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Elena Ogliari

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The Past Contains a Promise of Regeneration: Narratives of Ireland's Future in Early-twentieth-century Juvenile Periodicals

ELENA OGLIARI

University of Eastern Piedmont

elena.ogliari@uniupo.it

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the popular periodicals for juveniles *Our Boys*, *Fianna*, *Young Ireland* and *St. Enda's*, which were cherished by Irish nationalists as home-grown substitutes for the alienating British story papers in the Ireland of the early twentieth century. With Ireland still under British rule, these periodicals were concerned about the role of youths in the context of nation-building and my contention is that the people involved in such editorial enterprises viewed them as potentially transformative forces of society, which not only harnessed the power of the idea of political upheaval, but also forged the agents who were to build the envisioned free Irelands. Contributing to the definition of an appropriate 'post-independence' national identity, they thus offered to the young visions of the future nation that predicated its legitimacy upon an appeal to the past and the appreciation of traditions. At the same time, young readers were presented with exemplary models of Irish citizenship drawn from Irish heritage of myths and histories. Hence, through the close scrutiny of primary texts from the crucial 1914–23 years, my objective is to show how the future Irelands first imagined and narrated in the periodicals would find their roots in the past and draw energies and strength from the nation's cultural heritage.

KEYWORDS

Irish juvenile periodicals, free Irelands, Irish mythology, models for the young, retelling

Envisioning New Irelands in Nationalist Publications for Juveniles

The turn of the twentieth century in Ireland was a period of both unprecedented cultural production and political upheaval. This was the era of the Irish Revival, the movement involving Standish O'Grady, Lady Augusta Gregory, and William Butler Yeats, which profoundly shaped the development, and global prominence, of Irish culture. The Easter Rising in 1916 and the War of Independence led, ultimately, to the end of British rule and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922.¹ In this period of transition from subjugation to British rule to independence, politics and culture did not act as two distinct realms. Images of hoped for or feared political tumults were then prominent in print culture and the arts, and the rise of print media and the success of the artists of the Revival contributed to the growth of a public sphere in which Irish political independence or greater autonomy were first broadcast as options before they could become embodied as political realities.²

The printing press played an especially crucial role within cultural and political discourse, for newspapers and magazines were the dominant means of disseminating information and new ideas in the Ireland of the early twentieth century; literacy rates were high, relative to other European polities.³ In particular, the publications belonging to the nationalist spectrum invested themselves with the mission of fostering debates over Ireland's future and 'introducing a variety of new ideas in the reimagining' of the Irish nation.⁴ Together with organizations such as the Gaelic League, the nationalist periodicals formed a variegated and dynamic counter-cultural sphere, in which the various actors were bonded one to the other by 'the common purpose of promoting their own imagined Irelands' and an ideal of Irish citizenry to their audiences.⁵ Here, the plural 'Irelands' is preferable to the singular noun form, for Irish nationalism was not politically or ideologically homogenous at the beginning of the twentieth century but as variegated as Irish Revivalism itself: to the constitutionalists' ideal of a semi-autonomous Irish nation existing in harmony within the British Empire, the radical advanced nationalists opposed the alternative vision of a fully and fiercely independent nation-state.⁶ The various periodicals thus put forward images of a future Ireland reflective of their political aspirations.

To date, the images that have attracted most scholarly interest are those featured in publications for adult audiences. Thanks to the work of scholars such as Ben Novick, Karen Steele, and Giulia Bruna, we are now more aware of the 'multifariousness' of nationalist print culture, and of its crucial role in the movement's politics and struggles.⁷

- 1 See Declan Kiberd and P.J. Mathews, 'Introduction', in *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891–1922*, ed. by Declan Kiberd et al. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), pp. 24–29.
- 2 Niall Carson, 'Print Culture Landscapes 1880–1922', in *Irish Literature in Transition, 1880–1940*, ed. by Marjorie Howes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 97–113 (pp. 109–10).
- 3 Ciaran O'Neill, 'Literacy and Education', in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 244–60 (p. 247).
- 4 Brian Ward, *Imagining Alternative Irelands in 1912: Cultural Discourse in the Periodical Press* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017), p. 29.
- 5 Ibid. See also Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Vintage, 1996), p. 137; Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850–1892* (Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 174–75.
- 6 John S. Ellis, 'The Degenerate and the Martyr: Nationalist Propaganda and the Contestation of Irishness, 1914–1918', *Eire-Ireland*, 35.3 (2000), 7–33 (p. 7).
- 7 Ben Novick, *Conceiving Revolution: Irish Nationalist Propaganda during the First World War* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Karen M. Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics during the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007); Giulia Bruna, 'Periodical Insurrections: Revival, Modernism, and *The Irish Review*', *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 10.1 (2019), 129–56.

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What is noteworthy is that these scholars do not ascribe the relevance of the press just to its ability to circulate (radical) ideas, for their contention is that newspapers and magazines also managed to awaken a sense of nationality in their readers, which drove them to turn the envisioned Irelands into realities. Here, the focus is on the relationships of interdependence between literacy, reading matters, and action in the Ireland of the early 1900s, the links between what the Irish read and what the Irish did at this time. Historians Joost Augusteijn and Peter Hart observe that specific reading materials deeply influenced the actions and mentality of the so-called 'revolutionary generation', the youths born between 1890 and 1916 who harboured ambitions of political renewal for Ireland. Of the IRA veterans of the War of Independence whom they interviewed, many claimed to have derived their sense of nationality from papers and books popularizing the history and lore of their country – claims which are further corroborated by many written statements preserved at the Bureau of Military History.⁸ Hence, numerous in-depth investigations have focused on Irish periodicals and books for adult audiences, highlighting their impact on the readers' mentality and actions and, in consequence, on Irish politics.⁹

But in the vast amount of works on early twentieth-century nationalist print culture, there is still a comparatively little-researched area regarding the section of the periodical press dedicated to the young. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the existing scholarship on the interactions between politics and the printing press by focusing on the main nationalist periodicals for juveniles of the crucial 1914–23 years: *Our Boys* (1914–90), *Fianna* (1915–16), *Young Ireland* (1917–23), and *St. Enda's* (1918–24). These contained a mix of fictional stories, illustrations, and non-fictional fixtures like leader columns and letters to the editor, which reached out to thousands of youthful readers on topics such as education and Irish politics.

The paucity of studies on these periodicals is perhaps related to the fact that they have not been fully digitized, and that hard copies in library holdings are scarce; but despite its relative inaccessibility this material is worthy of analysis because the Irish nationalists themselves viewed the chosen periodicals as crucial weapons in their hands to persuade as many youths as possible to join their cause. One striking feature of early twentieth-century Ireland is that its young people came to be valued in a way that was, at least in part, new. Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish boys and girls had occupied the lowest strata of the social status hierarchy, as they were subject to the authority of parents, employers, the clergy, or other elders. The undeniable centrality of their labour to both the rural and urban economies was not sufficient to grant them autonomy and equal rights, either in the economic or political spheres. But young Ireland's undesirable status was changed for the better in the 1900s, when nationalists identified in Irish youths the main agents of both the struggle for independence and nation-building.¹⁰

Having reconsidered the role of the young in advancing the national cause, the nationalists concerned themselves with aspects of both formal and informal education, including educational activities taking place outside school such as reading, which

8 Joost Augusteijn, *The Irish Revolution, 1913–1923* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 121–34; Peter Hart, *The I.R.A. at War, 1916–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 3–86.

9 See for example Roy F. Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it Up in Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); James Quinn, *Young Ireland and the Writing of Irish History* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2015); Karen Steele, 'Revolutionary Lives in the Rearview Mirror: Memoir and Autobiography', in *Irish Literature in Transition, 1880–1940*, ed. by Marjorie E. Howes (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 114–32.

10 Gavin Foster, 'From "the Glorious Innocence and Intuition of Youth" to "Young Blackguards" and "Hooligans": The Death of Irish Revolutionary Youth Culture', in *The Country of the Young*, ed. by John Countryman and Kelly Mathews (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2013), pp. 51–69 (p. 52). See also Riona Nic Congáil, 'Young Ireland and the Nation: Nationalist Children's Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Eire-Ireland*, 46.3 (2011), 37–62 (pp. 37–38).

they deemed particularly formative. Irish nationalists directed their attention to the periodicals avidly consumed by boys and girls in their country, sensing the influence juvenile literature had on the imagination of its readership, and believing that it could also serve as an educational, political instrument. From their perspective, what they discovered was worrisome. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Irish publishing market was part of the British distributive system and British popular culture had a firm hold in Ireland. Irish boys and girls read story papers such as the *Gem* (1907–39), *Magnet* (1908–40), and *Union Jack* (1894–1940), which provided an enticing plethora of imperialistic articles and tales, with many stories detailing the heroic deeds of young builders of the British Empire.¹¹ Irish nationalists voiced the concern that the great narratives of ‘Clive in India’ and ‘the charge of the Light Brigade’ would foster imperialist sentiments, because the youthful readers were deemed ‘essentially hero-worshippers’.¹² For instance, in ‘The Need of an Irish “Boys” Paper’ (1909), Br. J.S. Sheehy of Castleknock College stressed the urgency of creating Irish rivals to these English heroes, because ‘unconsciously, Irish boys, during their plastic years, are being West Britonized’ by their readings about ‘the English warriors of the past, or English public school boys of today, or English adventurers and detectives...’.¹³

Particularly problematic for the nationalists were the discursive representations of Ireland as a strategic, albeit ancillary, partner in advancing the imperial project – a portrayal multifariously conveyed through fictional and non-fictional pieces promulgating an imperialist, assimilationist ethos. Conversely, however, the nationalists also believed that Irish-made material could drive the young to question Ireland’s position within the Empire: they thus endeavoured to produce home-grown substitutes for the successful British story papers, which would instil patriotism and anti-British feelings in the hearts of the young Irish. Their efforts ultimately resulted in the publication of *Our Boys*, *Fianna*, *Young Ireland*, and *St. Enda’s*, which, in the words of a correspondent to *Young Ireland*, were to supplant ‘the trashy English literature with which [Ireland had] been flooded for so long, and which had done so much harm to our boys and girls’.¹⁴

The importance attributed to Ireland’s youth and reading motivated the cultural investment of Irish nationalists in the production of juvenile periodicals, which saw the involvement of leading figures of nationalist politics and print culture. The Irish publishing scene was governed by relationships of interdependence, so, for instance, Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith and rebels Herbert Pim and Patrick Pearse, who had previously edited papers for adult readers, brought their editorial experience to *Young Ireland* and *Fianna*. The editors of *Our Boys*, *Fianna*, *Young Ireland*, and *St. Enda’s* capitalized on, and interacted with, previous and contemporary nationalist activities through the print medium, even in cases in which the initiatives were directed to adults. Hence, the debates about ‘narratives of Ireland’s future’ in juvenile magazines should be first situated against the background of coeval adult periodicals. In this way, the editorial enterprises aimed at juveniles can be contextualized in the wide panorama of the nationalist press of the early twentieth century, making it easier to detect recurring patterns in the representation of future Irelands across various publications.

To begin with, it can be observed that the non-fictional features of nationalist periodicals tended to concentrate on the shortcomings and oppressiveness of British

11 Cf. Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

12 P. J. Hennessy, ‘A Boys’ Paper’, in *Christian Brothers’ Educational Record* (Dublin, 1913), pp. 47–51. See also Grianán na nÓg, ‘A Word with the Boys and Girls’, *Irish Freedom*, 3 (January 1911), 3.

13 Quoted in Ciaran O’Neill, ‘The Irish Schoolboy Novel’, *Éire-Ireland*, 44.1 (2009), 147–68 (p. 151).

14 Eithne Cairbre Ni Chiarsaigh, ‘WHAT GIRLS CAN DO FOR IRELAND’, *Young Ireland*, 1.6 (26 May 1917), 3.

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rule, with advanced nationalist publications such as *Fianna* and the *Irish Volunteers* (1914–16) also offering motives for insurrection and recourse to physical violence. The magazines were based around fictional content, namely short stories, ballads, and songs, which focused on the same themes as the non-fictional writings and provided alternative images of Ireland to their readers. It is significant that many contributors to the nationalist press tried their hand at science fiction and penned 'alternate histories' or 'utopian fantasies' of their country, in which they speculated about what Ireland would have looked like if the Norman invasion had never taken place or if Britain were to lose in the First World War. The point of these stories was to show that Ireland could thrive once freed from the British yoke or granted Home Rule. At the same time, fantasies such as *Young Ireland's* 'Our Civilisers' demonstrated the inequity of imperial rule by casting England, defeated in the global-scale conflict, in the role of actual 1917 Ireland; the English nation imagined here eerily resembles the Ireland of unionist political and cultural discourses – ineligible for Home Rule, in that England is said to be 'absolutely unfitted for self-government' and in need of 'benevolent but firm rule by some outside nation of higher civilisation', because its history is 'full' of 'rowdiness' and its people cannot 'behave in an orderly and peaceful manner'. Therefore, French rule will be imposed on England, while Ireland will achieve independence.¹⁵

However, envisioning a different Ireland – be it independent, Home Rule or allied to Germany – was no easy undertaking, because it implied not only the imaginary projection of the new nation, but the onerous task of legitimizing its existence as an independent or autonomous state. To this end, many commentators, first through the pages of adult periodicals and then of juvenile publications, pointed out Ireland's cultural individuality and asserted the presence of an Irish identity that was distinct from Britain's.¹⁶ Great emphasis was placed on the fact that before the Plantagenet and Tudor kings extended their control over Ireland, the island had enjoyed a long history of political and cultural separateness. It had its own parliament from the late Middle Ages until 1800, and possessed a common language and a rich culture distinct from Britain's well before and right into the nineteenth century.¹⁷

The nationalist intellectuals and artists of the early 1900s thus oriented their activities towards the past and the retrieval of this ancient heritage, of which residues could still be found in the most westerly regions and among the native, often Gaelic-speaking, peasantry. The west of the country came to be sacralised as the true authentic Ireland, which had been left almost untouched by Anglicization and the pressures of the modern world.¹⁸ There, the past was still tangibly and visibly present in local folklore, traditional crafts, the use of spoken Gaelic, the predominance of orality, and the typical landscapes punctuated with boglands.

At the turn of the twentieth century, nationalist print culture helped Irish readers discover these residues of pre-colonial culture and connect with the nation's cultural heritage. Books and periodicals began offering local colour, in the form of

15 Shanachie, 'The Times We Live In: Our Civilisers', *Young Ireland*, 1.17 (11 August 1917), 1. Some 'utopian fantasies' featured in Irish periodicals for adults are analyzed in Novick, pp. 128–30. For an example of alternate history (Charlotte MacManus's *The Professor in Erin*) see instead: Jack Fennell, *Irish Science Fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 93–94.

16 Ann Andrews, *Newspapers and Newsmakers: The Dublin Nationalist Press in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014).

17 Joost Augusteijn, 'Irish Nationalism and Unionism Between State, Region and Nation', in *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 192–208 (p. 192).

18 Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 221.

tales that recorded the customs and vernacular of the western communities;¹⁹ Irish mythology, popularized by Standish O'Grady in the late nineteenth century, was further disseminated by the periodical press, which also advertised excursions to the west. The contributors to the nationalist periodicals wanted their readers to be proud of Ireland's cultural individuality so that their pride could, in turn, entail a political conscientization.

The focus on Ireland's cultural separateness and past independence was simultaneously geared to the development of a sense of mutual belonging and the validation of contemporary political demands. The images of independent Ireland outlined in the utopian fantasies and alternate histories were not far-fetched or unrealizable, for popular lore and customs proved that there once existed – and in part still did – a distinct Irish identity, organically linked by traditions, institutions, and values. The awareness that Ireland was culturally distinct could easily translate into the belief that the country also deserved political autonomy. What is more, the Gaelic- and past-oriented national image offered by the periodicals came to nurture the Irish drive for self-determination, just as the rediscovery of the past spurred Irish people to restore Ireland's ancient individuality at the political level.²⁰

Motifs of people's agency and of political independence based on Ireland's distinctiveness can be detected also in the juvenile magazines, which conveyed their messages of freedom through rhetorical and narrative devices analogous to the ones employed in the publications for older readers. This is not surprising given the relationships of interdependence and collaboration obtaining among the various periodicals. Less predictable is perhaps the fact that *Our Boys*, *Fianna*, *Young Ireland*, and *St. Enda's* were not mere 'adaptations' for the young of the periodicals intended for adults, whereby ideas and motifs of the latter were refashioned and simplified to meet the needs of a readership consisting of teenage boys and girls. The blend of artistic and political matters makes the chosen periodicals an important avenue for understanding Irish history and culture, but their exclusive use as historical documents – just to add colour to historical portrayals of the period – would not render justice to these complex cultural-political projects. As I will emphasize, *Our Boys* and its rivals had the objective of instructing the young in an agreeable way. The people involved in these editorial enterprises viewed them as potentially transformative societal mechanisms, which not only harnessed the power of the idea of political upheaval, but also forged the agents who were to build the envisioned free Irelands. My contention is that the contents of these periodicals exemplify the nationalists' belief in the links between literacy, reading matters, and action, for, like their counterparts for adult audiences, these magazines envisioned alternative Irelands that their readers should go on to realize. I here use the plural 'Irelands' because the chosen periodicals were reflective of different cohorts and, as such, possessed quite distinct positions on national matters.

The remainder of the article begins with an overview of the main differences between the periodicals to point how these ultimately fade into a similarity of objectives. Through the close scrutiny of texts from the 1914–23 period, I wish to prove the centrality of the 'narrative mode'²¹ and show its peculiarities. As I will show, a clarion call to readers was expressed through a narrative distinguished by the interweaving of different temporalities; young readers were called on for the future construction of a new Ireland, and to achieve this, the past was recuperated for its formative value. All four periodicals published mythological and historical tales that first aimed at awakening

19 See Margu rite Corporaal, 'Relocating Regionalism: The Fin-de-Si cle Irish Local Colour Tale in Transnational Contexts', *Irish Studies Review*, 28.2 (2020), 155–70.

20 Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), p. 4.

21 Foster, p. 2.

readers' pride in Ireland's heritage and glorious past: in turn, patriotic love would impel the young to preserve Irish heritage and folklore so that a new community could be formed around this cultural nucleus. Second, the narratives that harkened back to the country's (mythological or historical) past offered helpful mentorship, because readers could trace in them the reasons why they should oppose British rule in Ireland and find models to emulate in their efforts to build a new nation. Hence, the narratives in the periodicals conveyed concepts of Irishness and uniqueness meant to nurture protest and spur the young to action.

Creating a New Irish Citizenry in Youth Periodicals

Our Boys was the first magazine to come out, in September 1914. Founded by the Christian Brothers, it was a key agent in the spread of pro-Catholic Irish nationalism, as it sought to mould Ireland's boys into the builders of a future nation-state championing the values of Catholicism and Irishness, of Faith and Fatherland: after all, as stated by editor Br. M.X. Weston, 'there is no perfect Christian who is not also a perfect patriot' (cf. Fig. 1).²² *Our Boys* was highly successful, outselling all the other magazines combined, with an estimated readership of 100,000, to whom it first offered a constitutionalist stance on national matters and, after 1918, an increasingly separatist one.²³ *Fianna, Young Ireland*, and *St. Enda's*, which were mouthpieces of the advanced nationalists, called rather for a more radical reorientation of Ireland on the political stage and demanded, from the outset, the country's complete separation from Britain.



Fig. 1 Masthead of the story 'Faith of our Fathers' displaying all the paraphernalia of true Irishness, from round towers to Saint Patrick's mitre to the weapons of legendary warriors. From *Our Boys*, 2.3 (November 1915), 72. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Fianna gravitated in the orbit of Na Fianna Éireann, the non-denominational society of the republican boy scouts. Its editors, Percy Reynolds and Patsy O'Connor, came from the ranks of the juvenile organization and, in its wake, they set out to prepare Ireland's youth to play an active role in the fight for independence.²⁴ Much of *Fianna's* material was characterized by an Anglophobic mentality and an unapologetic

22 'Our Boys' Editor', *Our Boys*, 1.10 (June 1915), 267.

23 Dáire Keogh, 'Our Boys: The Christian Brothers and the Formation of Youth in the "New" Ireland 1914-1944', *History of Education* 44.6 (2015), 700-16 (p. 700).

24 Marnie Hay, 'Moulding the Future: Na Fianna Éireann and its Members, 1909-1923', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 100.400 (2011), 441-54.

attitude, including advocacy of physical force to overthrow British rule in the months prior to the Easter Rising. In the editors' view, this was 'the time' when 'every country', including Ireland, had to 'fight for her liberties' and thus they asked their readers: 'Are you prepared, then, to stand by your country and help her fight for her liberties – liberties that she has been deprived of for the last 700 years?'.²⁵ The very same question could have been asked by the editors of *Young Ireland* and *St. Enda's*, which equally belonged to the separatist faction of the Irish periodical press. Both purported to be 'Catholic' and 'Irish-Irelander' magazines,²⁶ but *Young Ireland* was the mouthpiece of Sinn Féin among the young, whereas *St. Enda's* inspired the younger generations with the teachings of Patrick Pearse.

Young Ireland stood 'for Catholicity of the devoted, not the time-serving, type; for industry, frugality and truth. For good citizenship and patriotic allegiance to the Motherland'.²⁷ It popularized the main tenets of Sinn Féin's programme in an accessible form, through an interplay of various text-types and, interestingly, since the party's project of political transformation included the enhancement of women's and girl's status in Irish society, *Young Ireland* was explicitly addressed to both boys and girls. The latter were to learn to be 'worthy descendants' of the heroines of pre-Union times, because they would become 'the womanhood of Ireland', capable of influencing 'greatly the destiny of their land'.²⁸

On the other hand, *St. Enda's* upheld Pearse as a model for emulation in that the young (especially the boys) of the years of the War of Independence and Civil War were encouraged to 'imitate him in his simplicity, his gentleness, his determination, his love for Ireland, his daily deeds for her honour and for God's'.²⁹ In the words of the editor, the republican Brian O'Higgins, Pearse embodied the ideal combination of muscular Christian self-sacrifice and cultural profundity, for he was 'in our own day a saintly man and a cultured scholar and a fearless soldier, who gave his life to save his native land'. The title, editorial line, and structure of this monthly represent explicit tributes to the dead hero: first, *St. Enda's* evokes the early Irish saint whom Pearse 'selected [...] as a model for the youth of Ireland' attending his school in Rathfarnham, which was indeed called St. Enda's.³⁰ Second, the periodical is informed by the child-centred approach that had characterised the educative process advocated by Pearse, and the latter's editorial venture in juvenile publishing with *An Macaomh* (1909–13), which was edited by Pearse and written by the masters and pupils of St. Enda's.³¹ Just as the discontinuous *An Macaomh* was a collaborative project, so was *St. Enda's*, written by a 'brilliant band of young writers' under the supervision of the experienced O'Higgins.³²

Despite their heterogeneity, however, the four magazines shared fundamental similarities, including the belief that to change Ireland's future it was first necessary to change the present, and to change the present one had to change people's minds and attitudes. The subdued patriotism of the young had to be awakened, by making them aware of the richness and individuality of Irish culture. As a leading contributor to *Fianna* declared, 'if ever Kathleen was to win back her four green fields her youth

25 'From the Editors', *Fianna*, 1.1 (February 1915), 1.

26 Shanachie, 'The Times We Live In', *Young Ireland*, 1.1 (21 April 1917), 1. See also Lile Maire Nic An Failghe, 'Irish Literature', *St. Enda's*, 1.9 (November 1919), 10.

27 Shanachie, 'The Times We Live In', *Young Ireland*, 1.2 (28 April 1917), 1.

28 Nora ni Lideadha, 'What a Girl Can Do for her Country', *Young Ireland*, 1.5 (19 May 1917), 7.

29 'Patrick Pearse. The Boy', *St. Enda's*, 1.2 (April 1918), 19.

30 Ibid.

31 Brendan Walsh, *Boy Republic: Patrick Pearse and Radical Education* (Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2013), pp. 52–54.

32 Brian O'Higgins, 'Slán Agus Beannacht!', *St. Enda's*, 4.1 (February 1924), 1.

would have to be educated, and educated in no small way; they must take out, as it were, their degree in "Knowing their Country".³³

First, the young had to 'master' the ancient Irish language by joining the Gaelic League or spending their holidays in 'Irish-speaking Donegal' or at specialized schools, which were widely advertised in the periodicals (Fig. 2).³⁴ Interestingly, *Young Ireland* claimed that youths 'beneath [the] flag' of Douglas Hyde's society were the 'most likely to seek an ideal and courageous future for Ireland',³⁵ thus emphasizing that those cooperating to restore the nation's past heritage ultimately meant to shape the country's future. The Christian Brothers likewise promoted the activities of the Gaelic League, including the organization of *feisanna*,³⁶ convinced that 'the restoration of their [the Irish people's] language – the language of their saints and martyrs, the language of their patriots, the language of their schools and scholars – is necessary to back out the claims of nationhood'.³⁷

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Fig. 2 Advertisement for a school of Irish Language based in County Waterford. From *Young Ireland*, 1.9 (16 June 1917), 3. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

33 J. H. Rice, 'Editorial', *Fianna*, 1.6 (July 1915), 2. The Kathleen of the statement is Kathleen Ni Houlihan, a personification of Ireland commonly found in the arts and the nationalist cultural production of the time. As a literary figure, it features in the plays by W. B. Yeats and Lady Augusta Gregory.

34 Maire Nic Chearbhaill, 'Youthful Exploits of Mamie Duffy', *Young Ireland*, 1.11 (30 June 1917), 8.

35 Eagarthaí, 'From the Editor's Room', *Young Ireland*, 1.25 (6 October 1917), 4.

36 The *feisanna* were festivals of traditional Gaelic arts and culture.

37 'Erin Awakes', *Our Boys*, 6.1 (September 1919), 6.

But the 'educative process' was not limited to the acquisition of fluency in Irish. *Our Boys* also demanded of its readers the knowledge of 'the literature [...] and history of Ireland', and to 'learn to love the fair hills and rivers and rich plains of Ireland', 'be proud of Ireland as your mother', 'study the social and economic problems of Ireland, support Irish industries, and play a manly part in the nation's fight for freedom'.³⁸ With regard to the latter point, the magazines did praise the Irish peasant of the West as the repository of authentic Irishness, but simultaneously advocated an awareness of market-driven forces and the need for pragmatic economics.³⁹ They launched campaigns for economic renewal animated by protectionist drives and ambitions of economic self-sufficiency, usually characterized by scorn for those selling and buying foreign goods and commendation of products made in Ireland; or, even better, made in what the contributors called 'Ould Erin', for the older methods of craftsmanship were associated with the notion of authentic Irishness. The discourses of authenticity were then reiterated at the visual level, through advertisements featuring the use of Gaelic fonts and iconography that had been invested with nationalist ideals: harps, round towers, Irish wolf-hounds were the common motifs used to attract the reader's attention.

Thus, old-looking items were deployed by contemporary nationalist consumerist society, which proposed a kind of nationally edifying consumerism that was at the same time both forward-looking and retrospective: the support for home industries and traditional crafts was supposed to guarantee Ireland's economic autonomy, as a precondition for achieving and keeping political independence in the future (see Fig. 3).⁴⁰ This dual perspective materializes in *Young Ireland*, which devoted much energy to 'promoting home industry' like the ancient 'Gaeltacht industry' based around the 'collection, bleaching and preparation' of the carrageen moss. This moss was recommended for 'its strengthening properties to invalids' and the traditional methods of its production, which made it a 'luxury in leading hotels'. Nonetheless, as the commentator observes, the costliness was due to 'exorbitant middle profits', which did not help the Gaeltacht producers and collectors to thrive. Then, in line with its protectionist Gaelic-oriented economic policy, the editorial staff of *Young Ireland* purchased large quantities of the moss to be sold at a fair price: this was to allow for 'a favourable profit to the Gaeltacht people' and the promotion of local industries and craftsmanship.⁴¹ In this way, the selling and purchasing of the moss is framed in a narrative that appeals to the agency of Irish youths and underscores the impact that apparently mundane acts may possess.

The act of narration played a crucial role in the articulation of the periodicals' discourses over economic matters. Not only did the narrative mode draw the attention of youthful readers by arousing their pride, it also made discussions on such topics more accessible. In *Young Ireland*, weighty digressions on the economic policies of Friedrich List and Arthur Griffith were counterbalanced by humorous instalments of Tomas O h-Amhlaidh's series *The Voice from the Hawthorn*. Here, a leprechaun derides a gullible mortal – this is a common trope in Celtic mythology – for his ignorance on Irish matters. It is a stratagem allowing for the leprechaun's comments on subjects as diverse as Irish economy, education, and industry – comments which are nonetheless

38 *Our Boys*, 3.6 (February 1917), 171.

39 John Strachan and Claire Nally, *Advertising, Literature and Print Culture in Ireland, 1891–1922* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 72.

40 See Alison O'Malley-Younger and John Strachan, *Ireland at War and Peace* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011).

41 Maire Nic Chearbhaill, 'The Right Spirit', *Young Ireland*, 1.6 (26 May 1917), 3, and Ead., 'Carrageen Moss', *Young Ireland*, 1.9 (16 June 1917), 8.

Anything.

To promote Irish Industries, we have started in conjunction with this paper a supply stores ; from which anything made in Ireland can be supplied.

We are in a position to supply you.

We can send you a quotation if you name the article you require.

We can tell you, if you have any doubt, what is and what is not made in Ireland.

We can prove to you that Irish manufactured articles can be procured as good and as cheap as foreign made articles.

We will tell you anything in reason, we will sell you anything in reason.

Your support will mean more Industries for Ireland.

Write for everything you require to :

THE MANAGER,
" Fianna " Supply Stores,
St. Andrew Chambers, 1 College St.

Fig. 3 The editorial board of *Fianna* stating its unconditional support for Irish Industries. From *Fianna*, 2.4 (October 1915), 4. Author's collection

not as verbose and dry as the corresponding non-fictional pieces thanks to the mocking tone of the saturnine fairy.⁴²

Furthermore, the 'addition' of a leprechaun to stories devoted to Irish economics and policy is indicative of how the periodicals' contributors availed themselves of every opportunity to popularize 'the beautiful mythology and fairy lore' as well as 'the old stories and history of our land, [...] the grand poems and tales of our heroes in battle at home and in foreign land'.⁴³ The nationalists attributed great importance to the recovery from oblivion of Irish lore and popular culture, which, besides conveying ideological content in a more agreeable form, constituted the core of Ireland's cultural distinctiveness. They decried the destructive impact of English publications on Irish youth's knowledge of their oral and literary heritage, deeply convinced that 'anti-Irish and poisonous, literature never contains a reference' to it, 'except to belittle, despise, or insult'.⁴⁴ This was a widespread belief as evidenced by the story 'Molly's Wild Adventure', in which the narrator rallies against foreign juvenile literature and complains about the ignorance of the young, but in a more comic vein. Here, a girl called Molly is visited by 'the Hound of Ulster' Cuchulainn, whom she does not recognize: 'Of course you

42 See the August to October issues of *Young Ireland*.

43 'The Seancus', *Fianna*, 2.7 (January 1916), 8.

44 'Our Boys' Editor', *Our Boys*, 3.5 (January 1917), 143.

don't, you ignoramus! You foreigner! [...] You never heard of my great deeds, so busy you've been reading of the puny deeds of the foreigner!' is the annoyed reply of the legendary hero.⁴⁵

The excerpts above help one to grasp why the nationalists took various measures to reverse the status quo in these matters. For instance, *Fianna* combated 'the impression that the Irish 'descended from a race of ignorant people' – a conviction 'stamped on [the youths'] minds by the enemy' – by devoting a recurring column to reviews of the works of Ireland's 'great authors', including the collections of legends and myths published by the antiquarians of previous centuries. The aim was to show their young readers that their 'literary ancestors were classed among all the great men of the world in their time'.⁴⁶ The nationalists were animated by the desire to measure up Irish culture to Britain's to see it recognized as equal, and they believed that the richness of Irish tales and myths could help them attain this end. Yet they were also confident that Irish mythology could be reworked in the periodicals with a view towards shaping Ireland's future.

The Deployment of Myths and Legends across the Magazines

Irish myths and legends were first published for a young readership in the nineteenth century as manifestations of national distinctiveness, by writers such as Lady Jane Wilde ('Speranza'), Standish O'Grady, Eleanor Hull, and Lady Augusta Gregory.⁴⁷ In their wake, the nationalists realized that romanticized retellings of Ireland's mythologies could be repurposed not only to inculcate national pride by awakening Ireland's youth to the heroism of their noble, mythological ancestors, but also to provide the young with models to imitate. Mythology could be used to impart 'nationalist' lessons that were to come in handy to the future nation-builders.

To this end, *Young Ireland* republished Thomas Moore's ballads on mythological themes, making sure to make explicit, in the prefatory comments, the connection between the Ireland of the legends and the actual one. One example is the periodical's treatment of *The Fate of the Children of Lir* myth, which recounts the 900-year transformation of Lir's children into swans. In the magazine's prose retelling and Moore's dedicated ballad, the focus is on freedom, its loss, and potential 're-conquest'. The children's story is told first and foremost as a narrative of imprisonment ('their nine hundred years of imprisonment in swan's form till the coming of St. Patrick'), which mirrors Ireland's lot of subjugation ('Yet still in her darkness doth Erin lie sleeping'). But like Lir's children before them, Irish people should not get discouraged: 'the children never lost hope of returning to freedom so long as they kept their Irish speech' and, indeed, the monk Mo Chaemoc saved their immortal souls in the end.⁴⁸ In a similar way, suggests the article, freedom was not unachievable for the Irish reading the magazine because the contributors confided that 'Ireland is coming into her own at last'.⁴⁹ Moreover, the children of Lir came to provide an analogy for the youths' 'ancestors, who for hundred years [...] lived in bondage, hoping against hope, fighting against overwhelming odds, but never surrendering or despairing, never lowering the flag one inch'. Following the

45 Aodh P. MacAlain, 'Molly's Wild Adventure', *Young Ireland*, 1.22 (15 September 1917), 1.

46 'Quarter-Hours with Ireland's Best Authors', *Fianna*, 2.1 (July 1915), 7. On the subject see the forthcoming Elena Ogliari, 'Book Reviews in the Irish "Revolutionary" Periodicals', in *Book Reviews and Beyond*, ed. by Dario Boemia and Stefano Locati (Milan: Biblion, 2021), 177–200.

47 Ciara Ní Bhroin, 'Mythologizing Ireland', in *Irish Children's Literature and Culture: New Perspectives on Contemporary Writing*, ed. by Valerie Coghlan and Keith O'Sullivan (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 7–27 (p. 7).

48 Thomas Moore and anonymous, 'The Song of Fionuala', *Young Ireland*, 1.6 (26 May 1917), 6. See also 'The Fate of Clann Lir', *Young Ireland*, 1.19 (25 August 1917), 3.

49 Shanachie, 'The Times We Live In', *Young Ireland*, 1.1 (21 April 1917), 1.

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examples of their ancestors, both legendary and historical, the young Irish should not despair of the possibility of attaining freedom, but continue fighting for it – after all, these were ‘the generation that shall see it’.⁵⁰

The story thus carries a teleological message, which informs and emerges more clearly from the use of Irish mythology in the pages of *Our Boys*, *Fianna*, and *St. Enda's*. The Christian Brothers were sensitive to the unifying power of British literature and myths, which they deemed a source of strength for the Empire. In *Our Boys*, columnists lamented that the foreign tradition, so ‘foreign to our Irish spirit and nature’, could ‘denationalize’ Irish people. Fearing that their young countrymen were ‘beginning to lose [their] identity as Irishmen and becoming merged as mere pawns or units in the all-absorbing British Empire’, the Christian Brothers set out to counteract the youths’ loss of identity by recovering the powerful stories at the heart of Irish culture, because these ‘will not only stop the process of disintegration, but [...] will regenerate, re-vivify, and restore all that is good, noble, pure, and godlike in the character of the Celt’.⁵¹

As part of this crusade, from September 1914 to June 1918, *Our Boys* featured the page *Is Binn I Teanga na n-Gaodhal*. The page comprised general articles about Irish mythology or retellings of ancient *remscéla* like ‘Meabh agus Tarbh Donn Chailnge’, which tells of the war over the possession of the brown bull of Cooley.⁵² In the same period, the periodical also featured M.T. Pender’s serial *The Story of Cuchulainn. The Boy-Hero of Ancient Ireland*, which offered a romanticized vision of ancient Ireland and its legendary hero Cuchulainn. In Pender’s rendition, the original accounts are stretched into the shapes required by the Christian Brothers’ political agenda, who wanted their Cuchulainn to be a model exemplum of chivalric behaviour, who is never caught in morally debasing situations. Here, the reader does not encounter episodes of unjustified violence or battle-frenzy in which Cuchulainn is incapable of controlling his instincts,⁵³ for these are replaced with stories that emphasize the boy-hero’s respect for the chivalric code: take for instance the account of the aftermath of the duel between Cuchulainn and Ferdiad the Firbolg, when they both ‘championed the cause of their respective nations’ proving ‘all their battle-bravery’. In Pender’s account, ‘every remedy that was applied to Cuchulainn, he sent an equal share to Ferdiad’, who, on his side, ‘would not be outdone in courtesy and generosity’. It is an image of fairness reiterated at the visual level by the picture accompanying the story, which depicts the two heroes shaking hands after the first day of combat (Fig. 4).⁵⁴

That the ancient cycles of myths were amenable to the purposes of propaganda is apparent in the refashioning of their heroes, but also in their use as narrative stratagems to offer to readers an image of prelapsarian Ireland, which not only existed in the legendary realm of the *Fianna* or Cuchulainn, where gods roam among humans.⁵⁵ In nationalist narratives, pre-conquest Ireland too was reconfigured as an idyllic *locus amoenus*. In *Young Ireland*, the ancient Ireland of ‘a few odd thousand years ago’ was said to have reached a ‘stage of civilization’ still unattained by twentieth-century England. There, ‘women were given the same rights, privileges and political dignities as men’, and

50 Ibid.

51 Irish Christian Brothers, ‘Plea for the Teaching of Irish History’, in *Educational Record* (Dublin: Eason, 1916), pp. 110–11.

52 *Remscéla* are fore-tales that provide background on the origins and vicissitudes of the mythological characters of the main tales.

53 See *Standish O’Grady’s Cúchulainn: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Gregory Castle and Patrick Bixby (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2016).

54 M.T. Pender, *The Story of Cuchulainn. The Boy-Hero of Ancient Ireland*, *Our Boys*, 3.6 (February 1917), 175.

55 Thomas A. Cavano, ‘Elesin, Cuchulain, and the Kingdom: The Culture Hero’s Sacrifice’, *Modern Drama*, 45.3 (2002), 409–29 (p. 409).



Fig. 4 Illustration from *Our Boys* depicting Cuchulainn and Ferdiad shaking hands. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

the arts and industries flourished.⁵⁶ *St. Enda's* likewise sang the glories of pre-Anglicized Ireland, which was 'a land of heroes' and 'mighty men of martial mould' as well as a 'country of organized industry'.⁵⁷

As can be gathered from these excerpts, the image of a quasi-Golden Age Ireland was deployed to prove that Ireland's destiny was not necessarily one of subjugation: the island prospered before the conquest and could do so again, provided that the younger generations committed themselves to restore the country to its past splendours. As Joep Leerssen puts it, in these opinion articles, 'Ireland is couched in terms of what used to be' and 'what must become'.⁵⁸

The very same message was reintroduced through fictional accounts which added up to this grand narrative of Irishness and celebration of Gaelic Ireland. In *Young Ireland*, the nationalist search for roots and rediscovery of the past translated into a group of serials featuring the 'time-slip' device, whereby the protagonists slip back in time or are visited by characters from their own national (mythologized) past.⁵⁹ For his weekly, editor Aodh de Blacam wrote the successful *The Druid's Cave*, *Twice-Told Tales*, and *Tales of the Gaels*, in which characters of today's Ireland are catapulted into the Gaelic or Early Modern nation: in the first serial, for instance, readers can 'visit' the glorious reign of Conall Mór, 'the most northerly chieftain of the Gaels'. His is a prosperous kingdom, still unthreatened by the British, as hinted by the continuous references to

56 Maire Nic Chearbhaill, 'Cailin's Column', *Young Ireland*, 1.1 (21 April 1917), 7.

57 Neasa, 'Neasa's Nook', *St. Enda's* (July 1918), 77.

58 Leerssen, *Remembrance*, p. 226.

59 See Tess Cosslett, 'History from Below': Time-Slip Narratives and National Identity', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 26.2 (2002), 243–53 (p. 243).

its pristine landscape, punctuated with 'black wavy boglands and stubbly vegetation'.⁶⁰ This society is also described as a culturally advanced one, where the arts, especially music and story-telling, flourished: indeed, such historical re-enactments were geared to giving readers idealized images of how Ireland was, to help them re-discover a sense of territorial belonging by connecting to their real roots and taking pride in them. Nonetheless, these images were associated also with a desire for change, as readers were invited to focus on the similarities and divergences between the fictionalized world of Conall Mór and their reality to try to avoid the repetition of past mistakes, while retaining the positive aspects such as the commitment to one's nation. After all, not even Conall Mór's kingdom is a perfect utopia because 'the savage Fomorian are threatening Dun-na-Gael', and the Gaels must fight them also at the cost of their life.⁶¹

Through *The Druid's Cave* and the other two serials that follow similar narrative patterns, de Blacam establishes a connection between the fictionalized Ireland of the past and that of his readers, through the parallel themes of a threatened nation, the duty to fight for freedom, and the possibility of self-sacrifice. This is particularly apparent in the retelling of Captain Red Hugh O'Donnell's legend. Legend has it that O'Donnell, one of the last Gaelic lords of Ireland, 'had seen undreamed-of adventures' because for three centuries he had been sailing on a ghost-like ship off the Irish coasts waiting to be called again by Irish people to fight the English and free Ireland for good.⁶² De Blacam introduces here the theme of the importance of human agency, because his story takes as its most fundamental basis the notion that human actions may be impactful enough to result in dramatically different histories.⁶³ O'Donnell is waiting for the younger generations to demand his help, to fight on his side, so that Ireland could finally achieve independence. The goal of the periodicals is thus clearly expressed: the magazines sought to spur their readers to action by taking on their shoulders, and carrying out, the mission of Conall Mór and O'Donnell.

This had been also the mission of Ireland's historical insurgents, such as Wolfe Tone or Robert Emmet. Therefore, in juvenile magazines, selected narratives played the crucial role of familiarizing the young also with the glories and sacrifices of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rebels: people 'exchange stories of the heroes that are gone' so that 'the memory of the dead is recalled and allegiance to their cause renewed' and 'wise measures for the future' are devised.⁶⁴ Again, the act of narration emerges as simultaneously retrospective and forward-looking, animated by a dialectical tension between past and future, for the narrated past was expected to move the young to shape the destiny of Ireland in new directions.

Through fictional and non-fictional pieces, the magazines inserted Irish history in a coherent narrative of struggle and resistance, 'of fearless fighting for God and country',⁶⁵ which stretched from the fabled times of Cuchulainn to the feats of the Easter Rising rebels for whom 'a NATION shall be overthrown', moving through 'Clontarf

60 These are not trivial details because British expansion in Ireland affected Irish landscape: bogs were often redeemed, and deforestation brought on. Thus, the author often proposed images of a pristine landscape, an example of which being the description of the Connacht mountains at the times of Cormac Mac Airt: 'the richly-wooded country looked as beautiful as the Promised Land must have looked to Moses when he saw it from Mount Hermon, fold after fold of hill and sunny valley'. Aodh de Blacam, 'Tales of the Gael', *Young Ireland*, 1.12 (7 July 1917), 5–6. For Irish literature and landscape see Gerry Smyth, *Space and the Irish Cultural Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

61 Aodh de Blacam, 'The Druid's Cave', *Young Ireland*, 1.7 (2 June 1917), 1.

62 Aodh de Blacam, 'Tales of the Gaels', *Young Ireland*, 1.7 (2 June 1917), 5.

63 Karen Hellekson, *The Alternate History: Refiguring Historical Time* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001), p. 57.

64 Shanachie, 'The Times We Live In', *Young Ireland*, 1.15 (28 July 1917), 8.

65 Reverend W.T. Lockington, 'The Heart of Ireland', *Our Boys* (December 1916), 92. James Quinn, *Young Ireland and the Writing of Irish History* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2015), pp. 5–6.

and Bachelors' Walk'.⁶⁶ Ian McBride convincingly argues that the narration of the noble words and actions of Irish past insurgents helped foster a sense of self-regard in young minds, while constituting a powerful source of inspiration.⁶⁷ The histories of the rebellious Robert Emmet and Patrick Pearse were indeed retold bearing this in mind: their deaths became 'inspiring'⁶⁸ sacrifices which could hopefully prompt emulation among future generations, because their original mission was yet to be fulfilled.

The boys and girls of Ireland, 'her youngest soldiers',⁶⁹ were expected to carry out the tasks earlier shouldered by Emmet and fellow rebels, and this was stated in no ambiguous words. The readers of *Fianna* were told that 'Robert Emmet died for the vision of Ireland free. He died a martyr and a patriot for the country he loved' and for this reason, they were spurred to prepare themselves: 'this, then is what Robert Emmet tells us, the Fianna, train yourselves to work for Ireland'.⁷⁰

The Golden Future of Ireland

As this essay has tried to show, at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Irish nationalists believed that it was up to the youth 'to make golden the future' of Ireland. The younger generations were entrusted with building new Irelands first imagined and narrated in periodicals, whose imaginings envisioned a new nation that was clearly distinct from England yet sufficiently forward-looking and self-reliant for inclusion in the modern world. These imaginings were also deeply informed by a sense of layered time, for the past was not presented as gone for good and modernity did not fully replace tradition.⁷¹ Future Ireland would find its roots in the past and draw energies and strength from the nation's cultural heritage: the knowledge of the glories and sacrifices of previous times was crucial in creating and maintaining those bonds of obligation and solidarity at the core of the new nationally based community. As prophesized by Saint Columba in the early Christian days, the Irish 'will recover once more their lands, their ancient laws and their old habits and customs'.⁷²

A comparable interweaving of past, present, and future characterizes also the aspirational identity for Irish youths, which the periodicals tried to mould through an interplay of narrative, pictures, and other text-types. Again, the stories on the legendary Cuchulainn or Red Hugh O'Donnell were geared to making readers feel heirs to a great tradition: the past was not merely passed by. Even though the past does not progress into the present but coexists with the other temporalities, these narratives and imaginings accommodate visions of progress and success, for they were underpinned by 'the nationalist teleology of inevitable independence from "English" rule' and pointed to the community's eventual realization as an independent nation.⁷³

It was time to 'Lift up your hearts, for Freedom's sun / Shall rise in Majesty, And Erin shine bright as of old / Triumphant, glorious, free!'.⁷⁴ The contributors to the periodicals were confident in the abilities of the young and that freedom would

66 'Treason', *Fianna* 1.1 (February 1915), 10.

67 Ian MacBride, *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 36.

68 Neasa, 'Neasa's Nook', *Fianna*, 2.3 (October 1915), 2.

69 'To Mother Erin', *Our Boys*, 3.6 (February 1917), 171.

70 'Robert Emmet', *Fianna*, 1.2 (March 1915), 5.

71 David Lloyd, *Irish Times. Temporalities of Modernity* (Dublin: Field Day Publications in association with the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame, 2008).

72 'Prophecy about Ireland', *Our Boys*, 3.10 (June 1917), 243.

73 Qtd. in Mark McCarthy, *Ireland's Heritages: Critical Perspectives on Memory and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 6. Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind. A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict 1780-1980* (Winchester: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 13-14.

74 Lis Mor, 'Irish Marching Song', *Our Boys*, 1.1 (September 1914), 24.

finally be delivered, for the promise for political and cultural renewal was written in the promissory, redemptive words and deeds of all the fallen rebels. In the words of *Our Boys*:

A cause with such a record cannot fail; the best faculties of our race have been expended in its service; the best blood of our people has been shed on its behalf; men have served the cause who have made the prison cell a shrine of fame and the scaffold a place of honour. The cause of our national independence is a grand and ancient cause – genius has glorified it; sacrifice has perpetuated it; death has sanctified it.⁷⁵

Elena Ogliari is a Postdoctoral Fellow in Cultural Studies at the University of Eastern Piedmont, Vercelli. She holds a PhD in Literary and Cultural Studies from the University of Milan, where she pursued research interests in Irish print culture of the early twentieth century. In 2020, she was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship by the Fondazione Fratelli Confalonieri, thanks to which she has been working on a project on the popular responses to the Great War and the Irish War of Independence in the media.

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75 'Thomas Sexton on Ireland', *Our Boys*, 3.8 (April 1917), 221.

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