazing upon girls with "the way the needy fallen spirits do be looking on the Lord."

Dr Claire Connolly (Cardiff University, Wales, UK)
"The dramatic tragedies of Charles Robert Maturin and Richard Lalor Sheil and the staging of confessional difference in the romantic period."

How did Irish culture treat confessional difference in the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation? This paper argues that religion is at once a hidden and all too visible aspect of early nineteenth-century Irish culture. Recent close focus on the intertwined travel and romance plots that characterise the national tale has tended to obscure questions of religion, in part because differences of culture and of gender are more readily understood within the terms of our current

reading strategies, and in part because religious difference secretes itself inside these other structures.

This paper focuses particularly on drama. In a series of successful plays produced for the London stage, Richard Lalor Sheil and Charles Robert Maturin turned to the resources of tragic drama (felt by them to be *the* authoritative theatrical idiom) to give shape and expression to religious conflict. Both playwrights highlighted religious difference and exploited its dramatic power. No distinct confessional line emerges, however, and the paper examines a selection of plays as situated between two contradictory but overlapping and (I suggest) mutually constitutive contexts: the increasingly sectarian Irish political climate (opposite ends of which are represented by the two playwrights under discussion), and the climate of toleration that was coming to define itself as the essence of British statehood.

Prof. Cara Delay (Denison University, USA)

"A controversial religious episode: the station-mass in post-Famine Catholic Ireland."

In the 1840s, John O'Sullivan, parish priest of Kenmare in the west of Ireland, wrote a training manual for new priests. In his manual, Praxis Parochi in Hibernia, O'Sullivan expressed his frustration over the failure of one of the parish's most important religious episodes – the station-mass, or a private mass in the home of a parishioner – to conform to Church standards. O'Sullivan's words, and indeed the ritual of the station-mass itself, illustrate a surprising reality: despite the influence and power of the clergy in post-famine Catholic Ireland, local religion continued to be controlled most not by priests but by ordinary women and men.

Through an analysis of the station-mass from the 1840s to the 1920s this paper will investigate the nature and meaning of Catholic piety and community life in rural Ireland. More than a simple ritual, the station-mass grew into a prominent community event. Competing meanings and expectations, however, complicated the station-mass. For those families who hosted the station, it represented an opportunity to gain local respect and influence. For priests, the station was an occasion to connect with parishioners in an informal environment, and in a place less controversial than the local chapel. For those villages who attended the station-mass, the occasion allowed for a chance to catch up with neighbours and to be entertained, to reaffirm local commitments both to Catholicism and to the parish community.

To the frustration of the clergy, however, devotion sometimes erupted into disorder at the station-mass. After confession and mass, celebration, not solemnity, predominated. Throughout the post-famine decades, rural priests expressed their fears and frustrations over the "nose" and "clamor" of the station-mass crowd, and over the fighting and disputes which priests inevitably had to mediate.

The evolution of quiet faith into raucous celebration and local conflict at the station-mass revealed not that lay Catholics resisted discipline or clung to disorder, but that they adapted and reworked local religious ritual, constantly working new devotions into their existing world-view and ensuring that post-famine Catholicism had local use and meaning. A contested and controversial religious episode, the station-mass allowed both the priests and people to work through ideas of religion and community life, proving, in the end, that Catholicism remained intensely local, shaped and guided most by lay Catholics.

Mr Gabriel Doherty (University College Cork, Ireland)

"The role of religion within the Irish prison system, 1877-1899"

The paper will investigate the role played by religion within the Irish prison system, from the foundation of the General Prisons Board, Ireland in 1877 to the end of the nineteenth century.

The creation of the General Prisons Board, Ireland inaugurated a new era in Irish penal practice. For the first time a single agency controlled both the local and convict penal institutions on the island, in place of the decentralised network theretofore in existence. The Board immediately initiated a thorough review of the entire system, albeit that this new dispensation had to be mediated through a complex network of internal and external factors. The paper will examine the function of religion in the working of this new administrative structure. It will study both the general influence of religious considerations as part of the philosophical justifications for penal practice in the first instance, and the more mundane, if still central, role played by prison chaplains in the internal prison regime which evolved during these years.

The period under review was a particularly disturbed one in Irish politics and society, encompassing as it did the Land War, the Plan of Campaign, the First and Second Home Rule crises and the Parnell split. All of these developments impacted upon the prison system in some form, with specific incidents – such as the incarceration of Catholic priests for their part in land agitation and the alteration in prison rules to accommodate priestly garb – highlighting the peculiarly sensitive role of religion with that system. It also witnessed a fundamental external investigation (the Royal Commission which reported 1885),

which, as part of its broader remit, addressed the religious aspects of penal practice in some detail.
Given the religious composition and distribution of the population at the time, the overwhelming majority of prisoners outside Dublin and Ulster were Catholic, whereas in both those areas there existed a substantial Protestant prison class, comprised of several denominations. There were, however, prisoners of other faiths that had occasionally to be accommodated and the modifications that were made to the normal regime to accommodate Jewish, Moslem and Hindu prisoners provide valuable exceptions to the assumptions underpinning the general practice in this area.

Dr Martin Doherty (University of Westminster, UK)
"Evangelicalism on the streets: religion, community relations and Constructive Unionism: the Arklow disturbances of 1891."
This paper explores the relationship between evangelical Protestantism, sectarianism and political movements in late nineteenth-century southern Ireland. Sectarian disturbances and evangelical revivalism are normally associated with Ulster in general and Belfast in particular, but the second Reformation reached other parts of Ireland as well. Moreover, while Co. Wicklow is often thought of as one of the least 'disturbed' parts of late C19th Ireland, it was in Parnell's county that one of the bitterest and most long-lasting inter-communal disputes arose as a consequence of street-based evangelical activity. Much modern Anglo-Irish historiography emphasises the 'gaelicisation' of the non-parliamentary nationalist movement after the downfall of Parnell and it is often suggested that the close association of Catholicism and Gaelicism helped produce an idea of Irishness that excluded Irish protestants. Less attention has been paid to the importance in this period of evangelical Protestantism and it will be argued that in a significant number of high-profile (but now largely forgotten) episodes, the prosletizing activities of evangelical protestant clergymen sorely tested inter-communal relationships in parts of Ireland not normally regarded as centres of sectarian tension. Moreover, it may well be that this hightening of sectarian tensions made more difficult the efforts of successive British administrations, to produce an effective form of 'constructive unionist' government for Ireland and thus 'to kill Home Rule by kindness'.

Prof. Tadhg Foley (National University of Ireland Galway, Ireland)
"From Templeglantine to the Golden Temple: Religion, Empire, and Max Arthur Macauliffe."
This paper will address some aspects of the role of religion in the projects of empire in India and Ireland in the nineteenth century. In the discourse of colonization religious missionaries were seen, and saw themselves, as an intrinsic part of secular colonization. Imperial attitudes to indigenous religions varied generally from outright hostility to grudging toleration. Both Ireland and India were submitted to a secular, briskly modernising dose of political economy, securely underpinned by the doctrine of utilitarianism, to awaken them from the torpor of indigenous, superstitious religious beliefs. But later in the century, the universalist pretensions of these imperial schemes were impugned and seen as 'English ideas'; there was a renewed valorization of indigenous institutions, practices, and values. In the popular idiom of the time, India and Ireland were to be governed by, respectively, 'Indian' and 'Irish ideas'. But an excessively culturalist postcolonial theory finds it difficult to deal with a colonial regime that can celebrate an indigenous religion in the interest of its political and economic ambitions. In the case of the Sikhs, not only was subaltern speech allowed, it was in many cases manifestly encouraged. It is understandable that one might be suspicious of an imperial trajectory that begins with the denigration and ends with the glorification of the 'Other'. This was a divide-and-conquer strategy, a 'killing with kindness', which was linked to the incorporation of Sikh military prowess as guardians of the Raj. Central to this powerful and seductive strategy was the Irishman, Max Arthur Macauliffe, unknown in the west but 'the most revered western figure in the history of the Sikh religion'.
Max Arthur Macauliffe was born in County Limerick on 11 September 1838 and educated at Queen's College Galway, graduating in modern languages in 1860. In 1862 he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service and was posted to the Punjab. In 1882 he became a Deputy Commissioner and two years later a Divisional Judge. His embrace of 'Indian ideas' was such that he converted to the Sikh religion, was a leading member of Tat Khalsa, the radical section of the Singh Sabha reform movement, founded in Amritsar in 1873, and eventually produced the classic English translation of the holy book of the Sikhs, the Guru Granth Sahib. In 1893 he resigned from the Indian Civil Service to devote himself completely to the work of translation. In 1909, Oxford University Press published his monumental, six-volume treatise, The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus,

Sacred Writings and Authors. He died in London in 1913.

Macauliffe became a missionary for Sikhism, beginning his masterpiece with the words: 'I bring from the East what is practically an unknown religion'. He wanted what he called the 'enlightened nations' to become 'acquainted with the merits of the Sikh religion'. The Tat Khalsa movement was influenced by western ideas and Macauliffe was motivated by a desire to make the Sikh people and their religion 'understood' in Britain and in the west generally. But perhaps in a real sense Macauliffe's mission was to the east, for he saw in Sikhism a mirror image of Protestantism, grappling with its more powerful enemy, a Hinduism, conceived of in Roman Catholic terms. Macauliffe brought with him from Ireland a model of religious difference which he applied to India. According to Harbans Lal, 'Born into Protestant Christianity in predominantly Catholic Ireland, he converted to an Indian religion which had a similar protestant history and relationship with the dominant religion and priesthood'. Macauliffe wrote that Sikhism 'may be considered as a reformation of Hinduism' and that there was 'a wonderful analogy between the spiritual condition of Europe and Asia' in the middle ages. There was for him a pleasing and reassuring symmetry between European and indigenous religious models.

Though Macauliffe saw his labours as serving the political interests of the Sikhs he by no means saw them as anti-imperial. In 1903, he recommended the Sikhs to the British as potential allies in a pamphlet with the significant title, A Lecture on the Sikh Religion and Its Advantages to the State. Like Matthew Arnold's flattering representations of the Irish, Macauliffe's magnificent contribution to Sikhism was also, and ultimately, in the interests of empire.

Dr Louise Fuller (National University of Ireland Maynooth, Ireland)

"Walter McDonald's window on Maynooth, 1870-1920"

In my paper I would like to examine some perspectives on Irish Catholicism of the late Victorian era and early 20th century, which were recorded by a priest who was in Maynooth from 1870 to 1876 as a student for the priesthood and from 1881 until his death in 1920 as Professor of Moral Theology. Maynooth was at that time the most important seminary in the English-speaking world and its intellectual character was to influence English-speaking Catholicism internationally well into the twentieth century.

McDonald was very critical of the approach to teaching during his time in Maynooth, which, he felt, did not develop the critical faculty. Later on when he was Professor of Moral Theology and Head of the Dunboyne Institute for Graduate studies in the college, this allowed him to put into practice some of the ideas he felt most strongly about. Essentially he encouraged in his students liberty of opinion, allowing them to defend their opinions and to criticize his. He felt very strongly that theology in order to develop as a science had to grapple with new currents of thought, in particular the new insights coming from the physical sciences.

Against the background of the Modernist crisis and the Maynooth of his day, his ideas and independence of mind almost inevitably destined him to clash with Rome and the college authorities. The first clash was when his book Motion: its Origin and Conservation was condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index in 1898. McDonald was duly cautioned by the Trustees of the college, and while he retained his chair the books he subsequently wrote were refused and *imprimatur* which caused him a great deal of frustration in his later years, particularly because he had long held that in the matter of appointments, original publications were the surest test of a professor's value to his college.

He founded with four of his colleagues in the Theology Department the *Irish Theological Quarterly* in 1906. But the bishops were wary of the new journal, and once again McDonald ran into trouble on the issue of censorship. He felt and pointed out that a review, edited by five professors empowered to examine for degrees in theology should not require any further supervision before being passed for publication. He felt that the purpose of such a review would be defeated if the bishops did not allow it to be independent. By 1808 he decided to sever his connection with the *ITQ*. He felt that they were constantly being monitored, and that this did not allow him the opportunity to develop the science of theology, which was his idea in suggesting the journal in the first place.

Towards the end of his life McDonald recorded these and other experiences in his book *Reminiscences of a Maynooth Professor*, which also provides a remarkable insight into seminary life and the formation of seminarians in Maynooth from the perspective of both a student and a college professor. He appointed Professor Denis Gwynn as his literary executor and was particularly keen that his reminiscences be published. They were published posthumously in 1925. The book is auto-biographical dealing with the conflicts and

controversies that McDonald was involved in arising from his ideas and his writing.

Dr Larry Geary (University College Cork, Ireland)
"Medicine, religion and sectarianism in pre-Famine Ireland."

An editorial in the *Dublin Evening Post* on 1 August 1843 claimed that "the penal laws, which have been abolished inregard to other professions, are still practically upheld in nearly all their rancour against Catholics entering the medical profession". The editorial was a response to evidence given before a parliamentary committee of inquiry into the Irish medical charities network. Two of the four components of this network originated in the Protestant eighteenth century, and displayed a strong Anglican ethos and bias. The medical profession of the time was overwhelmingly Protestant and Tory, but in the second quarter of the nineteenth century Catholic medical practitioners, who were generally seen as O'Connellite or Liberal in their politics, began to challenge the established medical order. Overall, the tensions in the ranks of the medical profession tended to replicate the broader religious, social and political tensions that characterised pre-Famine Irish life.

Dr Gerald Hall (University of Chicago)
"Conquests, commonwealths and political economy: evangelical Presbyterians in the tenant-right movement in Ulster."

This paper will discuss the role of evangelical Presbyteriasn in the tenant-right movement in Ulster during the 1840s and 1850s. It will demonstrate that Presbyterians were not, as has been generally believed, firmly wedded to either conservatism or a pan-Protestant ideal by the efforts of Henry Cooke during the 1830s and 1840s. Indeed, evangelical Prebyterians, not the remonstrants led by Henry Montgomery, would form the foundation for political liberalism as manifested in the tenant-right movement for decades to come.

To begin with, this paper will explain the circumstances that permitted evangelical Presbyterians to support the tenant-right movement and cooperate, for a time at least, with Catholics in an agitation for tenant-right. Specifically, the paper will demonstrate how the weakening of the influence of Henry Cooke among Presbyterians and the collapse of the Repeal movement as a result of the death of Daniel O'Connell and the catastrophe of the Famine removed important obstacles to Presbyterians within the tenant right movement from two perspectives: the hitherto unrecognized leadership of ministers associated with the seceding tradition among Presbyterians in the tenant-right movement and the critical role of evangelical ideals in the developing political language of the tenant-right movement in Ulster. This developing evangelical influence brought to the surface the on-going conflict between the traditional leadership of liberal Presbyterians by the remonstrant tradition, as represented by Henry Montgomery and the *Northern Whig*, and the growing evangelical tradition represented by a number of lesser known Presbyterian ministers, the *Banner of Ulster*, and the *Londonderry Standard*. This paper will suggest that the tenant-right movement marked the passing of leadership among liberal Presbyterian from a declining remonstrant tradition to a growing evangelical tradition. Finally, reflecting upon the significant difference between the evangelical Presbyterian conceptions of tenant-right and those of their Catholic allies, this paper will consider how the emerging importance of the evangelical tradition within Ulster liberalism affected the development of Catholic and Presbyterian political cooperation.

Dr Janice Holmes (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, UK)
"Irish evangelicals in a British revival network, 1830-1900."

The only schism to affect the nineteenth century Church of England was started in the 1830s by a group of Anglican clergy and laity in the Wicklow mountains south of Dublin. In 1859, the most spectacular display of religious fervour to occur within nineteenth-century British protestantism took place in the hills of north Antrim. One of the leading London-based training homes for women was run by a Church of Ireland clergyman and his wife. In 1874, the most famous American evangelists of the time, D.L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, spent over two months of their British campaign in Belfast and Dublin.

Each of these events suggests that Ireland was an integral, if not formative part, of the nineteenth-century British religious landscape. Irish evangelicals were an important part of the British evangelical scene. Strong networks of family allegiances, personal friendships and denominational contacts crossed the Irish sea. The unifying feature behind these relationships was evangelistic activity in all its forms, but in particular, the promotion of religious revivals.

This paper proposes to examine the nature of the relationship between Irish evangelicals (focusing mainly on those outside Ulster) and the wider evangelical community in Britain. In it, I would like to suggest two basic interpretations. To a certain

extent, the 'Irishness' of Ireland's evangelical community had no impact on their participation in the wider evangelical community in Britian. Shared religious values and theological emphases superceded issues of national identity and sense of place. What mattered was not one's secular but one's spiritual citizenship. On the other hand, Ireland's geographic distinctiveness and the unique status of Irish protestants within that polity meant that the relationship to British evangelicalism would always be a self-conscious one. British evangelicals could be massively ignorant about the religious situation in Ireland and veer widely off course in their ethnic and religious assumptions. For their part, Irish evangelicals could never quite hide their sense of religious isolation in what was so self-evidently a catholic nation.

Prof. Marjorie Howes (Boston College, USA)
"Popular Catholicism, popular fictions."

Prof. Emmet Larkin (University of Chicago, USA)
"The Devotional Revolution revisited."

Professor David Latané (Virginia Commonwealth University, USA)
" 'Perge, Signifer', or where did William Maginn stand?"

The purpose of this paper is to tease out what it was (if anything) that William Maginn believed in (b. Cork 1794; d Walton-on-Thames 1842). The obituaries all mention his stout Toryism, but some critics (especially SC Hall) charged that he would write on both side of a question, and thus believed in nothing. My paper will begin with a quick glance at "the Tobian Correspondence" from *Blackwood's Magazine* (1841), in which Maginn writes a hilarious "how-to" treatise for newspaper tergiversation. I'll then sketch in the conflict during his youth between Maginn's inherited political/religious beliefs (strong Church of Ireland family, tutored by Samuel Kyle at TCD, contacts with the more radical Orange elements) with some contrary inclinations (many friends in the Catholic middle-classes in Cork, fluency in Irish, sympathies with the poor). The complexities of Maginn's character I think contribute to a certain nihilistic tendency (evidence in a good bit of his early *Blackwood's* writing). I'll conclude by delineating some of the aspects of the edgy Toryism of *Fraser's Magazine* under Maginn, specifically in relation to Irish questions (particulary O'Connell and the question of Poor Laws for Ireland), and attempt to show how the paradoxes of his character contribute towards the furthering of the agenda to remake Toryism after the "disasters" of Catholic emancipation and the Reform Bill.

Prof. Amy E. Martin (Mount Holyoke College, USA)
"Nationalism as blasphemy: political and religious belief in the genre of Fenian recollections."

This paper examines a little known archive of writings that I call the genre of Fenian recollections that was published in Ireland, Britain and the United States starting in the 1880s. In this body of writing, Fenians, such as John O'Leary, Joseph Deniffe, John Devoy, and Micael Ryan construct complex counter-histories that challenged official histories of Irish anti-colonial nationalism. This paper focuses on one important narrative strategy through which they challenge imperial history: the recurrent claim that Fenianism is a form of blasphemy and heresy against both the British state and the Catholic Church. Thus Fenian recollections often follow the conventions of conversion narratives, and writers stage their texts as blasphemous documents. I demonstrate how this strategic use of religious discourse allows Fenian writers to achieve several crucial accomplishments in their challenge to counter-insurgent histories. The claim to blaspheme provides a discourse through which to explore the problems of institutionality facing Irish nationalisms. For example, the recollections' status as doubly blasphemous makes clear the intimate relationship between the imperial state and the Catholic Church during the late nineteenth century. They also grapple with the question of how an independent Irish state might imagine new forms of institutionality that might avoid or even transcend the repressive functions of Church and state. In addition, the discourses of blasphemy and conversion allow Fenians writers to produce complex theorizations of national identity. They imagine "Irishness" as a chosen rather than an essential identity, as identity based on transgression against power rather than biological, religious or cultural homogeneity, or as a more complex relation between self and nation than the subordination of the individual to the larger social unit. Thus, representing nationalism as a blasphemous belief system allows these recollections to negotiate discourses of anti-Irish racism and to posit (only sometimes successfully) an anti-sectarian, anti-racialist Irish national identity. A careful analysis of the structuring principles of blasphemy, heresy and conversion thus reveals how Fenian writers offer both eloquent articulations of the problems raised by the forms of nationalism itself and impassioned attempts to envision politics that transcends these limitations.

Ms Shirley Matthews (University of Southampton, UK)

"'Second Spring' and 'Precious Prejudices': Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in Hampshire in the wake of Catholic Emancipation."

The 1829 Catholic Relief Act held both hopes and fears for English people. Roman Catholics welcomed the removal of political disabilities and hoped for a revival of Catholicism in the country. Liberal Protestants saw the measure as one of natural justice and of the complete toleration which was the essence of true Christianity, while ultra Protestants feared the demise of Anglican hegemony and a return to tyrannical, arbitrary rule from Rome. Many felt that emancipation and the inclusion of Catholics in the political nation would undermine the Protestant identity of the state and its people.

This paper will examine the extent to which such hopes and fears were expressed and realized, or not, in the southern English county of Hampshire from the final months of the emancipation campaign to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. Hampshire was close enough to the centre of power to be aware of national politics (the duke of Wellington's country house, Stratfield Saye, was situated in the north of the county), but sufficiently distant to retain an identity distinct from the urban centre of the metropolis. A chiefly rural area, there were nevertheless two important ports, Southampton and Portsmouth, with cosmopolitan shifting populations, as well as the ancient capital of England, Winchester, a large garrison town. The county provides an interesting case study of the "Second Spring" of Catholic expansion, as well as the "Precious Prejudices" of anti-Catholicism, and the themes of religion and national identity in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Dr Patrick Maume (The Queen's University of Belfast, NI, UK)

"Father Boyce and the Wild Irish Girl – a study in intertextuality."

Fr James Boyce (1810-64) was the first Irish priest-novelist of the nineteenth century. Born in Donegal town, the son of a wealthy Catholic middleman, Boyce emigrated to American after involvement in the Young Ireland movement. He has attracted some attention from historians of Irish-American fiction, who emphasise his criticisms of New England nativism, his defense of Catholicism for its combination of intellectual and emotional satisfaction, and his quarrel with Orrestes Brownson (who advocated a more spiritually exclusive and cerebral version of Catholicism and complained that Irish-American Catholics were too Irish and insufficiently American). However, Boyce's literary sources and context have received little attention.

This paper presents Boyce not only as a pioneer of Irish-American fiction but as a participant in the literary-political debates of nineteenth-century Ireland. In particular, this paper will discuss how Boyce's first novel, *Shandy Maguire* rewrites Lady Morgan's last Irish novel, *The O'Briens and the O'Flaherties*, to replace her Enlightenment-inspired criticism of Catholic nationalism as hopelessly regressive with a romantic nationalism which sees the restoration of an idealized Catholic pre-conquest social order as the only hope for a peasantry oppressed by morally corrupt absentees and hypocritical Second Reformation evangelists. Boyce's use of literary "framing devices" - his books are presented as written by the scholar "Peter Peppergrass" or edited by him from the manuscript of a friend – derives from Sir Walter Scott; in his historical novel *The Spaewife* Boyce draws on Scott's satires of pedantry to mock excessively cerebral Catholic apologetics [and] presents the Irish as inheritors of mediaeval Catholic "merrie England" which the English themselves betrayed for the sake of "beer, beef and bibles", and incidentally portrays Queen Elizabeth I as a child-murdering sex maniac. His final novel, *Ann Lee or the Yankee in Ireland* is a watered-down version of *Shandy Maguire*, whose chief interest lies in its portrayal of a Yankee nativist in Donegal and of a tactless convert based on Brownson.

Boyce anticipates features of later Irish and Irish-American Catholic 'genteel' fiction. He combines outspoken social criticism of Protestant Ascendancy rule with fantasies about Catholic aristocrats in which peasant insurgents are reduced to plot devices, and his nostalgic exaltation of the lived Catholicism of the Irish peasantry above the polemics of convert intellectuals anticipates the better-known apologetic fiction which Canon Sheehan and Canon Guinan produced for Irish-American audiences.

Prof. D.W. Miller (Carnegie Mellon University, USA)

"Did Ulster Presbyterians have a Devotional Revolution?"

Dr Willa Murphy (University of Ulster, NI, UK)

"Sermons in Skirts: Evangelical Feminism in Nineteenth Century Ulster"

Describing her conversion to Methodism on April 14, 1815, Anne Lutton, of Moira, Co Down, records in

her diary, 'I praised the Lord with a loud voice . . .I was too happy to keep silence.' Her comment is emblematic of her equation of salvation with articulation, and her lifelong equivocation between speech and silence. Lutton was one of a number of itinerant women preachers who took their voices to the highways and byways of Ireland during the early nineteenth century. They formed part of the Evangelical Revival, which blanketed Ireland in a flurry of publications from Bible Societies, Evangelical societies and missionary movements. In its early stages, radical evangelical concepts of spiritual democracy allowed women new positions of power and influence. The privileging of emotionalism among dissenters, along with the increased use of the home for religious meetings, gave women, as custodians of the heart and hearth, access to a whole range of religious functions. The keepers of the home became also the keepers of the faith. But like Anne Lutton, they could not keep quiet.

The writings of these women have received some treatment by historians such as Myrtle Hill and David Hempton. These documents, however, have been subject to very little rhetorical analysis: on the language and form of these texts, on the way in which these women wrote might say something about their experience of finding a public voice, of negotiating positions of authority while remaining 'womanly', of grafting their own words onto the Word, of remaining in the domestic sphere while travelling far from home, of resolving the conflict between the law of God and the law of man.

But there are important gender implications also to be explored in the discourse of the detractors, those clerics who wrote and preached against women spreading the Word, and those official church documents that attempted to regulate their activity. The anxiety over women preachers expressed in official church documents says something about the perceived fear of the Word of God mediated through the female body. For what happens when the Word—in all its simplicity, transparency and plainness—is put into the mouths of women, in all their secrecy, indirection and opacity? I will draw here on some of the suggestive ideas of Julia Kristeva about the perceived secrecy, fluidity and inwardness of the female body. What is interesting, and what my paper will explore, is that the language of used to criticise and regulate these women shares much in common with anti-Catholic discourse of the same period. In both cases, I will argue, we find Protestant anxieties about uncontained bodies, excessive materiality, and equally rapacious language. One of the questions my paper will address is to what extent this double fear aligns these Protestant women with their Catholic neighbours.

Dr Úna Ní Bhroiméil (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, Ireland)

"Catholic periodicals and the construction of the ideal woman in late nineteenth-century Ireland."

The ideal Irish woman as constructed by the Catholic church, according to Mary Ann Valuilis, was pure and good, demure and deferential, separate and subordinate to men, a symbol of the nation and a mother. Yet, Joanna Bourke characterized Irish women as the "best of all the home rulers", holding as they did the purse strings of the household; David Fitzpatrick, Hasia Diner and Janet Nolan have all suggested that Irish women were pragmatic, practical and hard-headed, choosing emigration over staying in an Ireland in which the economic status of women was declining in the late 19th century. Female domestic servants decreased by 34% between 1891-1911; the number of female agricultural labourers declined from 26.6 thousand to 5.1 thousand in the same period. The percentage of females engaged in industrial occupations had dropped from 38% in 1891 to 29% by 1911. According to Bourke, women moved out of work on the family farm at the same time. In fact, David Fitzpatrick argues that "in occupation as in education, the growing refinement of the female was a manifestation of diminished utility rather than raised status." Not so said the Catholic church as it sought to raise the status and profile of women not just in the home but as useful members of society. This is evident in a close reading of two late nineteenth century Catholic periodicals: *The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and *The Irish Rosary*. This paper proposes to look at a particular type of periodical, the Catholic periodical, to determine the issues that were deemed to be relevant to women. Although these were 'family magazines' – *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* actually scolded men who "tossed the magazine on the table" stating that "you men who think it worthwhile to spend an hour over *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* are men of good will" (MSH October 1907) – women were primarily the target audience. This is reflected in the kind of advice disseminated on the women's pages in some periodicals such as *The Catholic Bulletin* or in the general fiction in those periodicals that didn't have an exclusive women's page such as the *Irish Rosary*.

Was a bourgeois, separate spheres ideology wedded to a pious notion of Catholic motherhood in the literature? Did the advice provide a framework for the construction of the ideal woman? And were all

women, regardless of age or class, both rural and urban meant to aspire to this ideal? This paper will attempt to answer these questions through the analysis of periodicals that both reflected and created a specific environment for women at the turn of the nineteenth century

Ms Teresa O'Brien Walker (Canterbury Christ Church University College, UK)

"'The enemy of their religion but the loving friend of their country and their souls': Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and the ideology of evangelicalism in the nineteenth-century Ireland."

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790-1846) was one of the most prominent and prolific British evangelical writers of her time. A religious controversialist and philanthropist, she is probably best remembered now as a pioneering participant in the important tradition of nineteenth-century British social reform writing. She is less well known for her writing on Ireland, where she was a resident from 1819 to 1824. During her time in Ireland, Tonna formed a great and enduring love for the Irish people and their country, but she also became a self-confessed enemy of the Roman Catholic faith. Nowadays, negative views of Tonna abound: the image of her as a bigoted anti-Catholic has become firmly entrenched in historiography. Yet whatever she wrote she was always careful to draw a distinction between the religion and those who professed it. In her writing she reveals herself to be a genuine 'lover of souls' who worked tirelessly to improve the condition of the Irish poor, both in Ireland and in Irish immigrant slums in London.

This paper offers a re-evaluation of Tonna's 'Irish' writing. Her reminiscences of her time as a resident in Ireland in *Personal Recollections* (1841); her fact-finding tour of the country in *Letters from Ireland* (1837); and her fictional works *The Rockite* (1829) and *Derry, A Tale of the Revolution* (1833) will be considered afresh. The paper will address two important questions. What light does Tonna's work shed on the ideology of evangelicalism in nineteenth-century Ireland and how far does her desire to convert and transform the Irish Catholic reflect mainstream British thinking on the intractable 'Irish Question'? By examining the underlying religious assumptions and categories of thought within which Tonna framed her work, this paper will seek to define and clarify her vision for the Irish people, and will demonstrate how deeply this vision was embedded and integrated within her writing on Ireland.

Dr Maureen O'Connor (National University of Ireland Galway, Ireland)

"Frances Power Cobbe and the Patriarchs"

Frances Power Cobbe, progressive reformer, lecturer, abolitionist, women's advocate, and defender of animals, was a member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, born in Dublin in 1822 into a family distinguished by its service to the British military and the Anglican church, having produced five archbishops. This paper will examine the way in which Cobbe's position as an Anglo-Irish woman at once stimulates and undermines her various modes of patriarchal resistance, especially a strain of unregenerate Protestant conservatism that erupted in sometimes crippling contradictions.

Cobbe underwent a series of 'conversions' in her life, often arising from specifically religious crises, as she moved from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism to Theism. After years of inner rebellion against her parents' evangelicism, during which time she considered herself an 'Agnostic', she made her defiance known in an aggressively anti-patriarchal gesture, having waited until her mother had died to scandalise her father with her apostasy. After a year of subsequent exile from the family home (where she was the only girl among five brothers whose preference and privilege, particularly when it came to education, she grievously resented), she was allowed to return, but as housekeeper. She refused to attend services with her family, preferring to worship in her own unstructured, vaguely antinomian fashion. Then she read 'A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion', by the controversial American abolitionist and theologian, Theodore Parker, who rejected Calvinism as 'cruel and unreasonable' and who renounced the miraculous authority of both scripture and Jesus. He himself was denounced by American Unitarians as 'deistical', but his vision of personally authorised religion inspired Cobbe, who corresponded with Parker for the rest of his life, and edited his fourteen-volume collected works after his death. However, while Cobbe strenuously distanced herself from conventional Christianity's formal institutions, she was unable to sever her ties with basic inherited beliefs or the Christian god, and her abiding, if implicit, conviction in the superiority of the Protestant faith never slackened.

An indefatigable advocate for the oppressed and subjugated, including black slaves, women of all classes, especially working class girls, and animals, her rhetoric in defence of the defenceless was nevertheless diffused through a complex of competing beliefs and allegiances. The prejudicial class and race affinities typical of a Victorian suffragist were complicated for Cobbe by a

consciousness of belonging to an especially besieged class in late-nineteenth-century Ireland, one determined by racialised sectarian difference. And so, for instance, her anti-physician discourse was rooted not only in a distaste for scientific materialism, the privileging of the body over the soul, but also an abhorrence of the rising middle-class, associated with scientific progress. The evil vivesector was figured, then, rather confusedly, as the brutal wife-beater, the heartless slave-owner, the Caliban-like savage familiar from imperial typology, and the wicked priest of the Spanish inquisition. Her claims for the unprotected appeal to the decency of the English character, traditionally grounded in its sense of responsibility toward the weak, a character in danger of being degraded under depraved continental influence, especially from Catholic France and Italy. Even her most stridently antiestablishment stance, animal advocacy--she broke with the RSPCA on grounds of the organisation's classism--is compromised by a version of the doctrine of the elect. Not every animal is saved. Cattle are denied the sympathy and protection extended most urgently by Cobbe to dogs and horses, those metonyms for the Anglo-Irish world. Even as she inveighs against the latitude granted doctors to gleefully torture women and animals, hunting, and other masculine field sports identified with the Ascendancy are spared her criticism, are, in fact, defended, if somewhat unconvincingly. The fox, alas, is unreedeemed.

Prof. Kevin O'Neill (Boston College, USA)
"Friends and neighbours: Mary Shackleton Leadbeater and the Irish Quakers"

Revisionist historians have insisted that historians can only evaluate those who lived in the past by the mores of their own time. Yet, this poses a problem that, however obvious, needs to be stated. In order to evaluate the actions of people of the past by their own terms, it is necessary that we first have a through understanding of their "own terms". Religion is not the only component of such mentalité´ but clearly it is a good place to start. While historians such as Emmet Larkin, David Miller, Ian McBride and others have given us a great deal of insight into the Catholic and Presbyterian communities of Ireland, we have yet to see similar inquires launched into other religious communities in Ireland.

The Society of Friends was numerically insignificant in 18th and 19th Century Ireland. But, mentalité is not a democracy. The moral voice that they projected, especially during times of crisis, was very widely heard. Perhaps more importantly, the lived experience of Friends provided alternative models to Catholic and Protestant that demonstrated that the terms "Protestant" and "Ascendancy" only fit together in a particular social and economic context.

Members of the Society of Friends did not fit into the normative social and political categories and hierarchies of Irish society; most "Quakers" were neither landlords - nor tenants. Their refusal to recognize the common Anglo-Irish linguistic, sartorial, and gender distinctions of class and power, and their potentially dangerous refusal to serve as jurors, or to swear an oath, or to pay tithes marked them out as subversives. These most Anglo of the Irish had an unusually intimate & positive relationship with their Catholic neighbors.[1] From a Catholic perspective the Quakers of Ballitore were neither landlords, magistrates, soldiers, nor tithe collectors - the normal rural functions of the Anglo-Irish. Instead, they were farmers, teachers, millers and most of all, neighbours. And in a similar fashion, Quakers viewed their Catholic neighbours not as dangerous idolaters or treacherous tenants, but as farmers, artisans, and neighbours.

This paper will explore the particular Irish radicalism of Friends during the powerful reaction of the post-union era. My sources are the diary and letters of Mary Shackleton Leadbeater. My thesis is that during this period Friends were forced to turn from radicalism to reformism, and in the process the Society lost much of its energy and some of its members.

Prof. Katherine Parr (North Central College, Illinois, USA)
"Religious associations in Famine poetry: images of guilt, blame and reprisal."

The paper examines Famine poetry written by two opposing, political camps in mid nineteenth-century Ireland, Unionist and Young Ireland. Further, it identifies Anglican and Roman Catholic distinctions that colored the verse. My examination of Famine poems investigates uses of religious imagery that mark clear distinctions between two similar but separate structures of religious belief and set two political camps in sometimes violent opposition.

Poetic imagery applied to Famine poetry during the nineteenth century is replete with religious imagery that served political purposes. From the Unionist perspective, Famine poems served to indict the Irish for Ireland's troubles. For Repealers, Famine poetry called attention to the abuses of British imperialism. More militant advocates for separation from Britain used ballad poetry as a means to garner support for violent rebellion against colonial rule.

Chosen by the founders of Young Ireland as the vehicle to promote Irish nationalism, ballad poetry

reflected a lyrical tradition that thrived in rural Ireland. The *Nation* newspaper sparked a debate between Repealers and Unionists initially over the question of Repeal, but eventually the debate encompassed blame-laying for the Famine. In the Unionist camp, a popular belief was circulated – that famine was divinely orchestrated as a punishment for Ireland's recalcitrance in colonial affairs. Young Ireland poets, however, indicted Britain for the disaster and applied biblical imagery in their demands for divinely sanctioned, holy war. Yet even within Young Ireland, anti-colonial poetry reflects differing perspectives seated in religious beliefs. These differences are especially evident in the poetry of Jane Francesca Wilde, a member of the Anglo-Irish social establishment, and Richard Dalton Williams, a Catholic poet who was a member of the original inner-circle of the *Nation*. A comparison of each poet's version of the *Kyrie* as applied to famine ravished Ireland denotes articulations of differing perspectives shaded by religious backgrounds.

Dr G.K. Peatling (University of Guelph, Canada)

"Tell this to the Indians: the religious basis of William Warren Baldwin's *Thoughts on the civilization* of the native Americans of Ontario, 1819."

William Warren Baldwin emigrated from Ireland to Canada with his family around the time of the 1798 rebellion. Where he and his father have interested historians, it has chiefly been as reformers and advocates of colonial (ie white) self-government in Upper Canada. As a result of investigations conducted in the early nineteenth century, however, Baldwin drew up a set of unpublished proposals on how native Americans and white settlers might adapt to each other's presence, and specifically on the policies that should be adopted towards the native Americans in Ontario. With significant if predictable qualifications, these proposals were relatively sympathetic to the native Americans, at least as compared with the attitudes of many contemporary commentators and even many subsequent historians and commentators.

This paper considers the roots of Balwin's ideas and of his efforts to understand the plight of native Americans. It is shown that, contrary to a variety of common current assumptions, in Baldwin's case an evangelical Protestant belief system, rather than other influences, appears to have had a relatively positive effect on his reactions to the indigenous people of the area. This conclusion has implications for historical analysis of cross-cultural contact and conflict.

Ms Kara M. Ryan-Johnson (University of Tulsa)

"The siege of O'Connell: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's historical novels of Ireland."

RF Foster remarks that for nineteenth-century Irish intellectuals, the 1800 Act of Union "set the rhetorical terms of nationalist politics over the next century" that became particularly evident in the obsessions over the "retelling of history." Aside from its obvious legislative reverberations, the 1800 Act of Union sought to redress past nationalist dissension while simultaneously foreclosing future disruption. One does not need a vast knowledge or nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish history to note the Act's failure. Over the next two-hundred years, violence continued while the Irish question evolved into a broadly theoretical discussion encompassing disparate ideas regarding identity, agency and religion. My paper isolates this debate within one author, the British writer, Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna. Although better known for social protest fiction, Tonna and her novels of Ireland, *The Rockite* (1829) and *Derry, A Tale of Revolution* (1836) warrant consideration for their similarly activist intent. My paper discusses how Tonna collapses the categories of history, fiction and historiography in order to promulgate and abet Protestant hegemony in Ireland. The vitriolic rhetoric of *The Rockite* betrays its designation as fictional narrative; rather, the text becomes a tract aimed at converting Catholics and unifying Protestants – Tonna's two-pronged effort at dispelling the agrarian unrest that she mistakenly reads as only sectarian. In contrast to the blatancy of *The Rockite*, the subversion of *Derry* is subtle. Written in the aftermath of Daniel O'Connell's successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation and concurrent to his agitation for Repeal of the Act of Union, this work resuscitates crucial moments of Unionist history in order to forge a particularly masculinist Protestant resistance.

MVSA MEMBERSHIP 2004-5

Name_____

Title_____

Institution_____

Address_____

Phone_____

Email_____

Research Interests_____
_____

□ Check here if any of this contact information has changed since the last directory in 2002

Member of MVSA since _____(year)
(approximate guesses are fine)

Member type: Regular ($20)___
Regular Grad ($10)___
Dues free Grad___ (free for the first 3 years)
Year of membership: 1 2 3 (circle one)

Arnstein Fund (tax deductible) $____

Stedman Memorial Lecture (new)
(tax deductible) $____

TOTAL $_____
Please make checks out to MVSA

Send this form with a check to:
Julie Melnyk, MVSA Treasurer
The Honors College
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211