Introduction
Hannah Lynch and Spain

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1 Hannah Lynch, a Transnational Literary Career

The life of Hannah Lynch (1859-1904), a talented writer and activist from an early age, reveals a lifelong political commitment and a passion for languages and literatures.[1] She was born in Dublin on 25 March 1859. Her mother, Anna Theresa Calderwood, believed to be of Presbyterian descent, belonged to a family who had acquired property in Dublin. Her Catholic father, Michael Lynch, who became a successful shopkeeper, merchant, and property holder, died before her birth. Soon after, in 1860, her mother married a former admirer, the Fenian James Cantwell, who came to run the Star and Garter Hotel in Dublin (Gibbs 1904; Stephenson 1938, 60), owned by the Calderwood family. Lynch spent part of her childhood with her sisters (Anna [Nannie], Mary and Virginia) together with a number of stepsisters in what appears to have been a stimulating atmosphere where books as well as political and intellectual discussion were not uncommon (Tynan 1913,

1 Overviews of Lynch's life and career to date are Binckes (2000) and Clarke (2009). More recently the Orlando Project has been building on the entry devoted to Hannah Lynch (Brown, Clements, Grundy 2006-18): `http://orlando.cambridge.org/public/svPeople?person_id=lyncha`. Biographical information provided in what follows also draws on data facilitated by Michael Counahan. Henceforth, any reference to this material will be attributed to the Counahan/Cantwell/Lynch Family History (CCLFH). Faith Binckes and Kathryn Laing are currently working on *Hannah Lynch (1859-1904): Irish Writer, Cosmopolitan, New Woman* (Cork UP, forthcoming in 2019).

76-8). However, Lynch's early cultural environment gave way to a period of education abroad. She was sent to a convent school in France, which began a lifelong attachment to the country, and to another in England.[2] As Irish writer and friend Mabel Robinson recorded, the instruction acquired there would help her to achieve a livelihood: initially, working at the age of sixteen as the "subeditor" of an Irish provincial newspaper (Robinson in Murphy 2011, 251). Subsequently, she was employed as a governess in Ireland and later in affluent households abroad. According to Gibbs (1904), "a long stay in Barcelona and a natural aptitude for languages" enabled her to learn Spanish. A thirst for knowledge and a further talent also led her to consider the possibility of a career as a concert pianist, taking tuition in London with George Landsdowne Cottell;[3] the study of medicine at a women's college in the United States was also contemplated.

Having spent some time in continental Europe, Lynch returned to Ireland in her twenties. Between 1881 and 1882 she cooperated with Anna Parnell in the Ladies' Land League, coming to serve as Secretary to the London Branch. When the editors of *United Ireland* were imprisoned, she took control of printing materials and the distribution of the newspaper. Dodging the government's prohibition, she managed to publish it in several cities, including Paris.[4] Her tenacious character was notorious among her contemporaries and won her criticism. Not only did she spend some time in prison but also had to tolerate oblique accusations naming her as coadjutor in the Phoenix Park assassinations.[5] The arduous political struggle of the Ladies' Land League, finally dissolved by Charles Stewart Parnell in August of 1882, took its toll on Lynch, who went to convalesce in Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight (Gibbs 1904). Once recovered, she temporarily took up residence in Paris, affording herself a cosmopolitan environment and time to acquire knowledge of contemporary French writing in situ. The networks established would lead to her publishing articles in the periodical press in both Ireland and England.

2 For Lynch's relationship with France, see Binckes and Laing (2011b). For her schooling in an English convent, see Binckes and Laing (2012). *Autobiography of a Child* (Lynch 1899) narrates the experience of an Irish girl, Angela, in an English convent.

3 George Landsdowne Cottell (1835-1909), Professor at the Royal Academy of Music.

4 As Adrian Mulligan claims, the newspaper "moved from London to Liverpool to Glasgow to Manchester to Paris, each time successfully staying one step ahead of the pursuing authorities" (Mulligan 2009, 172). In her memoir *The Tale of a Great Sham*, Anna Parnell (in Hearne 1986, 123) explains how the Dublin newspaper boys "used to hide it under their uniform of rags".

5 On 6 May 1882, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke, were murdered. Susan K. Kent (1999, 244) notes that Charles S. Parnell held the Lady Land Leaguers partly responsible. The anonymous author ("A Correspondent") of the article "The Fenian Conspiracy" overtly accused Lynch of being involved in the assassinations. See *John Bull*, 10 July 1886, 446.

Lynch left Paris to spend a sojourn in Greece. Two early articles and two novels document her time there. Her first two works of fiction were published in 1885: *Through Troubled Waters* caused a stir in nationalist circles on account of the negative depiction of the west of Ireland; "Defeated", issued in *Beeton's Christmas Annual*, criticized the English attitude to the land question. The texts highlight injustices in Irish patriarchal society and politics as well as providing authorial comment on class. After a visit to Ireland in 1887, Lynch returned to Paris, where she settled in the 1890s. Over the course of the decade she frequented the company of distinguished French intellectuals and attended literary salons, among them that of Arvède Barine (née Louise-Cécile Bouffé), which "informed and enabled Lynch's literary career" (Binckes, Laing 2011b, 159). Her apartment at 60 Avenue de Breteuil, a property belonging to the congregation of Our Lady of Sion, would become her permanent place of residence. The Parisian networks that Lynch frequented afforded the possibility of publishing in French, a necessary step towards supporting herself. From the French capital, she also acted as correspondent for the London *Academy*, producing a weekly *Paris Letter* between 1896 and 1903.

Without a doubt, the 1890s represent Lynch's most prolific decade as writer. She wrote at what appears to have been a frantic pace, cultivating different genres and taking opportunities to make trips abroad. In 1891 she published *George Meredith: a Study*, a critical monograph of a writer she held in high esteem, as well as *The Prince of the Glades*, a novel of Franco-Irish content, loosely based on the Fenian rising of 1867 and dedicated to Anna Parnell. These volumes were followed in 1892 by *Rosni Harvey* and *Daughters of Men*, novels with notable female characters in which Lynch drew extensively on her Greek experience. She travelled to Spain and the Canary Islands in 1892 and in the mid-1890s was in London delivering lectures on an Irish connection with Spain.[6] These journeys provided her with compelling materials for travel pieces, many of them devoted to Spain. She also extended her literary output to include translation. From the French, she translated François T. Perrens's substantial *History of Florence under the Domination of Cosimo, Piero, Lorenzo de Medicis, 1434-1492* (1892) to be followed by two plays, the work of the Spanish dramatist José Echegaray, *The Great Galeoto and Folly or Saintliness* (1895). The overwhelming workload affected Lynch's health: 1895 found her recovering from writer's cramp at a hospital in the English seaside town of Margate. As friend and writer Mabel Robinson and publisher William Blackwood would come to aver in 1903, her writing did

6 FJ, 26 March 1895, 4, reports on Lynch's lecture "Irish Men in the Service of Spain", delivered to the Irish Literary Society. *The Flag of Ireland* (23 March 1895, 7) reported that Hannah Lynch would be lecturing on "Irish Commanders in Spain" in the Caledonian Hotel, Adelphi Terrace.

not always provide a livelihood. An application to the Royal Literary Fund in 1895 yielded a grant of £25, to be followed by another of £150 in 1903 (Murphy 2011, 251, 252).

The two works of fiction that Lynch published after her recovery came out in 1896. *Dr. Vermont's Fantasy*, a collection of six short stories involving French models, was followed by *Denys d'Auvrillac*, a novel focusing on an honest man who must choose between a fallen wife and an irresistible New Woman. Lynch explored the impact of the New Woman in two novels, both of which appeared in 1897. *An Odd Experiment* poses an ethical and shocking dilemma for Victorian readers by presenting an emancipated wife who invites her husband's mistress to share the family home. *Jinny Blake*, partly set in Spain, follows the choices of a temperamental young woman who must decide between a stereotypical Spanish lover and a less romantic yet sensitive American suitor. The novel was well received, and illustrated Lynch's skill in handling "exotic" Spanish elements. During 1897, the author had spent a period in Toledo gathering information for a monograph, part history, part travelogue. *Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital* appeared the following year.

Lynch, largely living alone and often suffering from poor health and financial difficulties, continued writing energetically during the latter years of her life. At the turn of the century, she published what has been deemed her best work, *Autobiography of a Child* (1899), the story of an unhappy childhood. The young Irish protagonist, Angela, is sent to a convent school in England where she experiences abuse at the hands of some members of the order. Several episodes were depicted so vividly that they caused outrage. The novel *Clare Monro* (1900) followed, tracing a close mother-daughter relationship which becomes tragic. Here Lynch drew on rural Yorkshire and cosmopolitan Venice as her setting. In her last book, *French Life in Town and Country* (1901), Lynch returned once again to France, both to analyse the organisation and mores of her adoptive country and to pass judgement, as Frances Clarke contends, on "the emerging Irish bourgeoisie" (2009, 625). Shortly before her death, Lynch received a generous grant from the Royal Literary Fund, which she may have meant to use for "the novel she was finishing literally whilst dying" (Low 1904, 6).[7] Her final literary project remained incomplete. She died of intestinal cancer in Paris on 10 January 1904.[8] Four days later a high mass was held at midday at

7 See also the letter from F. Mabel Robinson to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, dated in Paris on 8 April 1903 (Royal Literary Fund [RLF], "Miss Hannah Lynch". Loan 96 RLF 1/2452: 5 February 1895-11 December 1903).

8 Lynch was treated at the Hôpital Beaujon, 208 Rue du Faubourg, Saint Honoré. According to the death certificate, signed by Joseph Sansboeuf and held in the Archives de Paris, she died at 1:00 am, that is, in the early hours of 11 Jan. 1904. Her death, glossed in France as the loss of a "jeune romancière irlandaise", was announced in the following local newspapers: *Le Rap-*

Saint Philippe du Roule, attended by friends and admirers, to be followed by her burial at the Pierre Grenier Cemetery, Boulogne-Billancourt. Her only heir was her sister Nannie, still resident in Barcelona.[9]

Notwithstanding the dates of publication, Lynch's journalistic pieces and other texts on Spain are not always helpful in establishing a precise chronology of events, a fact aggravated by the apparent scarcity of manuscripts and letters. It has been impossible to determine, for instance, whether she worked as governess or tutor and for how long. Her first journalistic piece, "On Board a Spanish Steamer" (1892), dealt with her voyage en route to the Canary Islands and her two articles in 1896 focusing on the islands suggest that she was there on a number of occasions: "I have lived the four seasons on these islands" (ICI/2, 834). In "Alfonso XIII" (1900), Lynch explains that while in the Basque Country, she heard an anecdote about the young prince "about six or seven years ago" (A, 175), which would place her there around 1893-94. The first-hand knowledge of political events in Catalonia, displayed in the article "Rebel Catalonia" (1902), suggests that she had frequently visited the territory and in "Montserrat" (1897) she notes that she had "watched these monstrous stone giants, above, below, in all views and lights" (M, 9). Binckes and Laing claim that she was in Barcelona on several occasions visiting her sister Nannie, employed as a governess by a family of aristocratic standing.[10] In spite of the lacunae in her biography, a few dates do support her whereabouts: for instance, in "A Spanish 'Master' at Home" (1895), Lynch gives an account of the surprise visit she paid the novelist Pereda in Santander that year. Likewise there is evidence that in 1897 she spent a few weeks in Toledo with a view to collecting material for her book on the city. These facts, together with her

pel, 14 Jan. 1904, 3; *Le Temps*, 13 Jan. 1904, 3; *Le Figaro*, 13 Jan. 1904, 6. For contemporary documents or obituaries published shortly after Lynch's death, see Gibbs 1904; Low 1904; Tynan 1913; "Personals", *The Irish World And American Industrial Liberator*, 27 Feb. 1904, 5; "Notes on Books and Authors. The death of a talented writer", *Springfield Republican*, 26 Feb. 1904, 11; "Literary Notes", *New York Tribune*, 31 Jan. 1904, 12; "Miss Hannah Lynch", *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic*, 5 March 1904, 4.

9 Nannie, who had travelled to Paris to be with her sister, purchased two burial plots in the Pierre Grenier cemetery on 12 January 1904. See Boulogne-Billancourt, Archives Municipales, "Concessions de Terrain dans le Cimetière Communal […] presenté par Mlle. Anna Lynch", 12 Jan. 1904. Lynch left Nannie a total of 5,315,15 French francs. Her estate comprised three sections, detailing the following amounts: a bank account at the Crédit Lyonnais with 1,235 francs; another account in the same bank with 64 Hungarian florins amounting to 4,020 francs; and personal belongings, worth 60 francs, described in the death certificate as lingerie and rags or old clothes ("linges et hardes"). The presence of Hungarian currency in Lynch's bank account is intriguing and may point to Irish-Hungarian connections. *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland*, by Sinn Féin-founder Arthur Griffith, would be published the year of Lynch's death. See Paris, Archives de Paris, Charles Auguste Kennerley Hall, "Succession de Mlle. Hannah Lynch", 13 May 1904.

10 Email correspondence, 13 May 2015

allusion to "my early visits to Spain" (SH, 359) in "The Spaniard at Home" (1898), allow an albeit sketchy chronology of her comings and goings, approximately spanning from the late 1880s or early 1890s into the first years of the twentieth century.

Lynch's journalistic pieces reveal a broad, first-hand knowledge of the country, manifest in references to or descriptions of places such as Bilbao, Santander, La Coruña, Gijón, Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, Córdoba, Seville or Cádiz. In such articles as "Along the Spanish Highways", "Montserrat", "Around Tarragona" or "An Unnoted Corner of Spain", Lynch informs her readers whilst recommending itineraries and sometimes even providing estimated travel times and alternative modes of transportation. Paradoxically, two places appear to be significantly absent from her exploring, outstanding in that they have traditionally occupied a markedly visible position in foreign travel writing on Spain: the capital, Madrid, and the Andalusian town of Granada. Both are barely mentioned though on certain occasions a point is made which expresses aversion towards the Spanish capital.[11] Lynch's articles tend to render a romanticized image of the country and seek out the unusual or less travelled pathways, perhaps in an attempt to provide originality within what was already a hackneyed market. In other cases, her pursuit would compel her not to offer travel pieces but strictly literary contributions, most probably written upon request. This is true of "Pereda, the Spanish Novelist" and "José Echegaray", which constitute introductions to the two contemporary Spanish writers, aimed at informing British readers. Commissions apart, Lynch's journalism on Spain shows a rich intersection of discourses on race, class, gender and nation stemming from her own position as an independent, Irish New Woman attempting to make a living at home and abroad by her pen. Her representation of Spain is troubled; France and French culture, hailed as progressive on a number of fronts, appear to have coloured her approach to Spain, repeatedly assessed as less civilised. Nevertheless, judging from the articles, the lure of the country's history, peoples and landscapes took her back on a number of occasions. Her views reflect an ambivalent rapport with Spanish society, often evoking realities reminiscent of the Catholic country of her birth. It may be said that by passing judgment on Spain, she commented on Irish issues.

Lynch's texts display a broad range of social interaction. Bearing in mind the many gaps in Lynch's biography to date, it is difficult to ascertain whether she gained access to the upper echelons of Spanish society during her travels and sojourns in the country, while she was working there, or both. Like the main character in Kate O'Brien's novel *Mary Lavelle* (1936) and Maura Laverty's *No More than Human* (1944), Hannah and Nannie

11 See, for instance, "Rebel Catalonia" and the opening of *Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital*.

Lynch were variously employed as tutors or governesses in affluent households. The experience offered them – as is the case of the secondary character, Nannie, in *Jinny Blake* – the possibility of making the acquaintance of families in higher circles. Two manuscript sources, in particular, help us to hypothesize as to what kind of Spaniards she may have been in contact with. One, a letter dated April 1895, sent by Lynch from 6 Plaza del Rey in Madrid. The other is a postcard dated 20 May 1901, sent from 17 Plaza Urquinaona, in Barcelona, on which Lynch explains that she plans to be in Spain until mid-June and will then be going to Majorca for a fortnight. The consultation of deeds at the Property Registration Offices in both Madrid and Barcelona reveals that the two addresses linked to Lynch, notwithstanding variations in today's street numbering, belonged to two influential aristocratic families.[12] The mansion in Madrid was the property of José de Murga y Reolid (1833-1902), 1st Marquis of Linares and 1st Viscount of Llanteno, then one of Spain's wealthiest men. The palace in Barcelona was the home of Joaquín de Sentmenat y Patiño (1863-1924), the 7th Marquis of Sentmenat. Neither of these properties exists today. Lynch's connection to Barcelona would appear to have become the stronger of the two. Joaquín de Sentmenat was married to Joaquina de Sarriera y Villalonga, who bore him three children: José María, Joaquín and María de las Mercedes. His forebear, Francisco de Sentmenat y Despujol (1829-92), the 6th Marquis, had married Inés Patiño y Osorio, mother to four: María de las Mercedes, María del Pilar, Joaquín and María. The presence of the Sentmenat family, whose identity as such Lynch never reveals, may be detected through references to names, places and aristocratic titles mentioned in the articles.[13] The forenames Inés, Joaquín or Mercedes, common in the Sentmenat family, are cases in point. Moreover, Lynch's death certificate reveals that in 1904 her sister Nannie was still resident in the Sentmenat property in Barcelona.

2 Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland: People, Poverty, Politics

Hannah Lynch was born in a country plunged into poverty following the famine of the1840s, and into the consequences it bore: a population decimated by disease, death and emigration. By the year of her birth, Ireland had been part of the Union of Great Britain for more than half a century but the products of England's manufacturing boom, as exhibited in London's Great

12 Kathryn Laing and Faith Binckes facilitated information about these two manuscript sources (email correspondence, 13 May 2015). Information on the above-mentioned properties was obtained from Registro 28 de la Propiedad de Madrid and Registre 1 de la Propietat de Barcelona.

13 The Sentmenat family appear not to possess documents related to the Lynch sisters (telephone conversation with Joaquín Sagnier de Sentmenat, 9th Marquis of Sentmenat, and his wife, 14 July 2017).

Exhibition of 1851, had brought few benefits to the rural, Catholic majority; nor did they increase following the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853. Ten years on, the *Freeman's Journal* was reporting a situation of dire straits in the west of the country: "The holders of four, six, eight or ten acres are heavily in debt […] and have no means whatsoever of clearing their liabilities" (in Bew 2009, 249). By contrast, Belfast came to prosper in the 1860s, the population growing from 121,602 to 174,412 with the linen industry and shipbuilding providing employment (Bew 2009, 263). As for the hopeless circumstances of those attempting to eke out a living from the land, some saw the solution to lie in "agrarian radical objectives" (249).

Lynch's stepfather, James Cantwell, was militant in the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood or Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Founded by James Stephens in 1858, the IRB was a society sworn to secrecy and sought to make Ireland into an independent republic in which peasants would be the owners of the land. The American-based Fenian Brotherhood was founded the following year, the Fenian in its title evoking the *Fianna* (warriors) of Irish myth and coming to be used to refer to members of the two organisations. It recognised Stephens's exercising "total control" (Bew 2009, 246) over both and was committed to providing funds for the struggle, one which took on the use of physical force with a view to obtaining its aims. The movement was not aided by the opposition of the Catholic Church hierarchy, already alarmed by the revolutions in Europe in 1848, as well as the Young Ireland rebellion, closer to home.[14] Moreover, the Brotherhood's commitment to secrecy challenged the supremacy of the Church's authority.[15] Thus, in 1864, Pope Pius IX railed against what he envisaged as "the principal evils of the age – Socialism, Liberalism, Freemasonry, secret societies of various kinds and especially those which were anti-clerical in intent" (Lyons 1985, 129), coming to express a condemnation of Fenianism in 1870. An attempted insurrection in 1867 had failed owing to disorganisation and disagreement in the ranks[16] so that, according to Lyons: "By 1870, […] the immediate crisis of Fenianism was past and the people were beginning to turn to the new Home Rule movement and to look for redress of grievances by constitutional means" (Lyons 1985, 132). Richard Vincent Comerford (2010, xlviii) maintains that the Brotherhood "endured as the standard-bearer of the alternative, if discredited, nation-

14 Lynch's stepfather was a Young Irelander. Following the failure of the 1848 rising, he was charged with "treasonable practices" but took refuge across the Atlantic, in Pennsylvania (CCLFH).

15 However, as Lyons (1985, 130-1) points out, the Church was not monolithic in its response to the Fenian challenge.

16 For further details of what he qualifies, not without irony, as the "grand, climactic event", see Lyons 1985, 126-7.

alist policy of armed insurrection". However, the 1880s would witness an alliance between these unlikely bedfellows.

Isaac Butt, politician, writer, lawyer and sometime professor of political economy at Trinity College Dublin, founded the Home Government Association in 1870, which became the Home Rule League in 1873. In the general election of 1874, fifty Home Rulers were elected, which brought into being the Irish Parliamentary Party or Home Rule Party. This was the election lost by the Liberal Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, whose unsuccessful Land Act of 1870 sought to protect Irish tenant farmers from eviction. However, he was to lead the Liberals back into power for three further terms (1880; 1886; 1892-94), the latter two periods being particularly taken up with his crusade for home rule in Ireland. What has been described as Butt's "mild-mannered leadership" within the Home Rule Confederation led to his losing ground to the Protestant landlord Charles Stewart Parnell, who employed "more aggressive and militant tactics" (O'Hara 2001, 288) and was elected president of the Confederation in 1877, becoming chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1880.[17] The "powerful charismatic" (Bew 2009, 302) Parnell had become president of the National Land League the year before.[18] Founded by the separatist activist Michael Davitt, alongside Parnell, with a view to addressing the land question, the League sought "the reduction of rack-rents and the transfer of the ownership of the land to a peasant proprietary" (McCartney and Lowe 2001, 463). Agitation led to a fall in the number of evictions by the end of 1880 but Parnell "was not able to set the limits of popular agitation: his advocacy of the boycott and other forms of social ostracism did not satisfy his most militant supporters" (Bew 2009, 322). The British authorities considered the land movement to be out of control, which led to Parnell and the Land League executive being accused of "seditious conspiracy" (Bew 2009, 323) in November 1880 and sent to trial in December. However, the jury failed to agree on a verdict and the case was dismissed. In the following year, a second Land Act was passed but proved to be "a disappointment" (Lyons 1985, 146). Parnell maintained the land agitation, thereby risking imprisonment and sacrificing the support of less radical sectors in Ireland, yet, as Bew has observed, "refusal to maintain the agitation would have alienated Irish-American feeling and the radical wing of the Land League" (2009, 329). His mother and two sisters, Fanny and Anna, had been working for the Fenian cause in the United States and Parnell looked to lending support in Ireland by attending a number of Land League demonstrations expressing opposition to the Act, which led to his

17 Bew (2009, 308) provides further information on Butt's decline in the 1870s.

18 For a more critical, contemporary, assessment of Parnell's personality, one which provides insight into what the Ladies had to deal with, see Bryce in Bew 2009, 305-6.

arrest and imprisonment in Kilmainham Jail on 13 October 1881. By this time the Ladies' Land League had come into being.

On 1 January 1881, the Dublin *Nation* published a letter from Fanny Parnell appealing to the women of Ireland to set up a Ladies' Land League, such as had been established in New York and was presided over by Anna and Fanny's mother, Delia. Fanny was disheartened by the lack of response but her "cooler, more analytical" (Ward [1989] 1995, 13), younger sister, Anna, took on the role of organising secretary of the Ladies' Land League (Ireland), following Michael Davitt's persuading other leaders to agree to a women's organisation. In the chapter devoted to the Ladies' Land League in *The Tale of a Great Sham*, Anna asserted:

> I cannot tell what reasons or motives led to […] creat[ing] a female branch of the League, […] the only notification I ever had of it, beforehand, was in a letter from the President of the Land League informing me of the decision and asking me to take charge of the new body's office in Dublin. That the women might carry on the work after the men were imprisoned was the only reason given in that letter, and was the only one I ever heard. (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 88)

The "President" was her brother, Charles, towards whom she retained neither loyalty nor respect in the wake of the role she was led to occupy, indeed, she appears not to have addressed him following the *débâcle* in 1882 up until her death in 1911. In the same chapter, she soon makes clear that the task was found to be distinct from what she had been given to understand: "instead of carrying on the work the Land League had done, the Ladies had to undo, or try to undo, the greater part of it, and to substitute something very different and almost its exact opposite" (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 88). She registers her disillusionment, her profound sense of deception (thus the oxymoronic title), and her regret that she had consented to collaboration:

> Some things that I noticed from time to time made me uneasy, but my nearest approach to a perception of the truth lay in an uncomfortable feeling that the Land League did not seem to be making adequate preparations for a successful resistance to rent. […] It never occurred to me that the reason why they were not making preparations for doing a certain thing was simply that they did not intend to do it. If the faintest suspicion of this fact had crossed my mind, I would have had nothing to say to the Land League, first or last. (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 89)

Certainly, from the outset, the experience appears to have been a disconcerting one for the women, among them Hannah Lynch, as Anna further informs: "The resolution requesting the women of Ireland to form a Land

League was passed unanimously … and the first thing that happened to the women who complied with the request was to find themselves condemned wholesale for having done so by members of the Land League executive" (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 89). Among the executive members was, of course, her brother. Thus, the sense of disappointment with Irish menfolk within the Land League and Irishmen, more widely, repeatedly registered by Anna in her text (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 131, 164, 173). In the light of her experience of the Land League, her conclusion is a negative one, based on what she currently perceives to be "the character of Irishmen" but it is also revealing of her awareness of women's powerlessness within the patriarchal status quo:

> the character of Irishmen is at present incompatible with any great change for the better in Ireland. […] I say 'Irishmen', because, whatever the relative values of men and women may be, it is certain that the former cannot be done without, when it is a question of altering the status of a country. If the men of that country have made up their minds it shall not be done, the women cannot bring it about. (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 173)

Nevertheless, in spite of numerous difficulties, of both a material and ideological nature (Foster 1979, 264-82; Ward [1989] 1995, 21-31), the women worked vigorously, as men whom Maud Gonne met in Ireland in 1888 noted. Gonne recalls Fenian John O'Leary declaring: "They may not have been right, but they were suppressed because they were honester [*sic*] and more sincere than the men" (Ward [1995] 2001, 4). Member of Parliament Pat O'Brien, imprisoned with Parnell, agreed with Gonne that the women had done "splendid work", qualifying them as "great", and another, Tim Harrington, found "[t]hey did too [*sic*] good work" whilst highlighting a revealing bone of contention with regard to sexual politics: "some of us found they could not be controlled" (Ward [1995] 2001, 4, 5). Thus, after May 1882, when Parnell and other members of the Land League had been released from Kilmainham, following the forging of a 'treaty' between the leader of the Irish party and Gladstone,[19] patriarchal mastery reigned anew: the Ladies' Land League was terminated, but not before the women were required to perform "whatever hackwork needed to be done" (Hearne 1986, 25). Yet, they had proved their worth, among them Hannah Lynch, who appears to have made no mean contribution to the Ladies' enterprise. Formally instituted on 31 January 1881, Lynch's name figured alongside those of other members of the executive council,

19 The so-called Kilmainham Treaty was viewed by both Michael Davitt and Anna Parnell as "amount[ing] to a surrender of the League's basic demand, i.e. peasant proprietorship, and a premature disbandonment [*sic*] of the League's fighting forces" (Hearne 1986, 11).

who signed the first summons to the women of Ireland on 4 February (Ward [1989] 1995, 15). In March 1881, she was the "Secretary" at a Clapham address in London to whom "all communications" should be directed[20] and she would even merit mention in Anna Parnell's manuscript account of the Land League and, more particularly, of the women's labours. Against her own conviction,[21] Anna Parnell singled out two of Lynch's activities, which, in the light of the former's demanding nature might well be interpreted as a tribute to an extraordinary fellow worker (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 123).

By August 1882, the women were released from their responsibilities and from then on (as Maud Gonne was to discover), women were excluded from membership of "[a]ll nationalist organisations" (Ward [1995] 2001, 3) until the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893 (Wyse-Power in Ward [1995] 2001, 16). Up until 1886, Charles S. Parnell prospered politically, obtaining the support of Irish bishops and forging alliances with Conservatives or Liberals at Westminster in the interest of the diversity of nationalist views he came to represent. The extension of the franchise to agrarian workers through the Reform Bill of 1884 favoured further support for his movement. The first Home Rule Bill was introduced by Gladstone in 1886 but was defeated. Parnell's health declined towards the latter years of the decade as did his political career in the wake of Home Rule politician Captain William O'Shea filing for divorce in 1889 given the Irish leader's *liaison* with the former's wife, Katharine. The verdict in 1890 ruled against Parnell and Katharine O'Shea, leading to a split in the Irish Parliamentary Party. Parnell married O'Shea in June 1891. Not long after, the *Freeman's Journal* withdrew support and in the month of October, Parnell died. As for his embittered sister, she took up residence in England, living largely as a recluse, in Cornwall and Devon, where she died in 1911. The disillusioned Hannah Lynch reinvented herself as a journalist, writer and translator, increasingly outside Ireland, finding herself on the margins of Celtic Twilight territory in her own country.[22] She took herself to Europe in the mid-1880s and into the 1890s, mainly publishing in England, and coming to reside in Paris as the century drew to a close. The geographical proximity to Spain, where her sister Nannie resided, and the facilities provided by the railway would enable further travel and introduce an additional source of income.

20 "Ladies' Land League". *The Times*, 1 March 1881, 2.

21 See Anna Parnell's letter to feminist and republican activist Helena Moloney, 7 July 1910: "I consider the actions of particular individuals are unimportant in history, […] it does not matter what [a] particular individual does except in so far as he or she represents others". Parnell's "method of writing history" is cited at greater length in Ward [1989] 1995, 265, note 2.

22 In this connection, see her satirical portraits of W.B. Yeats (Augustus Fitzgibbon) and George Russell, AE (O'Reilly) in "A Dublin Literary Coterie", *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 14 January 1888, n.p.

In Ireland, the last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by the vindication of the Irish language and a growing consciousness of what Douglas Hyde would come to express as a necessary de-Anglicisation in order for the nation to come into its own (Storey 1988, 78-84). The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (1876) was founded in order to "encourage the use of the language" by means of instruction and "to promote a modern literature in Irish" (Welch 1996, 529); the Gaelic Union (1880) was created by discontents from the former society, anxious to see practical measures introduced in order to prevent the further decline of Irish "as a living vernacular" (Welch 1996, 209) whilst the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884) came into being with the aim of promoting traditional Irish sport, as in the game of hurling and Gaelic football, and the Gaelic League (1893) was launched by Hyde, together with others, again in defence of the Irish language. All these initiatives signified milestones along the road towards a more independent Ireland. If the life of Angela in Lynch's *Autobiography of a Child* may be identified with that of her creator, the latter fondly remembered the "kindly Irish peasants" (46) she had known in childhood but in her youth Lynch moved in English-speaking circles in Dublin and English was the language she used in her writing career, adopting French more fully once she was resident in Paris. However, Ireland remained a presence or point of reference in Lynch's work. It is woven into her Spanish articles, from first to last, as well as into her fiction. It was already there in the writing of the 1880s, but also appears in the works of the 1890s. There is the allusion in *Daughters of Men* to "a genial and witty Irish professor" (6), to the representation of Irish (as well as Greek) servants as "the kindest, most affectionate and most absolutely disinterested in the world" (302), and to C.S. Parnell, by way of the "Parnellistoi" (71, 75). In the same text, the protagonist's deceased Irish mother is alluded to, as is the case in *Jinny Blake*, where a young aristocrat has a governess who hails from Cork. The Land War context of *The Prince of the Glades* would also be relevant in this connection as would the Irish protagonist and early setting of *Rosni Harvey*. Echoes of the people, places and politics the vexed vagabond carried with her.

3 Restoration Spain: a Monarchy Once Again

The Spain that Lynch knew remained steeped in tradition despite scattered pockets of progress and demands for modernity and industrialization. The journalism reveals that many Spaniards still clung proudly to a glorious imperial past; however, a country is portrayed in which women continued to be subordinated to a system of sexist oppression in a territory of provincial towns and rural areas pervaded by lethargy. The period known as the *Restauración borbónica* had been established before Lynch crossed the

border. It began in 1875, in Sagunto, with the military coup led by General Martínez Campos, and the subsequent proclamation of the constitution in 1876. Thus the Bourbon dynasty was reinstated, Alfonso XII, son of Isabella II, taking up the throne. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the country experienced an unprecedented political stability in which the monarchy as well as the economic and aristocratic elites played an active role in what historian Charles J. Esdaile has termed the "pax canovana" (2000, 144). Adopting the *de jure* framework of a credible, well-established constitutional democracy, Spain depended *de facto* on an oligarchical system that tolerated rigged elections and promoted corrupt networks of patronage, known as *caciquismo*.

The political stability of the Restoration generated an economic bonanza that allowed Spain to expand its population, develop its still embryonic industrial system and gradually improve its transportation network. The most important cities of the country grew rapidly. By 1900 Barcelona and Madrid had more than half a million citizens; Valencia and Seville, 213,550 and 148,315, respectively (Torres Campos 1902, 542). During the last quarter of the century some of these cities launched innovative urban planning, moving beyond the old medieval walls, as occurred in what became Barcelona's Eixample district. The cities were beset by social conflict, a consequence of the inequality between labourers, who had migrated from the countryside, and the urban elite. The growth of the cities, though pivotal in providing access to culture, increasing literacy and enabling a wider circulation of new ideologies, did not radically alter the map of Spain. In spite of the gradual development of modernity, the country continued to be a centralized kingdom, dependent on agriculture for the most part and steeped in a secular Catholic tradition.

Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno-Luzón (2000, 91) remark that the leaders of the country "created a political system that spoke more to the circumstances of the past than […] anticipated the challenges of the future". The balance of power over the Spanish Restoration hinged on a tacit agreement between the Conservative Party of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo and the Liberal Party led by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, alluded to by Lynch on more than one occasion. Thanks to tightly-knit networks and the connivance of political leaders in rural areas and small provincial towns, both parties took turns in holding the reigns – a strategy known as *turnismo* –, thus keeping other political groups at bay. Only a few Carlists, such as Alejandro Pidal's short-lived Unión Católica (1881-84), drawn to the Conservative Party, joined the official bipartisan structure. Veteran republicans, though disenchanted after the ephemeral experiment of the First Spanish Republic (1873-74), continued to defend their cause, while new organizations like the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (1879) or its sister trade union, the Unión General de Trabajadores (1888), were created to defend the rights of workers and the disenfranchised. The budding

anarchism of earlier decades spread at a fast pace, resorting to occasional terrorist actions; Lynch's reference to the 1893 bomb in Barcelona's opera house is pertinent in this connection. However, for all their substantial support, these alternative political organizations did not have enough leverage to seriously challenge the Restoration. The monarchy was comfortably consolidated.

Lynch devotes a significant amount of space in her writing to the monarchy and aristocracy, two key components in the *Restauración borbónica*. The opinion expressed regarding Alfonso XII strikes a negative chord, for despite acknowledging that he enjoyed great popularity, he is portrayed as a man whose "real preoccupations were bull-fights and ladies of light morals" (A, 173). However, the valuable role of the monarchy is extolled, then personified in the heir to the throne, Alfonso XIII. In an article on the young prince published two years before his coronation, Lynch makes manifest high hopes for the future of the institution. Apart from eulogizing young Alfonso's virtues, the article focuses on the crucial role that Maria Christina of Habsburg-Lorraine played in dignifying the royal family. Lynch claims that thanks to the Queen Regent, the country's stability had been preserved and the threat of a republic removed. Even though the people of Spain owed a great debt to Maria Christina, Lynch's text asserts that the future depended on "the excellent promise" (A, 177) of the young prince, well-bred and sympathetic to others. Future events would prove her wrong. Unlike his father, who had largely maintained a neutral role during his brief reign, Alfonso XIII would come to interfere in the affairs of state. The proclamation of the Second Republic, in 1931, and the King's exile, would signal the failure of Lynch's hopeful predictions for the future monarchy.

In contrast to the views on royalty contained in "Alfonso XIII", smacking of officialdom and which may be understood as geared towards the evangelical readers of *Good Words*, Lynch's remarks on the Spanish aristocracy are striking, given their combination of first-hand observation and cultural stereotyping. Occasional allusions in the texts suggest that she rubbed shoulders with members of the army, the aristocracy and local authorities, even though she seldom yields information about acquaintances, particular contacts or relations established. The time spent in affluent homes and encounters with a given elite allowed her to dissect the mores of the upper echelons of society, thus providing an Irishwoman's gloss on *fin-de-siècle* Spain. The representation of the aristocracy, chiefly expressed in "The Spaniard at Home", is bleak. A sweeping statement asserts: "a drearier, an emptier, a less intelligent form of humanity does not exist on the face of the world than the Spanish aristocracy. Which half is the worse, male or female, it would be difficult to pronounce. Dress, gossip, and, while young, love, are the preoccupation of both" (SH, 352). Moreover, aristocratic women are seen to be fickle, hysterical and domineering and the men mediocre. It is further observed that every Spaniard claims to have a

more or less distant aristocratic kinship, a feature, we are told, also to be found in the Irish. Such claims are qualified as characteristic of nations in decay. British perceptions appear to have compelled the reproduction of a satirical stereotype among those found in many British novels and travel books about Spain, that is, the image of the noble beggar and *hidalgo* or person of noble rank. However, the portrayal of the Spanish nobility does not always acquire a negative slant. Lynch also highlights a more positive dimension, thus the close bonds existing between servants and masters, reported as a rare phenomenon in the English aristocratic household. Another text where Lynch displays her close experience of court circles in Restoration Spain is her novel *Jinny Blake*. The sections set in Spain display a number of characters and situations that depict the manners, ceremony and ostentation of a world of pedigree and titles.

The apparent calm of the social and aristocratic life recorded by Lynch contrasted, however, with the two historical episodes that shook *fin-de-siècle* Spain: the colonial disaster of 1898, entailing the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and a few other islands in the Pacific, together with the threat that the rising Catalan nationalist movement posed to the whole political establishment. The defeat of the Spanish forces by the well-armed troops and warships of the United States not only put an end to the Spanish Empire but also signified a powerful blow to the pride of the metropolis. The first clash between Cuban rebels and the Spanish forces – known as the First Cuban War of Independence (1868-78) – finished with the Pact of Zanjón, leaving the contending forces in a position of stalemate. The Spanish Commander, General Martínez Campos, mentioned by Lynch on a number of occasions, granted a new political status to Cuba, also promising the rebels an amnesty and offering greater freedom for the press though the full abolition of slavery remained unresolved. The peace between the two sides was short-lived: those who did not sign the pact continued fighting. A new outbreak of hostilities followed – the so-called Little War of 1879-80 – but on this occasion Cuban guerrilla warfare proved too weak. However, the conflict was revived once again in 1895 with uprisings across the island and the landing of the insurgent leaders Antonio Maceo and José Martí.

When the last Cuban War of Independence began, the situation worsened because similar pro-independence uprisings had emerged in the Philippines at the same time. The situation overseas was becoming increasingly more complicated. As Enrique Moradiellos explains, a series of measures was adopted:

> Between February 1895 and April 1898 [the] Spanish authorities attempted to solve the colonial crisis by a combination of military force and political and economic concessions. On the one hand, they sent an army of 200.000 soldiers to Cuba to suppress a rebellion of around 40.000 in-

> surrectionaries. On the other hand, they tardily accepted Home Rule and permitted free trade with foreign countries. (Moradiellos 2000, 116-17)

A number of significant defeats in Cuba, alongside a complex military situation, forced the cabinet in Madrid to replace General Martínez Campos by General Valeriano Weyler, who would soon become unpopular on account of his ruthless tactics. The American intervention in the war following the sinking of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor precipitated the end of the war and tipped the scales against the Spaniards.

Lynch's articles refer to diverse aspects of the conflict. "On Board a Spanish Steamer" reflects the movement of troops to Cuba and captures the nonchalant mood of the young soldiers bound for the Caribbean aboard the steamship *Montevideo*. "An Unnoted Corner of Spain" contains the description of a farewell episode witnessed in La Coruña, with soldiers embarking on the liner *Maria Cristina*. But most interesting of all is "The Insurrection of Cuba", which chronicles the departure of the war hero General Martínez Campos, sent to Cuba to quell the revolt. The cheering crowds are closely depicted as is the pomp and circumstance of the nobility and genteel elite of the capital. However, the texts not only contain short descriptions of vivid episodes but also personal comments on the development and outcome of the conflict. Lynch refers to the "national imbecility the present war reveals" (SH, 357) and claims that the war had been both poorly prepared and conducted by incompetent leaders. This said, despite the humiliating naval defeats of Cavite, in Manila Bay, and Santiago, in Cuba, by the Americans, the view is expressed that the Spaniards would eventually overcome the loss and defeat. Even though the writing does not indicate an explicit link, the conviction voiced may be considered akin to the Spanish *regeneracionistas*, who denounced the stagnant political atmosphere in the country and focused on the war with a view to criticising the current state of decadence. It may well be argued that, like Joaquín Costa, Francisco Giner de los Ríos and other contemporary Spanish reformers, Lynch sought a better future for Spain.

According to Carlos Serrano, turn-of-the-century Spain had fallen into a crisis whereby no one discourse could explain the modern history of the country. On the one hand, in the wake of the colonial disaster of 1898, certain politicians would seek further military 'adventures' with a view to restoring what they found to be a forfeited Spanish honour. On the other, a number of writers of the so-called *Generación del 98*, among them Miguel de Unamuno, José Martínez Ruíz (Azorín) and Pío Baroja, dwelt on Spanish decadence through a melancholy delving into, and exploration of, the essence of Spain. The only institution that still continued to hold the country together was the monarchy (Serrano 1999, 33). In this context, the rising regional nationalist movements took the opportunity to challenge the status quo. A movement with Celtic overtones (*Rexurdimento*) had

gradually stirred the national consciousness of the Galicians, whilst Sabino Arana's racial and linguistic theories had laid the foundation of a strongly conservative Basque identity. Arguably, the most challenging voices came from Catalonia, where for several decades the *Renaixença* had fostered an influential literary revival and a number of political organizations were now ready to take political action. In the journalism, Lynch refers to both Basque and Galician identities briefly, whereas Catalan nationalism and Catalan culture are more closely focused on.

One of the milestones of *fin-de-siècle* Catalan politics was the *Bases de Manresa* (1892), a document approved by the Unió Catalanista party, which demanded autonomy for Catalonia. Even though it sought the official recognition of Catalonia as a nation and proposed that Catalan be considered an official language, separation from Spain was not encouraged (Balcells 1996, 38-9). Equally important was a taxpayers' strike (known as the *Tancament de Caixes*) launched by Catalan nationalist groups in 1899 in protest against the fiscal measures imposed by the Madrid government. Yet no other event probably rocked the political establishment more than the general election of 1901, which was won by Sagasta's Liberal Party. For the first time – and against all odds – a Catalan nationalist party, the conservative Lliga Regionalista, gained six parliamentary seats, thus beginning a trend of strategic lobbying in Madrid that has characterised nationalist parties ever since. Lynch explains the specific causes and consequences of this episode in "Rebel Catalonia", an insightful article where the local political scenario is dissected and the discontent the Catalans face acknowledged before an "inept and obstinate" (RC, 68) Castile. Lynch's untimely death did not allow her to bear witness to later chapters of Spanish history closely connected to the reign of Alfonso XIII: the clashes of the so-called Tragic Week in Barcelona (1909), the military intervention in Morocco (1909 and 1911-27) and the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923-30). Even so, the breadth and depth of her observations situate her as a close observer of Restoration Spain, its mood, manners and some of its most remarkable episodes.

4 Spain and the Irish Gaze

An important reason for the recovery of Lynch's neglected Spanish texts resides in their significance within a continuum of Hiberno-Spanish relations, particularly rich in literary representations (Mittermaier 2017), but equally fruitful in the genre of travel writing. Irish travel writing on Spain constitutes a tradition that extends well into the present with Bernard Loughlin's *In the High Pyrenees* (2004) passing through Colm Tóibín's *Homage to Barcelona* (1992). Irish travellers have played a significant role in the Anglophone representation of Spain and Spaniards despite the fact

that their identity has often been masked as British. Irish men and women from many walks of life – pilgrims, clergymen, soldiers, adventurers, diplomats and merchants – have frequented the Peninsula since the Middle Ages. However, Irish travel writing on Spain began to achieve a degree of prominence during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, when antiquarian, agricultural or other information-gathering tours across the Iberian Peninsula became fashionable among the Enlightened elites (Guerrero 1990). The Grand Tour of Italy had become commonplace and a number of travellers wished to explore further afield. One of the first modern Irish travel narratives to focus on the Iberian Peninsula was Sir John Talbot Dillon's *Travels through Spain* (1780), a book true to the erudite spirit of the age. Dillon, MP for Meath, produced a near-encyclopedic volume, printed both in London and Dublin, conveying information on natural history, geography, the arts, modern improvements and historical anecdotes.

From the Peninsular War to the Carlist Wars, the social and political conflicts that plagued Spain throughout the nineteenth century gave many Irish citizens a reason to travel there either as active participants or eyewitnesses. They, like many other English, Scottish or American travellers, became "curiosos impertinentes" (Robertson 1988) in a land imagologically constructed as an exotic paradise in which robbers and romance acquired protagonism. Those who did not want to run risks took advantage of peaceful interludes to satisfy their curiosity. Some early examples are Colonel Maurice Keatinge, MP for Kildare, who describes a short tour made immediately after the Peninsular War in his *Travels through France, Spain and Portugal, to Morocco* (1817), or Michael Joseph Quin, first editor of the *Dublin Review*, who, in *A Visit to Spain* (1823), reflects the state of affairs during the so-called Liberal Triennium of 1820-23. However, those who sought peril might also find it in abundance. A decade later, Michael Burke Honan, a Roman Catholic from Limerick, served as correspondent for the *Morning Herald* during the First Carlist War. As a result of his experiences he would write *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos* (1836), considered a classic foreign account of the conflict. The number of publications became even greater during the 1840s, consolidating an Irish representation of Spain that more often than not was Anglo-Irish.

The growing number of Irish travel accounts on Spain, however, makes manifest Raphaël Ingelbien's contention that "in the decades that followed Catholic Emancipation in 1829, tourism started taking hold as a cultural practice beyond the confines of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy" and that the "Catholic rising middle classes of Ireland translated their upward social mobility into a form of geographical mobility" (Ingelbien 2016, 6). The journey to Spain was no exception, both Catholic and Protestant Irish surrendered to its allure. Martin Haverty, who was on the staff of the *Freeman's Journal*, wrote *Wanderings in Spain in 1843* (1844), and a year later the Reverend Francis Chevenix Trench issued his *Diary of Travels*

in France and Spain (1845), which appeared at the same time as Terence McMahon Hughes's *Revelations of Spain in 1845, by an English Resident* (1845). Further south, surgeon William Robert Wilde, father of the playwright Oscar, visited the Canary Islands when accompanying an invalid to the warmer clime. His account appeared as *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean* (1840). This rich harvest of travel narratives, which continued throughout the century with such titles as John Augustus O'Shea's *Romantic Spain* (1887) or Lynch's own *Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital* (1898), serves to illustrate what Éadaoin Agnew has defined as "the axis of Ireland's travel literature", namely, "trouble and tourism" (Agnew 2011, 398). A number of Irish men and women left behind a fraught situation to seek a post abroad, becoming soldiers, civil servants, journalists, physicians or governesses. Thus, Spain came to offer the possibility of employment or career-building. Their travel texts may sometimes be interpreted as beacons for prospective travellers ready to engage in similar experiences.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Lynch's journalism on Spain exerted any influence on other curious Irish men and women in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1899, Elizabeth Hawkins-Whitshed, from Country Wicklow, better known by the pen-name Mrs. Aubrey LeBlond, published *Cities and Sights of Spain*, which, to some extent, reproduced the sober guide-book style of Lynch's *Toledo*, targeting similar audiences. Several decades later, Kate O'Brien would publish *Farewell Spain* (1937), a narrative with an itinerary that partially follows in the footsteps of Lynch. O'Brien, author of novels set in Spain, such as *Mary Lavelle* (1936) and *That Lady* (1946), provides a representation akin to that in Lynch's texts, depicting a number of peripheral, sleepy places steeped in the past. O'Brien also acquired an interest in Spanish literature, but, unlike Lynch – who read José Maria de Pereda and José Echegaray – focused her attention on Miguel de Cervantes, Saint Teresa of Ávila and Jacinto Benavente, as Jane Davison has recently demonstrated.[23] Endowed with canonical status, *Farewell Spain* has been read as a seminal text for understanding pre-Civil War Spain whilst the Spanish writings of her forerunner, Lynch, have long been overlooked.

The presence of women in Irish travel writing on Spain did not increase significantly in the twentieth century. In the context of the Spanish Civil War, Mairin Mitchell's *Storm over Spain* (1937) constituted a travel account of how anarchism shaped the conflict. This said, the Irish travel response was largely male-authored, with Peadar O'Donnell's *Salud! An Irishman in Spain* (1937) and Eoin O'Duffy's *Crusade in Spain* (1938) remaining the chief testimonial sources for the period, hailing from the

23 For further information on O'Brien's links to Spain, see Legarreta Mentxaka 2011.

political left and right, respectively. The travel writer whose Spanish publications dominate the field numerically is Walter Starkie, born a generation later. His *Spanish Raggle-Taggle* (1934), *Don Gypsy* (1936) and *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James* (1957) were soon translated into Spanish (Hurtley 2013), suggesting that there were readers in Spain interested in the Irish representation of their country and/or publishers ready and able to accommodate and promote the given narratives. Starkie, well placed within the postwar establishment in Spain, succeeded where Lynch's acutely critical voice had failed. Therefore, the recent recovery of nineteenth-century Irish women writers and their output offers a valuable opportunity for bringing together and assessing Lynch's rich and diverse insights into Spain and its peoples. Her writings constitute a necessary consideration for scholars wishing to more fully map travel relations between Ireland and the Iberian Peninsula.

5 Newspapers, Journals, Illustrations

Lynch published most of her journalistic pieces on Spain in periodicals and magazines located outside Ireland. However, her first article, "On Board a Spanish Steamer", appeared in 1892 in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal*, a leading nationalist daily. Imbued with Liberal, pro-Irish views, it dealt above all with domestic issues whilst incorporating brief cosmopolitan pieces like those that Lynch produced relating to different parts of the Continent. The six brief pieces on Spain published in the *Freeman's Journal* appeared between 1892 and 1897. Lynch, who catered to the reading taste of Dublin's middle-class, also published other travel-related pieces in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal* of a similar length.[24] The other Dublin-based publication that she began collaborating with in the 1880s, the Catholic *Irish Monthly*, never printed any of her Spanish pieces.

The articles published in the Irish capital constitute almost one third of her journalism on Spain whilst the remaining two thirds came out mainly in London-based publications. For the latter, Lynch adopted new forms of self-expression that enabled her to reach middle-brow and high-brow British audiences. On the one hand, she avoided the question of British rule in Ireland; on the other, she did not hesitate to criticise the patriarchal system and the plight of Irish women within it (Binckes, Laing 2011a, 122-3). The first London publication to issue one of her Spanish pieces was the *Contemporary Review*, the quarterly founded by Scottish publisher Alexander Strahan and known for its serious intellectual tone

24 See, for instance, the following: "The Drama in France", FJ, 13 Dec. 1893, 5; "From Lucerne to Verona", FJ, 22 Aug. 1899, 5; "Venice", FJ, 29 Dec. 1899, 6; "Venice", FJ, 30 Dec. 1899, 2.

and promotion of the arts. In 1893 Lynch published a long, tedious article entitled "José Echegaray", aimed at publicising the dramatic output of Spanish playwright José Echegaray (1832-1916). Lynch may have been commissioned to write the article, not only on account of her knowledge of Spanish language and literature but also because of her familiarity with modern European dramatists.

Indeed, her engagement with Echegaray's work proved fruitful and did not end here as in 1895 she was to translate and publish two of his plays for English-speaking audiences.[25] The introduction to the translation reproduced the article she had published in the *Contemporary Review*. Both her article and translations may have contributed to affording Echegaray the necessary international acclaim for his Nobel nomination in 1904.[26] Lynch's collaboration with the *Contemporary Review* began with her piece on Echegaray and spanned almost a decade, yet only yielded two more texts on Spain. One of these, "Pereda, the Spanish Novelist", had a similar aim and scope to that of the Echegaray piece, that is, to provide an introduction to his major works for English-speaking readers. The other, "Rebel Catalonia" (1902), apart from reading as a travel piece, also served to explain to British readers the causes of the deep political unrest in northeast Spain.

The second London platform to accommodate another of Lynch's Spanish texts was *Good Words*. The family journal was one of the three leading Victorian illustrated periodicals and geared itself to lower middle-class evangelical audiences. "Along the Spanish Highways" was published there in 1894. Between this year and 1900, Lynch would publish four essays on Spain in *Good Words*, all graced with illustrations. As Catherine Delafield notes, Alexander Strahan, editor of the *Contemporary Review* and founder of *Good Words*, had always stressed the power of illustration "to educate and instruct with a religious tone" and also believed in "the marketing power of a celebrity illustrator" (2015, 86). Even though by Lynch's time Norman McLeod had become editor, the original scope remained fundamentally the same and continued awarding importance to text-image rep-

25 Lynch's translations of Echegaray's *El gran galeoto* [*The Great Galeoto*] and *O locura o santidad* [*Folly or Saintliness*] were reviewed in the following British publications: "Our Library Table", *Bristol Mercury* 15059 (15 Aug. 1896), 3; I. Zangwill, "Without Prejudice", *Pall Mall Magazine* 8 (Jan. 1896) 171-2; "The Great Galeoto", *Pall Mall Gazette* (7 Jan. 1896): 4; Wentworth Webster, "The Great Galeoto, Folly or Saintliness", *Academy* 1226 (Nov. 2, 1895), 358-9; "The Great Galeoto", *The Era* (9 Nov. 1895), 7; "New Books", *Yorkshire Herald* (30 Oct. 1895), 6. In the United States Lynch's translations also received some attention in "Books and Book News", *San Diego Union* (May 3, 1914), 40; "A Great Drama", *Lexington Herald* (18 Dec. 1907), 6.

26 Another contemporary of Lynch's who focused on Echegaray's drama was Fanny Hale Gardiner. See her essay "Echegaray: Spanish Statesman, Dramatist, Poet", *Poet Lore*, 12 (1 Jan. 1900), 405-16.

resentation. For instance, Lynch's "Along the Spanish Highways" (1894) contains five illustrations signed by E.T. Compton (1849-1921). The two essays on "Impressions of the Canary Isles" feature drawings by Arthur Twidle (1865-1936), an illustrator well known for his contributions to Arthur Conan Doyle's works.[27] For Lynch's articles Twidle devised black and white illustrations that enhanced the wildness and exoticism of the islands. In contrast, the more recent "Alfonso XIII" abandons black and white illustration to exhibit monarchy through the modern art of photography. The display of official portraits of the young monarch, as well as of his mother and sisters, must not only have appealed to the readers of the magazine but would also have contributed to consolidating a favourable image of the Spanish royal family in Britain.

The third major London publication to issue one of Lynch's Spanish pieces was *The Speaker*, a weekly review of politics, letters, science and the arts founded in 1890. Focused on liberal policies, it boasted among its contributors the likes of G.K. Chesterton, Henry James, Hilaire Belloc or Arthur Symons, all of whom cultivated in their travel literature the post-Romantic style often akin to Lynch's. It also conveyed a liberal ideology, which Lynch would not object to collaborating with. In 1895 the journal issued "A Spanish 'Master' at Home" and "Around Tarragona". By this time, Lynch had already published five novels and had established herself as a respected literary critic, not only through her contributions and reviews in a number of periodicals but also through her monograph on George Meredith, which received wide recognition and made manifest Lynch's own tribute to an author whom she revered.

Two other journals, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *The Idler*, took on three further articles, two dealing with travel and history and a third which provides the reader with insight into Spanish domesticity and mores. It may seem surprising to find Lynch writing in the pages of an imperial publication such as *Blackwood's*. However, the Tory journal, still publishing from Edinburgh, featured a wide range of articles focusing both on Empire and international politics as well as lighter recreational pursuits, from golf to cricket. Moreover, it also awarded space to future canonical writers, not least Joseph Conrad. Lynch's "An Unnoted Corner of Spain" dealt with lesser known parts in the northwest of the Peninsula. It appeared in volume 162 of *Blackwood's*, which also included articles on remote parts of the world, from Siberia to India and China, as well as fiction by Conrad.[28] The author of *Heart of Darkness* appears again in vol-

27 Twidle worked for Frederick Warne & Company, the Religious Tract Society and other publishers. He was also a regular contributor to *The Strand*, *The Boy's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Own Paper*.

28 "Karain: A Memory", BEM, 162 (Nov 1897), 630-56.

ume 164,[29] together with Lynch's "The Spaniard at Home", her in-depth study of the Spanish aristocratic household. The article also analyses the national ethos and Spain's failure to take on modernity in a year in which the country would lose the last of her Latin American colonies. A number of the contributions to *Blackwood's* in that fateful year dealt with the Cuban uprising and other Spanish issues.[30] In this context, Lynch's article, with its emphasis on national decline, contributes further to the space devoted to the journal's contemporary interest in Spain.[31]

In contrast to the pondered politics of *Blackwood's*, the lighter, more youthful pages of *The Idler* provided Lynch with a further outlet for her travel writing talent but, at the same time, enabled her to reinforce the assessment of Spain as plunged in nostalgia. This is true of "Toledo", an article representing the old Castilian city as a symbol of the country's glorious and multi-ethnic past. The monthly journal, catering to a wide audience, featured entertainment above articles of more serious content. As was the case with *Good Words*, illustration often enhanced the text, as in "Toledo", embellished with the drawings of Helen James, who also illustrated Lynch's volume dedicated to the city. Finally, Lynch also published an article with a Spanish focus in the recently founded *The Girl's Realm*, which represented the young woman as a "distinctly modern figure" and extolled "the unique possibilities of girlhood when liberated from the domestic" (Moruzi 2012).[32] "The Girls of Spain" focused on significant aspects of the lives of young Spanish women, from the importance of religion or the absence of snobbishness to the lack of interest in books or the emphasis on gossip and needlework. In keeping with the journal's cosmopolitanism, manifest in a number of articles overtly addressing international women's issues,[33] Lynch adopts a comparative focus whereby the English "girl" is represented as more fortunate than her Spanish contemporary.

29 "Youth", BEM, 164 (Sept 1898), 309-30. The serialization of her *Autobiography of a Child* began in the same volume. The Scottish publisher followed up the journal publication in book form in 1899.

30 See, for instance, the section "The Looker On" for Aug. 1898, 283-9, which contained "The Spanish-American War, Its Illusions and Their Explanation"; "The Duty and the Beauty of Giving In"; "Unveiling the Cuban Rebel" or "The Looker On" for Sept. 1898, together with "The U.S. War of Awakening", 436-9.

31 "The magazine's editorial interest in the exotic presumably made the travel writing of Hannah Lynch appeal to readers of BEM, where she often appeared despite her nationalist proclivities expressed in other forums" (Foster 2008, 429).

32 For further information, see Rodgers 2012 and Ch. 7 in Moruzi 2012.

33 See for example the following essays: Lucy M.G. Garnett, "The Girls of the Philippines", *The Girl's Realm* (April 1903), 499-502; Matilda Betham Edwards, "French Girls and English: A Contrast", *The Girl's Realm* (August 1903), 792-7.

6 A Dissenting Voice

Like her admired George Eliot, Hannah Lynch would come to be published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Her *Autobiography of a Child* was serialized there before appearing in book form in 1899 and two of her longer Spanish articles appeared in the journal as the 1890s drew to a close.[34] Of the thirteen Spanish contributions chalked up from the time of her first, in 1892, up until 1897, inclusive, six had appeared in the Dublin nationalist daily the *Freeman's Journal*, sometime supporter of the Home Rule politician Charles Stewart Parnell (Foster 1976, 139, 140, 142-5; Larkin 2006). In considering Lynch as journalist, Eliot's trail-blazing career need not be ignored, nor should reference to the number of women in Britain who, as F.E. Gray has commented, were "increasingly drawn to journalistic work" towards the end of the century. Furthermore, Gray revealingly cites the English census of 1891: "660 women list[ed] themselves as 'author, editor, journalist', up from only 15 in 1841" (2012, 4). Pilz and Standlee have noted that it was also in 1891 that the *Daily Graphic* signalled the extent to which Irish women were "asserting their influence on the publishing industry" (2016, 2). Therefore, given her visibility as an author in London-based publishing houses by 1891, Lynch may be considered alongside the rising ranks referred to by Gray, Pilz and Standlee. However, it may be claimed that the sources for her journalistic career came from experiences, both professional and personal, rooted in Ireland.

Appealing to the Royal Literary Fund on Lynch's behalf in 1903, Mabel Robinson noted that "while still a child of sixteen [Lynch] began to earn her living as the subeditor of an Irish provincial paper" (Murphy 2011, 251). Therefore, by the mid-1870s, Lynch was already acquiring knowledge of the world of journalism in the country of her birth and in the 1880s she published articles on both sides of the Atlantic: the Dublin *Irish Monthly* carried three articles penned by her and another appeared in the Boston-based *Donahoe's Magazine*.[35] Undoubtedly, however, it was her

34 "Autobiography of a Child" was serialised between Oct. 1898 and April 1899. The two longer Spanish articles were "An Unnoted Corner of Spain" (1897) and "The Spaniard at Home" (1898).

35 The first of the three published in the "Catholic literary magazine", the *Irish Monthly*, "edited by the Jesuit Matthew Russell" (Binckes, Laing 2011a, 123) focuses on nature, with reference to Ireland, but writes nature particularly as refuge and a source of strength midst life's disappointments. Published in the wake of the demise of the Ladies' Land League, the text might be related to the solace Lynch found in the natural world following the collapse of the political project she had so energetically and enthusiastically devoted herself to. The remaining two articles draw on Lynch's sojourn in the Aegean, anticipating her 1892 novels, *Daughters of Men* and *Rosni Harvey*, the first of which is wholly set in Greece and the latter partially. See: "Nature's Constancy in Variety", *Irish Monthly*, 11 (1883), 439-44; "November in a Greek Island", *Irish Monthly*, 14 (1886), 377-83; "The Ursulines of Tenos", *Irish Monthly*,

commitment to, and activism in, the Ladies' Land League and, more particularly, her association with the formidable organizing secretary Anna Parnell, which greatly influenced her. Margaret Ward has highlighted the ground-breaking nature of the League in the raising of women's political consciousness in Ireland: "For the first time in Irish history, [in the Ladies' Land League] women were given the opportunity to participate in a political movement and, in the absence of men, found themselves free to assert their own principles and to develop their own organisational skills" (Ward [1989] 1995, 4).[36] Moreover, Lynch's own contact and close collaboration with Charles Stewart Parnell's younger sister in the wake of the imprisonment of her sibling, Charles, in 1881,[37] cannot be overlooked in assessing the embryonic writer's development as a journalist and, arguably, much more.

Following the death in 1859 of John Henry Parnell, High Sheriff of County Wicklow, his American widow, Delia Tudor Stewart, took Anna together with two of her sisters to the east coast state of New Jersey, where the girls grew up. O'Toole has commented on the impact of the American sojourn, together with travel elsewhere, on the Parnell daughters: "in addition to their privileged social class, [the] experience of living in North America, intercut as it was by periods in Paris, London and the Parnell estate, Avondale in Co. Wicklow, enabled the young Parnell women to have autonomous lives denied to many other Irish women in the period, even those of their own class" (O'Toole 2013, 69). Both Ward ([1989] 1995) and O'Toole refer to historian Marie Hughes in noting that it was in New Jersey that the Parnell sisters became "consumers of the contemporary periodical press (including newspapers such as the Irish-American *Boston Pilot*)" (O'Toole 2013, 70), with Anna becoming "a regular reader of New York and Boston journals", and, further, "well acquainted with the views of the early American feminists who were fighting against slavery and for the rights of women" (Ward [1989] 1995, 6). Anna also came to write journalism herself. Over May and June 1880, only months before she took on the Ladies' Land League, she had published a series of articles in the *Celtic Monthly*, brought together under the title "How They Do in the House of Commons: Notes from the Ladies' Cage", in which she assessed "the Irish [P]arty's performance … at Westminster [,] … witnessed from the secluded gallery where women were allowed to view the proceedings, but not to

14 (1886), 269-73. "A Backward Glance at the City of the Pale", *Donahoe's Magazine*, 12(5) (November 1884), 385-96, enabled Lynch to dwell on Dublin historically – and nostalgically. For further information on the article in the American publication, see Binckes, Laing 2010, 56-8.

36 Also cited by O'Toole 2013, 76.

37 C.S. Parnell was imprisoned as a consequence of his Land League activities, see "Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland: People, Poverty, Politics" (§ 2), above.

participate" (Ward [1989] 1995, 7). Thus, the long fatherless Anna Parnell, with a mother of "laissez-faire" (O'Toole 2013, 70) bent in relation to the education of her daughters, a little less than ten years Lynch's senior, had much to offer the fatherless Lynch, both emotionally and intellectually.[38] In this connection, Ward remarks that Anna Parnell "understood the necessity of fostering women's confidence in their abilities" (Ward [1989] 1995, 13). In the address published in the nationalist weekly *The Nation*, three weeks after the founding of the Ladies' Land League, Parnell may be considered as pronouncing prescriptively or, perhaps, simply expressing her intense sense of conviction and urgency: "You must learn to depend upon yourselves and to do things for yourselves and to organize yourselves" (16). Parnell's instructions would be greatly taken to heart by Lynch, who alone distributed 30,000 copies of the League's paper, *United Ireland*, "in spite of a cordon of detectives drawn round the office" (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 123), making arrangements, moreover, for it to be illicitly printed in Paris.[39] Indeed, a number of traits of Anna Parnell's character: a "forthright" nature, "independence of mind" and an "uncompromising" attitude "in her refusal to be characterized in a traditional female role" (Ward [1989] 1995, 21, 6, 16) are to be found in Lynch herself and are reflected both in her fiction[40] and in her articles on Spain.

38 Lynch also appears to have become estranged from her mother. Mothers tend to be absent or unsympathetically represented in Lynch's 1890s novels. Kate Raymond in *An Odd Experiment* and Dorothy Monro in *Clare Monro* may be considered exceptions though little is seen of Raymond's mothering in the former text. The most notorious of mothers is Aurelia, Mrs St. Ledger, in Lynch's first novel, *Through Troubled Waters*, who murders her three grown daughters. Nora Dillon in the same novel has a loving, if exhausted, mother though the latter's mother, Mrs Blake, is far from sympathetic towards her daughter. The first-person narrator of *Autobiography of a Child*, Angela, who, like Lynch, never knew her father, forthrightly expresses her preference for the deceased parent, at the expense of her mother: "My father, who, I am told, was a very kindly, tender-hearted man, died some months before my birth. Had I been given the choice beforehand, and known what was in store for me, I should have greatly preferred it had been my mother who died many months before my birth. But, alas! Babies in the ante-natal stage are never consulted upon the question of their own interest" (Lynch 1899, 287-8).

39 Brown 1919, 179; Ward [1989] 1995, 29. Binckes and Laing (2010, 45) have suggested that Hannah Lynch may not have performed the feat alone: "either Hannah or her sister Nannie, or perhaps both, were involved in rescuing the type from the suppressed *United Ireland*, taking it from Dublin to Paris via London, and having it printed and distributed there", adding in a footnote: "Narratives vary about these events and require further research". More recently, Binckes and Laing (2014, 58) have affirmed that both Lynch sisters, Hannah and Nannie, "[i]n their capacity as secretaries of [the Ladies´ Land League] …had been largely responsible for keeping *United Ireland* in production after its banning by the British government in 1881". See also Mulligan 2009, 172.

40 Memorable in this connection are Camilla Knoys in *The Prince of the Glades* (1891) and Kate Raymond in *An Odd Experiment* (1897). Côté sees Knoys, the "Anglo-Irish heroine" of *The Prince of the Glades*, as "a thinly veiled portrait of Anna Parnell as Hannah Lynch knew her during the Ladies' Land League days" (Côté 1991, 156).

In 1891, the year before the appearance of the first of the Spanish articles, Lynch published a study of the (mainly) fictional works of the English writer George Meredith, to whom she had dedicated her first novel, *Through Troubled Waters*, some six years earlier.[41] Having expressed "a very sincere admiration" for Meredith in the dedication to her study, she turned to vindicating an author whom she considered to be "the first of the modern analytical novelists in England" and placed in the rank of "serious intellectual workers" (Lynch 1891a, 6, 7), alongside George Eliot and Tolstoy. Lynch viewed the Englishman as "less wholly preoccupied with the mission of improving humanity and beautifying life" than either of his 'co-workers', but did insist on the intellectual challenge he placed before his readers: "Brain is what he asks of us, and its use in reading him" (1891a, 7, 24). Lynch states the case for Meredith in characteristic forthright fashion, debunking the reputation of Edward Gibbon, "that historic bore", who, notwithstanding, is claimed to be "not heavier reading than the novels of [Samuel] Richardson" (1891a, 1). Having dispensed with the lauded historian and canonical novelist in her opening sentence, she takes on "[t]he British race" for their neglect of Meredith's "colossal intellect", claiming that the former "we know, has never been remarkable for brilliancy [*sic*], nor, to any special degree, has it given evidence of perspicacity" (1891a, 7-8).[42] She goes on to underline her point in terms evocative of Anna Parnell's scathing and unrelenting criticism of the English in her 1907 manuscript "The Land League: Tale of a Great Sham":

> We have had among us for over thirty years a giant, and a race of pygmies, noted for nothing but the absence of genius, of even marked individuality in their stream of literary production, that flows on continuously and uneventfully, gape and blink at the odd sound of his voice, and persist in regarding him as a grotesque monster. (1891a, 8)[43]

Apart from praising Meredith's literary talent, Lynch hailed him as "the great champion, the mighty swordsman of woman" (Lynch 1891a, 117-

41 See the following reviews of her study: "George Meredith", *Morning Post*, 17 Aug. 1891, 3; "A Study of George Meredith", *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 July 1891, 3; "Two Biographies, a Novel, and a 'Study'", *The National Review*, 17 July 1891, 711; "Mr. Meredith's Merits", *The Graphic*, 12 Sept. 1891, 13.

42 Lynch's contemptuous view of "[t]he British race", as expressed here and in the further quote supplied, is akin to references in Anna Parnell's text, as in, for instance, "the dull English brain" (Parnell in Hearne 1986, 46).

43 Anna Parnell's manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Ireland, MS 12144. In the introduction to the first edition of the text, *The Tale of a Great Sham*, Dana Hearne alludes to the "[e]xcesses of anti-*British* rhetoric" in Parnell's text (Hearne 1986, 10; emphasis added). However, in note 57 of her introduction she refers to the "anti-*English* rhetoric" (193; emphasis added). Parnell is pointedly, and contemptuously, critical of the *English* in relation to the Irish (emphasis added). Ward notes that Parnell's mother, Delia, was "deeply anti-British" (Ward [1989] 1995, 5).

18), illustrating her claim by reference to the writer's portrayal of women, particularly to the character of Diana Warwick in *Diana of the Crossways* (published in 1885, the same year that Lynch's first novel appeared), and through the final chapter of her study, entitled "George Meredith's Men and Women". Here she highlights the novelist's conviction with regard to equality together with what may be understood as constituting an androgynous view: "He believes that women would be all the better for living more as men do, and men for meeting them half-way – one sex modified by the other, and mutually ennobled" (Lynch 1891a, 156-7). Her study ends by prescribing Meredith on woman to "young girls" with a view to countering the noxious representation currently available through the circulating libraries:

> All young girls upon the verge of womanhood should be recommended an exhaustive study of [Meredith] upon […] woman, as a healthy antidote against the nauseous and abominable travesties of themselves and their species circulated by the libraries […] From him […] will they learn much upon their sex that will give them material for long and profound reflection. (Lynch 1891a, 168-9)

Lynch produced the Meredith study some ten years on from the demise of the Ladies' Land League. Militant in the women's organisation, she had acquired a freedom of thought and movement as well as developing a skill for organization. There is an awareness of the assumptions and injustices of patriarchal society in her major work of fiction in the 1880s, *Through Troubled Waters*, mainly set in the west of Ireland, whilst a feminist consciousness and commitment become visible with the onset of the 1890s, initially reflected in the character of Camilla Knoys, the intrepid heroine of *The Prince of the Glades*.[44] This consciousness and commitment would find further expression in a number of novels in the 1890s as well as in the journalistic commentary on and critique of Spanish patriarchy over the decade.

In the wake of the suppression of the Ladies' Land League, Hannah Lynch took to travel, her sojourns in Greece, France and Spain coming to nourish her journalism, criticism, reviewing, fiction and translation work. With regard to her novel writing, both *Rosni Harvey* and *Daughters of Men* relate to Greece, *Denys d'Auvrillac: A Story of French Life* focuses on France and well-nigh half of *Jinny Blake* is set in Spain. Her prose translation of two plays in verse by the Spanish dramatist José Echegaray, *El Gran Galeoto* [*The Great Galeoto*] and *O locura o santidad* [*Folly or Saintliness*] appeared in 1895 whilst some of her 1880s journalism already drew on

44 For further comment of *The Prince of the Glades* and Hannah Lynch taking on a groundbreaking task in the context of roles assigned to women in the later nineteenth century, see O'Toole 2013, 69-71, 76-7, 79, 87.

her travels in Greece.[45] The articles focusing on Spain came to the fore from the early 1890s and continued into the new century.

The nineteen articles which follow may be grouped under different headings. The subject matter which repeatedly surfaces is that of woman and the roles she plays both in the Spanish home and outside it. Indeed, save two, "Rebel Catalonia" and "Montserrat", all the articles refer to the female of the species: as wife, as mother, as daughter, as labourer, as beauty incarnate and as the Virgin Mother of God, to whom homage is paid. Three ("Santiago de Compostella", "Toledo" and the second of the "Impressions of the Canary Isles") carry mere mentions of women but the remaining sixteen supply more substance in this connection. Three of these ("The Señora of Today", "The Spaniard at Home" and "The Girls of Spain") dwell at some length on women's position of inferiority within the ruling classes, fundamentally as a consequence of lack of education, and a fourth ("An Unnoted Corner of Spain") draws attention to the lot of the "Spanish peasant woman" (UC, 27) in Galicia as beast of burden. Eight of the articles may be collected under the heading "Historical and Travel" ("Along the Spanish Highways", "Around Tarragona", "Santiago", the two "Impressions of the Canary Isles", "An Unnoted Corner of Spain", "Montserrat" and Toledo"); three under "Political" ("The Insurrection of Cuba", "Alfonso XIII" and "Rebel Catalonia"); three under "Contemporary Spanish writing" (two of which deal with the work and person of the Cantabrian novelist José María de Pereda and the third focusing on works by the Madrid-born dramatist José Echegaray). Finally, "An Unnoted Corner of Spain" (cited under "Historical and Travel", above) might, alternatively, be included together with "The Spaniard at Home" under "The Spanish" or "The Spanish race", as the nineteenth-century writer would have it. The articles reflect the extent to which Lynch travelled over the country, the interest she took in writing by successful authors in the period, the attention she paid to current events in Madrid (the Queen Regent's education of the future king, Alfonso XIII, and Spain's ongoing colonial exploits, reflected in the departure from the capital of General Martínez Campos to quell opposition in Cuba) as well as her awareness of Catalan and Galician difference. The knowledge she acquired of Spanish society and its values repeatedly lead her to express critical views, particularly with regard to those in positions of power and privilege, her sympathy remaining with the common people.

The first-person narrative of the Spanish articles signed by Hannah Lynch reveals both forthrightness and independence of mind together with a bent for resisting the dictates of convention with regard to gender. The author also comes out early, in the first of the articles, as an "Irishwoman" though

45 Binckes and Laing (2011a, 123) date Lynch's "set[ting] off on the long voyage to Greece" in 1885 as "immediately prior to the publication of her first novel [*Through Troubled Waters*]".

exercises ironic detachment in her reportage of "the refrain of [the] national lyric" espoused by a Scottish nationalist, also represented as producing "*excess* of […] race-conceit" (OB, 6; emphasis added).[46] The three salient aspects of character outlined above may be detected in the I-narrator's frequenting of night time and her experience of the moon, not one of fear or dread, but of personal preference, repeatedly pursued. Thus, she will recall "a divine night-ride along one of the unique roads of the Canary Islands" (ICI/2, 834) and find La Coruña by moonlight "a town of enchantment", the moon and stars creating "a dream-like effect" (UC, 116) though her taste for the nocturnal places her at odds with those around her, unaccustomed to women being abroad, alone, after nightfall. When in La Coruña, she remarks: "to walk for the mere gratification of fancy, through lovely empty streets, seems to [the local inhabitants] the last note of lunacy" (UC, 116). Most memorable are her descriptions at twilight or after dark of Toledo, Santiago de Compostela and Tarragona, a city, in her view, improved by moonlight.

The latter-day rover declares October to be the best month in Toledo, the time of year that presents "magical sunsets" (T, 252), finding "the pleasantest hour of the Zocodover" to be "after sunset" (T, 253). Her description of the dimming of day is atmospheric: sensual, painterly and poetic, providing a sense, finally, of being transported into otherworldliness:

> [T]he vivid glow of sunset in the Cathedral aisles, then the splendor of sunset lines along the hills, over the wavering river, and splash of crimson upon the suburb Antequera; the deep twilight effects over the curving path of Our Lady of the Valley, the dimness of gorges and silent mountain-ways, and the clear fluid atmosphere; reverie above the scented hills of San Martin in the romantic neighbourhood of the bath of Florida, where each step perfumes the still air, and the herbs are of a sweeter pungency than those of Provence, breathing of honey and Oriental dreams. To leave these feudal streets with the stern railing of their windows and their pull of black shadows, the dusty yellow squares, the odd little plazas and broken terraces, […] ruined palaces […] and wander out through the exquisite Puerta del Sol, and the martial bridge of Alcantara by dropping dusk, is to drink the very air of fairyland. (T, 256)

Lest readers of *The Idler* be less lyrical in their tastes, Lynch performs her task as travel writer and guide, drawing attention to the hive of activity also to be savoured:

46 In referring to the "casual converse" between the reporter and "amusing Scotch engineer" (OB, 6) in "On Board a Spanish Steamer", Binckes and Laing (2011a, 127) conclude: "Lynch notes the dangers inherent in being guided by a simplistic nationalist fervour that takes on the worst attributes of the imperialism from which it seeks to liberate itself".

> If you have come abroad in search of local colour, you will not find its equal the world over. Girls go by with jars admirably poised on their heads and shoulders, water-carriers lead their patient mules laden with big water-jars, or the fruit and vegetable sellers, after the day's affair, drop into the animated twilight behind their donkeys piled with baskets. 'Tis a revived glimpse of the *picaresca* novel,[47] for amiable scoundrels loll upon the stone benches of the little place, and haughty and impoverished dons strive to look as if they were in the habit of dining. (T, 253)

The traveller begins her article on Santiago de Compostela with an oxymoronic ring and bathetic bounce: "Beautiful, ill-smelling Santiago!". The exclamation is arresting and may be seen to encapsulate an ambivalence found elsewhere in Lynch's journalism on Spain, albeit expressed at greater length. In the Galician capital, a number of monuments and scenes are focused on, Lynch deeming unforgettable her experience of the Plaza del Obradoiro by moonlight, the "reverie", "oriental dreams" and "fairyland" of Toledo now rendered "dreamland":

> My first moonlit vision of the Plaza of Santiago is a thing to remember always – one of the traveller's abiding sensations. Dark intensity, made up of black shadow on deep grey stone; solemn majesty […] The cathedral, enveloped in flakes of velvet shod still white light, was a thing befitting dreamland, with its lovely façade, its three exquisite faces, its bell tower silhouetted against the glass, and the quaint, strange Torre de la Bandera. (SC, 7)

As regards Tarragona, the traveller recognises that the city remains "a legend" in spite of what is perceived as "its squalor, its ugliness, its decay" (RC, 65) Given the lack of inherent charm, she considers it best contemplated by night or at dawn:

> In the breathing stillness of night Tarragona, like every other southern town, takes on an alien beauty. To wander there among the vague streets of the lower town, with mysterious glimpses of discoloured sea revealed beneath the paler obscurity of the starlit sky or in a white moonlight sending silver ridges of dancing moonbeams across to the dim skyline; or to see it in the alluring hour of dawn, when it wears a clarity, a remoteness, a sweet, clear coldness, is to credit it with attractions it does not possess. (RC, 65-6)

47 Spanish picaresque fiction, as in the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), is evoked in Lynch's text, above, through the mention of "amiable scoundrels" and "impoverished dons".

The use of "vague", above, to describe the "streets of the lower town" at night, may be considered apt in conveying the lack of definition in contour, given the absence of (day)light. In the article on Santiago de Compostela, mention is made of "the vagueness of moonlight" (SC, 7). Therefore, moonlight creates, or carries, indefinition: there is beauty but it is "alien", with regard to the One, the established, whilst it provides access to an Other land, beyond the realm of the real, where patriarchy rules. In her study of Meredith, Lynch remarked that the author "notes that life is chiefly interrogatory and unsatisfactory" (Lynch 1891b, 29-30), an observation perhaps not far removed from her own. The looseness made by moonlight, then, might provide a space for exploring answers, formulating other questions, potentially creating or providing access to other (more satisfactory) territories. The experience of an Other territory, where identities are performed differently, queerly,[48] reality removed and the senses indulged, is also enabled in the square in Santa Cruz de Tenerife in the bareness of night:

> [I]t is best of all to see the plaza upon forsaken nights. […] You have the place to yourself. A new moon curls like a shred of silver upon the shadowy blue, and the warm and lucent stars shed a twilight above the town lights. Forms and profiles as they move about are *oddly* revealed, and the scene looks mediaeval enough to be a legend or a mystery. You will see a man pass with the bright lining of his capa showing upon his shoulder with operatic grace, and the contrast of dusky beard and pallid cheek suggestive of Almaviva and other beguiling heroes of lattice and lute. Reality is *clouded* as if by perfumed dust blown from star to star upon the salt-laden breezes of the sea. So warm is the air, so subtle the scent of brine, so illusive the quiver of the stars and the white shaving of a moon swimming in indigo, that if you happen to be neither blighted nor bored, you are ready enough to count yourself on the rim at least of the Garden of Hesperides. (ICI/1, 739; emphasis added)

Lynch's taste for what is unfixed, or unfixing, may account for her devastating criticism of what met her culturally and politically in Spain, in her view, a country not modern or civilized, nor open to change, but firmly fixed in the past, focused on a former splendour and, consequently, a nation-state in decay. Writing in the wake of Spain's defeat in Cuba in 1898, the country is seen to be out of kilter with regard to modernity, not part of "th[e]se progressive and complex times […] our vivid, vital and moving present" (SH, 361). The critical "I"/eye asserts: "Spain has practically stood

48 Judith Butler's work might be brought to bear here: "*woman* itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification" (1990, 33).

still since the death of the sixteenth century"; thus, the country remains "forlorn on the edge of history, draped in the cloak of futile regret, with glance unintelligently retrospective, blighted and empty, mind a blank, attitude a complete conquest of natural activity, the assertion of stupefied indifference" (SH, 361-62). The Spanish Don, Don Quixote, as representative of the bygone age, yet (tragically) present, is seen to incorporate a number of positive qualities, among which figure "a magnificent tradition of honour, a legendary valour" and, "above all", he is "no tradesman" (SH, 363).[49] Yet, ultimately, he is damningly qualified, Lynch having recourse to her incisive, oxymoronic thrust in summing him up as "a figure of valiant futility" (SH, 363). Indeed, as magnificent as Santiago de Compostela, "the Field of Stars", and Toledo, with its "magic individuality", may be, both are viewed as "unwaveringly sad and still, […] essentially […] 'with a past', with neither present nor future" (SC, 7). And Tarragona manifests a similar sorrow:

> No other town sleeps so heavily upon its pillow of reminiscences and turns a front of such unwavering sadness upon the progressing world. […] light pavements […] reflect the sun too strongly […] and have the deadness of time without its romantic shadows. Peace has a forlorn air among these defaced city-walls and broken ramparts, these ruin forts and towers and tiers of amphitheatre. Conviction seizes you that the place is lying in degraded slumber through our modern ages. (AT, 42)

As with the country as a whole, standing "forlorn on the edge of history", even peace in Tarragona is infected with "a forlorn air" and Toledo is "forlorn" too, her "wonders" and "glories" described as "departed" (T, 251). However, in striking contrast to the numbing nostalgia of Santiago, Tarragona and Toledo, Barcelona is repeatedly referred to as vibrant. In 1895, Lynch recalls "loiter[ing] agreeably among the streets and noisy boulevards of that brilliant city" (AT, 42) and seven years later the brilliance has not diminished, it has become: "an exceedingly brilliant, modern town [*sic*]" (RC, 59). Indeed, the journalist now asserts: "Barcelona […] is one of the world's capitals, the capital of ambitious, turbulent,[50] enterprising, intelligent Catalonia" and expresses understanding of the nation's frustration in relation to the central government: "When we have seen it, purse-proud, wealthy, prosperous and flaunting, we understand its dissatisfaction with its inferior position towards smaller, less brilliant, poorer and second-rate Madrid" (RC, 62-3).

49 Lynch also expresses her rejection of trade and commerce in UC, 32, 34.

50 Earlier in the article, Lynch has referred to "cheating in elections at Barcelona last summer [1901]" (RC, 133-4). For further information, see the section on Restoration Spain (§ 3).

In 1902, some four years on from "The Spaniard at Home" and "Toledo", quoted from above, Lynch's view as to the country's immobility (with the exception of Barcelona) is reiterated in her article "Rebel Catalonia": "the Iberian spirit is that of the sixteenth century" (RC, 57). However, this general statement is qualified by reference to "the Catalonian", viewed as "considerably in advance even of the latter end of the eighteenth century" (RC, 57). The Catalans are assessed as "active, thriving, practical, progressive" (RC, 56), qualities not valued by "the haughty Castilian" (RC, 56). Thus, the former are "permanent[ly] dissatisf[ied] at having to knuckle under to a race they hold to be their inferior" (RC, 56). Finally, Lynch will come out in defence of "the moderate *Catalanistas* [who] wish to see Catalonia a separate self-governing province", an arrangement considered "wise, sober and essential" in the light of "the antagonistic differences between the two races". She takes up the cudgels in favour of the minority when she claims: "Spain is greatly to be blamed in all her contests with Catalonia" and champions the Catalans in the final two sentences of her article:

> It is to be deplored that this hardy, progressive and independent race should be ever thwarted in its development by a slower and less ambitious people who are willing to profit by its prosperity, while resenting it. The Catalans have reason to be discontented and Castile shows herself here again inept and obstinate. (RC, 68)

However, her recognition of Catalan, more particularly, Barcelona's, dynamism and enlightened mindset – also illustrated by the Catalan aristocracy's dismissal of bullfighting – (SH, 354-5), does not prevent her from contemplating the culture in a more critical light.

Lynch first focuses on Barcelona and other towns and cities in Catalonia in "Along the Spanish Highways" (1894). By the time she publishes "Rebel Catalonia" (1902), some eight years on, she reveals a greater understanding of the tension between the central government and the north-eastern industrialized territory: "They clash in every aspect and not the smallest of Catalan grievances is the obligation to speak Spanish at a disadvantage. For like the Irish [in speaking English], they speak it always with a pronounced accent, which offends the Castilian ear" (RC, 56). Furthermore, she now appears to be somewhat reconciled to the Catalan talent for trade,[51] seeing that Barcelona has managed to successfully combine commerce and beauty: "Contrast it with such busy centres as Manchester or Liverpool, no busier, and you will see what a wonder it has accomplished in

51 In 1894, Lynch detects "a nauseating atmosphere of commerce more than English" and an "excessive display of modern wealth" (AS, 662) in Barcelona. The latter moral criticism, the rejection of ostentation, may have been determined by her publishing in the evangelical *Good Words*. As indicated above, an aversion to trade is also expressed in UC (1897).

remaining […] open, sunny, gracious and gay. It breathes an air of wealth and is not destitute of art" (RC, 62). However, Lynch assesses the Catalan as "rude and uncultivated", "the roughest type of Spaniard" (AS, 661), even "[d]reary and uninteresting", when first writing about Catalonia in 1894, and can observe no improvement in manners by 1902: "They have no winning qualities in speech or character – these rude Catalonians; they are harsh and discourteous". Their business acumen no longer wins them favour either; they are dismissed as "sharp in money dealings, tight-fisted, resolute in gain, like all commercial races" (RC, 56). What becomes a constant in the critique of the Catalans is an antipathy towards the Catalan language, considered to be a dialect, as is Galician.[52] Reference to the "dialect" is qualified by the same, or similar, (negative) adjectives in 1894 and in 1902. Thus, in Barcelona, in the early 90s, both written and spoken Catalan are found to be "so hideous to the sight and ear", the sound is "harsh", even "barbaric" (AS, 662), and the "dialect" still jars in the new century, Lynch recording her exasperation, moreover, that it should merit attention beyond the Pyrenees: "And yet a philological and literary movement like Félebriges [*sic*] of Provence exists to inculcate a passion for this hideous dialect" (RC, 60).[53]

Just as noteworthy qualities are registered in the Catalans, others are highlighted in the Spanish. Lynch speaks of the Spaniard as possessing "an instinctive dignity" (PS, 228), an "innate dignity" (SH, 360), and insists: "You must in Spain accept the general recognition of human dignity" (SH, 350), yet her articles are permeated by a lack of patience with this people plunged in the past. Overall, "from sovereign to beggar", it is seen to be "stoical and long-suffering" (SH, 351), which, as the articles amply – and sharply – illustrate, is holding progress in the country back. Indeed, the writer draws a parallel between the Spanish and Irish with regard to their failure to criticize (UC, 116), and reflects: "one asks oneself if something of imperishable value might not be made of this decaying race by an austere wave of puritanism and religious intellectuality, the exercise of the untrained conscience, the blighted will" (SH, 360). This latter reflec-

52 Lynch was travelling in Spain before the founding, in 1907, of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans [The Institute of Catalan Studies], which established norms with a view to unifying the Catalan language in 1913. Her dismissal of Galician appears in UC (1897).

53 The Félibrige literary movement was founded by the Provençal poet Frederic Mistral, together with others, in 1854. The resistance to Catalan, featured repeatedly in Lynch's articles, may be indicative of a degree of resistance towards the Irish language as, potentially, a future cultural rival to English in Ireland. *Conradh na Gaeilge* [The Gaelic League], for the defence and promotion of Irish, was founded in 1893 by Douglas Hyde, whom Lynch had met in 1887 (Welch 1996). By 1902, the Gaelic League had been responsible for the introduction of the teaching of Irish into 13,000 national schools (Ward [1989] 1995, 41). Lynch's cultural referents were English but her use of Hiberno-English in her writing, thus highlighting the variant of English spoken in Ireland, is deliberate and notable.

tion seems to be evoking Protestantism as a possible source of redemption for an educationally deprived and thwarted people still in the grip of the conservative reaction and Catholic revival of the 1870s.[54] Writing for publication in the evangelical *Good Words* in 1896, reference is made to "an excellent fat innkeeper" in the Canary Islands remarking on "[Queen] Elizabeth's murder of the sainted and beautiful Marie Stuart". The listener ironically confesses her own allegiance to the reader: "And if you are perfidious and polite – the obvious duty of every traveller – will agree between draughts of palley-alley, that it was a bad day for England when the faithless Tudor introduced Protestantism" (ICI/2, 835). Perhaps Lynch was playing to her evangelical readers but placed alongside other critical comment in her writing, sympathy towards a protestant ethos is visible. It may be argued that Lynch's protestant female elders and mentors, Anna Parnell and Arvède Barine, were influential in further substantiating Lynch's critical view of reactionary Catholic power in practice, initially registered in her fiction focusing on the west of Ireland and subsequently experienced in Restoration Spain.[55]

In speaking of Spaniards in the articles, both earlier on in the decade of the nineties and towards the turn of the century, the "race" is qualified as "the rather dreary race beyond the Pyrenees", as being "afflicted" with "dullness or an empty mind" (JE, 588), as "absurd" (M, 9) and as "liv[ing] by observation, not by thought. […] see[ing] everything and learn[ing] nothing" (UC, 113). Indeed, the offence to national pride would lead to an article in the Spanish press calling for the writer to be "Lynched" [*sic*].[56] Notwithstanding such peremptory pronouncements on the part of the foreign observer, textual judgement becomes nuanced in the context of class. As "vagabond", the first person narrator identifies with those on the margins or at the base of the social pyramid, the "beggar, loafer, peasant and cottager", among whom she finds a "readiness of friendship" (ICI/1, 741) and with whom she empathizes. Indeed, she will pronounce "the common

54 Lynch's first novel, *Through Troubled Waters* (1885) conveys respect for Protestantism through the character of Mrs St. Ledger, Huntley St. Ledger's cousin. Consider, too, Huntley St. Ledger's resistance to defining his religious allegiance in response to Fr. Nolan's "inquisitorial" enquiries (Lynch 1885a, 105, 106). The west of Ireland as depicted in Lynch's first novel is that of a land of largely culturally deprived peasants ideologically enslaved by the Catholic Church, as represented by Fr. Nolan. The scholarly, mischievous Fr. Murphy and Frank Dillon, "a collegian of twenty, home on vacation" (Lynch 1885a, 15) as the novel begins, are exceptions within the ubiquitous intellectual wasteland.

55 Lynch had resided in the west of Ireland through her employment as a governess at Carrowntryla Park in County Galway (Binckes, Laing 2014, 57). Therefore, she had acquired personal experience there too.

56 See "Descubriendo España" under "ECOS DEL MUNDO", *La Correspondencia de España*, 23 Oct. 1898, title page. The pun had been used in *Punch* in 1891 in a satirical dialogue alluding to the publication of Lynch's study of George Meredith (Binckes, Laing 2011a, 128-9).

people in Spain" to be "generally […] kindly and inoffensive" (M, 9) with "[t]he women of the peoples" qualified as "the cream of the race" (GS, 390). However, Lynch's knowledge of Spaniards at home or in the workplace was most frequently drawn from contact with the ruling classes: by way of her own experience, thus, contemporary writers (witness her comment on Pereda's lack of hospitality in "Pereda, the Spanish Novelist") and civil servants (as reflected in the military official and librarian alluded to in "The Spaniard at Home"), or through that of her sister, Nannie, understood to be governess in Barcelona to the children of the Marquis of Sentmenat. Judging from her comments with regard to the Spanish nobility and representatives of the bourgeoisie, the encounters were not rewarding.

Lynch reveals that she is aware of writing in the wake of the nineteenth century male gaze on Spain through her mention of the authors of the widely circulated texts by Washington Irving, George Borrow and Théophile Gautier. Thus, she recalls Borrow's expression of "unmitigated contempt for the Spanish nobility" and appears to be launching into a challenge to the earlier traveller's disdain: "But [Borrow] should have taken into consideration its redeeming features" (SH, 354). However, she immediately goes on to show that she inclines towards the opinion of the author of *The Bible in Spain*, her own becoming all-encompassing, moreover, in relation to Spaniards: "I admit that these [redeeming features of the Spanish nobility] are inadequate, just as are the virtues of the entire race" (SH, 354). In Lynch's view, the chief merit of the Spanish nobility is their democratic attitude, "the casual outward equality" (SH, 349) between masters and servants, a practice which provides Lynch with the opportunity of, forthrightly, criticising their British counterparts: "Here Anglo-Saxon servility and cringing curtsey are unknown, uncomprehended. […] impertinence and vulgar haughtiness are not defects the Spaniards will tolerate. This explains their inherent and incorrigible dislike of the Anglo-Saxon" (SH, 349, 350). However, seemingly egalitarian as the Spanish nobility may be, Lynch maintains: "a drearier, an emptier, a less intelligent form of humanity does not exist on the face of the world than the Spanish aristocracy" (SH, 352), having diagnosed "an incurable, colossal selfishness" as "the most notable characteristic of the entire race" (SH, 350).[57] Such sweeping onslaught seems to suggest fury in the face of particular incidents,[58]

57 In 1903, Lynch again highlights selfishness, now "the most profound and incurable selfishness", as the "fundamental characteristic" of the Spanish. (GS, 390) Selfishness already figures in Lynch's study of Meredith as one of "our commonest defects", which is gendered masculine, given "a masculine shape", by Meredith "because the course of the world, both civilized and barbaric, is directed by the wheels of male selfishness" (Lynch 1891a, 124, 125-6).

58 Comparable in this connection is the fury vented on local institutions in "Montserrat", apparently intensified by a "deceitful guide" who looked out for himself: "his wretched personal interest" (M, 9).

perhaps in her own experience, or her sister's, when struggling to survive as tutors or governesses in proud patrician households. In sharp contrast, episodes are recorded, as in the encounters with "peasants and artisans" in the Canary Islands, who are found to be "cheerful, honest folk" (ICI/2, 834), thus undermining the drastic judgement expressed elsewhere with regard to the ruling classes.

The I-narrator's lens particularly focuses in Spain on woman, drawing attention to her unequal status, her ignorance and frivolous pursuits in the case of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, whilst the lack of educational opportunities is repeatedly noted. Lynch's last Spanish article, published in 1903, echoes the attention she paid to the education of "young girls" towards the end of her study of Meredith over ten years earlier. "The Girls of Spain" appeared in the recently founded journal geared towards girls, *The Girl's Realm*. It constitutes an indictment on the "education" of girls in Spain, Lynch underlining the credentials which enable her to inform in a reliable manner: "It has been my privilege to hear a good deal of Spanish girls and I can say that I have now a pretty extensive acquaintance with the whole race" (GS, 390). She presents them alongside "English girls", seen to be in possession of a "healthy freedom and fearlessness", a "liberal education and independence", who, in consequence, would find the life of a Spanish girl "intolerable" (GS, 390). Thus, Lynch further illustrates the backwardness of the country, in contrast to achievements in Britain as a consequence of the late nineteenth century struggle for suffrage, which had already contributed to specific material advancement in the acquisition of rights for women. As Helen Blackburn was able to note in 1902:

> By 1901 every town of any size had a girls' High School and technical schools were established in the leading cities. There were 2,000 women graduates, 1,500 certificated students, and 8 women had received honorary degrees. 400 women were registered doctors and 9,000 had trained as nurses. Married women owned all their earnings and other property. The rights of mothers remained constrained but they had won the right to share in appointing and being appointed their children's guardians. Women served on various public bodies. There was a network of women's organizations covering children's welfare, maternity, nursing, emigration, education, employment, trades unions and […] political work. (Blackburn in Marlow 2001, 27)

Spain lagged painfully behind. In 1877, between 80 and 85% of Spanish women were still illiterate (Jagoe 1998, 127). Scanlon has observed that there was not "a full-blown militant women's movement in Spain to parallel Anglo-American feminism" (Scanlon in Johnson 2003, 18) though it is clear that there was a growing consciousness. By 1880, the Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer [Association for Women's Education], founded ten

years earlier, received a degree of support from the government and the movement for women's education went on to garner further adherents. At a conference on women held in Madrid in 1892 (the year of publication of Lynch's first article on Spain), the Galician writer, Emilia Pardo Bazán argued that women should have absolute equality in education and the professions (Johnson 2003, 17).[59] Between 1896 and 1898, Krausist[60] Adolfo Posada published a series of articles on feminism in the journal *La España Contemporánea* (Johnson 2003, 18). Lynch reveals no knowledge of Pardo Bazán's speech or Posada's articles, both of which were published in the 1890s. Indeed, judging from Lynch's articles, her literary contacts in Spain were limited to best-selling male authors: the novelist Pereda, whose points in common with George Eliot, Goldsmith and even Dickens are shown to stand him in good novel-writing stead, in spite of what is deeemed a questionable representation of women,[61] and the dramatist Echegaray, in whose albeit "notable plays … an unmistakable ring of the past" is diagnosed (JE, 576). Perhaps the relatively lengthy articles on Pereda and Echegaray in *The Contemporary Review* were requested by the journal at the behest of Spanish diplomats concerned to promote their country's cultural achievements in Britain. Certainly the Echegaray piece, mainly structured on quotes from the writer's texts, reveals little interest or enthusiasm for the dramatist's *œuvre*. In any event, Lynch appears not to have gained access to more progressive, European-minded circles, as represented by the Institución Libre de Enseñanza [Institute of Free Education], which defended co-education and equal rights for women and had been in existence for some fifteen years when Lynch published her first piece on Spain.[62]

In the article of 1900 entitled "Alfonso XIII", much space is devoted to vindicating the virtues of the Queen Regent, both as a mother and as possessing "genius" in her deployment of "tact",[63] particularly in contrast to

59 Pardo Bazán, descended from an aristocratic family in Galicia, is highlighted by Lynch in a highly ironic portrait of "a distinguished group of Spanish ladies" waving off General Martínez Campos as he set out to restore colonial order in Cuba in 1898 (IC, 8). The title of Bazán's lecture was "La educación del hombre y de la mujer: sus relaciones y diferencias" [The Education of Man and Woman: Their Relationships and Differences].

60 From the German philosopher K.C. Friedrich Krause (1781-1832), whose thinking was influential on the enlightened Spanish founders of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza [Institute of Free Education] in 1876, those "professors who had lost their chairs in the reaction of the first days of the Restoration" (Carr [1980] 2001, 43). For further information on Krausism, see López-Morillas 1973.

61 See "Pereda, the Spanish Novelist". Carr suggests Pereda's "defence of Catholicism distorted what talents he possessed" ([1980] 2001, 44).

62 On the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, see López-Morillas 1973; Carr [1980] 2001, 40, 43.

63 The notion of tact is upheld five times in the article, bringing to mind the quality given priority in a list outlined by Anna Parnell, seen to be indispensable for the women joining the

her late husband, Alfonso XII, dismissed in forthright fashion as "a mediocre rake" (A, 173). The relatively young widow is also considered as "a mere woman, with all the rights and weaknesses of a woman" (A, 172) though Maria Christina is not seen to exhibit any of the latter. Indeed, she is viewed triumphantly, and defiantly, as "proof, if proof were needed, that no reign is better than that of a good woman without any considerable qualities of intellect, with only her dignity and tact of woman of the world" (A, 174). Beyond the consideration of the Queen Regent, the presentation of woman ("a mere woman") as in possession of "rights" is important and relevant in assessing Lynch's representation of women in late nineteenth century Spanish society, where, as observed by Pardo Bazán in 1892, women's acquisition of knowledge "remained anchored in the premiss of her innate intellectual inferiority and her reproductive function" (Jagoe 1998, 131).

There are many glimpses as well as lengthier descriptions of women over Lynch's articles devoted to Spain. Thus, the close-up of women in Catalonia, who remind the well-travelled and somewhat condescending onlooker of "the comely type of Provence, straight, balanced […] with bright eager glances, so different from the other Spaniards of their sex; not beautiful but alert, easy of carriage, healthy and blitheful workers" seen to offer "[g]ood nature […] as apology for brains" (AS, 662); "the idle woman" in La Coruña, whose head is thrust through the glass "*mirador*" (UC, 114), her "kingdom", from which she gazes at life in the streets and squares below, man's domain; and, finally, the women on board the ship bound for the Canary Islands, assessed as "limitlessly good-natured" but "lack[ing] initiative and "still more woefully lack[ing] brains", found to be "dull beyond words" (OB, 6). Enchantment and gratitude are also recorded: "a Spanish woman" encountered in an early visit to Spain is found to be "as sincerely and cordially hospitable as a princess of Eastern fable" (SH, 359) and "a woman in the doorway of a grocer's shop" is remembered as a "dear excellent creature [who] came out upon the pavement and thundered vociferously against her fellow citizens" in the Catalan town of Amposta. The woman in question was responsible for rescuing Lynch from subjection to "the universal gaze fixed on my unfortunate self" (RC, 66). However, four articles in particular, published in 1894, 1897, 1898 and 1903, hone in on what is perceived as an unsatisfactory, unjust existence: one of intellectual deprivation, within the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and of physical exploitation and domestic violence, specifically in relation to proletarian women in Galicia.

None of the Spanish women portrayed by Lynch, from working to ruling class, are formally educated. "The Señora of To-day" adopts a historical perspective with a view to illustrating the lack of progress in the present with regard to women's emancipation. The I-narrator assures her readers,

Ladies' Land League (Hearne 1986, 113).

moreover, that she is not simply expressing a personal opinion, following observation, but has been told by those affected: "how unenviable is the lot of the Spanish woman; within what mean and intolerable limits of action, thought and education she is confined by tradition. […] She is furthest from being happy of any woman I know, and I have listened to her confidences, married and maiden" (ST, 6). A point reiterated in the article is the extent to which Spanish life revolves around men's tastes, desires and habits, unpleasant as the latter might be: "All over Spain, the life of the street and that of the house is fashioned exclusively for the convenience of men. […] Women's tastes and exactions and various daintinesses of mind and body are of no account" (ST, 6). This dire Spanish reality is further illustrated in "The Señora of Today" by reference to a personal experience on a train, in a first-class compartment and in company: three Spanish men, one thought to be "a high military official" (ST, 6) which, the inference is, might have augured more urbane manners. The fastidious traveller, vividly, somewhat comically (at her own expense) and, finally, tartly, explains how she was subjected to a show of expectoration, a practice repeatedly highlighted on the part of men in the Spanish articles:

> Two of them, to the uninterrupted music of throat-scraping, spat so continuously on the strip of bright new carpet at our feet that it would be difficult to say if the acuter suffering lay in sight or sound, and I was obliged to make a paper covering for the degraded carpet in order to beat a retreat. The absurd notion that such a habit might be a severe trial for a lady would never act as a deterrent influence in its pursuance in Spain. The world, you see, was made for men – railway carriages, carpets and women included. (ST, 6)[64]

A note which is also struck in this article is that of acceptance or resignation on the part of women. The point is made in relation to "women of the middle and lower classes", found to be: "so surprisingly accommodating, subscribing so complacently to the order that extinguishes for [them] any rudimentary aspiration towards modern civilization" (ST, 6).

In "The Spaniard at Home", Lynch takes the Spanish aristocracy to task, wondering which half, male or female, is worse, before focusing her attention on the women, as is her wont, now as wives, mothers and

64 Lynch further observes that women in "the South and in the Colonies […] freely indulge in this national pastime", excusing them somewhat by suggesting "the ladies have adopted the vice as an engine of private revenge" and seeking to justify their behaviour: "Their lives, despite the smiles and bows and liquid syllables [of "[t]he don"], are miserable enough to justify it" (ST, 106). Lynch makes the point that male manners, at best, and ceremonious behaviour are no compensation for the poverty of women's existence. The aversion to ill-mannered behaviour may be related to Anna Parnell's influence: "she objected to any form of coarseness" (Foster 1979, 261).

daughters. The anodyne, unproductive existence of married women is highlighted, Lynch expressing their monotonous lot stylistically through the effective deployment of repetition, rhythm and stress as she launches into her indictment: "Wives doing nothing, asking nothing but attractive raiment out of doors and plenty of gossip within, have on the whole an easy time, for Spanish husbands are the least exacting of their kind" (SH, 352). The reader of *Blackwood's* might have spied a potential crevice for comfort given the undemanding nature of the male spouse: time to devote to reading, but, as Lynch observes, whether in youth or in the period of parenthood: "the intelligence is left uncultivated" (SH, 354). Moreover, in the context of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, that is, those who might have access to written culture, Lynch documents disdain on the part of such women with regard to books, the language becoming ironically evocative of the Catholic Church's teaching on the consequences of mortal sin:

> Indeed, there is nothing a Spanish woman abhors more than a book. […] Her hatred takes an aggressive form, for a book in the hands of another is resented as a personal affront, and serious and ingenious are her efforts to cure misguided persons of this unhappy passion. She mysteriously connects a book with the loss of your immortal soul, and supposes Heaven to be the Elysium of the illiterate. (SH, 356)

Some five years on, Lynch is reporting a similar situation and noting no improvement in relation to the younger generation: "As for the growth of intelligence, what chance has that in a world where women, capable of opening a book, are regarded frankly as either mad or immoral? […] the law against reading is no hardship for the Spanish girl. She dislikes literature in every form. She lives and observes with eye and ear, and this she does consumedly well" (GS, 391).

Already in 1898, the "travel-writer cum social anthropologist" (Foster 2008, 279) is adamant in her rejection of the existence meted out to Spanish girls, expressed in familiar forthright fashion:

> I would not be a Spanish girl for my mind's sake, for my life's sake, for such an existence is intolerable to the average civilized and thinking being; but if I were content with the wadded atmosphere of the pussycat or the pet canary, not free to live or think for myself, but smothered in satin cushions and caresses, fed upon the sweets of life, then would I choose to be an over-loved Spanish girl, the captive of home and parents, the spoiled idiot of humanity. (SH, 353)[65]

65 Part of this text is cited by Foster 2008, 278.

And it is made clear that the idiocy will be reproduced as the pampered girl becomes a mother and apportions the same treatment to her female offspring. However, a little earlier in the same text, the I-narrator pronounces in praise of "[t]he Spanish mother of all classes", in possession, in the commentator's view, of "a virtue I cannot sufficiently laud as a woman. It is rare that her preference is not given to her girls" (SH, 352). Much as the persuasion might merit the praise expressed, it may well be argued in the light of subsequent commentary in the article that the pronouncement has less to do with Spanish mothers and daughters and more with the longer criticism which follows of Irish mothers and the vulnerable status of Irish aristocratic and middle-class daughters left without means. Whilst the comment may connect to some extent with Lynch's own experience, it also brings to mind Anna Parnell's poverty:

> When one […] sees the unmerited misery of the daughters in Ireland, the coldness, inhumanity and selfishness of the Irish mother to her girls of every class, the monstrous way in which the girls are sacrificed to their brothers, left without education that these may play the gentleman, deprived of the enjoyment and pretty fripperies of girlhood, the money that might have helped to establish them squandered by the most heartless and least sacrificing of parents on the face of the earth, and nothing left the unfortunate girls but penury and struggle and the dull old maidenhood of dull and narrow Irish towns and villages, one is forced by sympathy to greet the excessive devotion of the Spanish mothers and lamentable spoiling of the Spanish daughters with indulgence. (SH, 354)[66]

"The Girls of Spain" foregrounds the female of the younger generation, "in the upper and middle classes", who are qualified as "simply crude and placid-going animals, without an idea or a sentiment that is not personal" or "merely dolls, to be dressed and amused and fed by their indulgent parents, and by-and-by to be married to some equally indulgent husband" (GS, 390, 394). Lynch describes "all they have been taught to desire", thus attributing the responsibility for the breeding of such specimens with their 'educators': parents and "[t]he convent school", seen to be "merely a resource for preparation for the First Communion" (GS, 390). The governess is spared responsibility in this connection: "In matters of toilet [the Spanish girl's] eye in infancy is that of an adept at fifty, but give her a lesson to learn and remember, and you may break your heart in a futile effort to make some advance in her training" (GS, 391). A list of what

66 Foster reads the extract quoted as "the majestic indignation of Lynch, thinking of her own country" (Foster 2008, 278).

constitutes the pattern of everyday life for the Spanish girl of the ruling classes amounts to a folly of unfulfilment and frivolity:

> plenty of time to dress, lots of purposeless needlework to do, over which they can chatter and exclaim to their heart's content; the window-frame or balcony, where they may sit for hours, holding dumb converse with their eyes and those of their lover below; then the late afternoon walk on the Plaza, expensively dressed for the admiration of the town or villages, refreshed with caustic comments on the clothes of other girls and women, and ordinary gossip. (GS, 390)

Lynch's savage indignation, of Swiftian proportion, is particularly vented on "purposeless needlework". She makes plain that "respect" and "admiration" are due to those women who are devoted to their needle for productive reasons. Thus, the needlewoman who "earns an honourable livelihood by her needle"; "the bourgeoise who […] will save an honest penny by turning a dress or mending a rent" and "the chatelaine who wiles away enforced leisure by working delicate tapestry on dainty embroidery" (GS, 391). However, neither respect nor admiration can be afforded the barren pursuit to which the Spanish aristocracy and bourgeoisie condemn their daughters; Lynch registers exasperation and makes a claim for immorality in the practice:

> To train girls […] to sit hour after hour stitching uselessly away at useless stuffs, with empty minds and emptier hearts, with no ideas, hopes, aspirations, thoughts, above this miserable futility, which consists in decorating washing towels and dusters with all sorts of hideous devices in coloured threads, is surely a national iniquity. (GS, 391-92)

Finally, in "An Unnoted Corner of Spain", which introduces "the untravelled reader" (UC, 109) to lesser-known Galicia, Lynch also depicts women's focus on fashion and devotion to gossip of a summer evening, but more attention is paid to peasant women in the province, highlighting the extent to which they are exploited, age prematurely and are even physically abused by their male counterparts. The feminist rambler observes:

> What strikes you most in all your rambles throughout Galicia is the obvious fact that all the outdoor labour is accomplished by the women [who] are old and tanned and wrinkled at twenty-five, […] If husband and wife move anywhere, you will see […] the woman […] carrying on the top of her head all the family belongings in a big trunk. The women work in the fields, are the porters, itinerant merchants, the water-carriers and fruit-growers of the land. By sunrise they throng the markets, carry your luggage to and from train or boat, and walk behind the squealing

> wooden-wheeled car[t]s drawn by wild oxen. […] by dawn she is out in the fields, or on her way to market with baskets of fruit and flowers and vegetables large enough to hold a family; or on her way to catch the first train and dispossess the traveller of his luggage, industriously knitting, crocheting, or embroidering as she waits. (UC, 115, 116)

Lynch manifests no sympathy for "[t]he male" in Galicia or, indeed, anywhere else in the country. The Galician man, she remarks, "despises womenfolk, to whom he makes over all ignoble labour, treats woman frankly as a creature of inferior order and his servant, and is apt […] to resort to physical chastisement should she thwart him" (UC, 116). In spite of her subjugation, the Galician woman is found to be "a fund of good-nature, kindly manner and energy", but Lynch does not spare criticism of her, given her failure to rebel: "Her folly is shown in longsuffering" (UC, 116). This "folly" of on-going acceptance is highlighted in the woman of both "the middle and lower classes" some four years earlier, in "The Señora of Today", found to be "so surprisingly accommodating, subscribing so complacently to the order that extinguishes for her any rudimentary aspiration towards modern civilization" (6). Moreover, in the latest of the four articles just referred to, "The Spaniard at Home", "mild resignation" is qualified as "the keynote of national character, both in public and private life" with the caveat: "The higher you go, the more remarkable it becomes" (352). Hardly a recipe for change, for the modernization which, one largely gathers from Lynch's reporting, Spain is so gravely in need of.

In *Autobiography of a Child*, an emphatic superlative is coined in qualifying Ireland as "the very wretchedest land on earth for woman" (1899, 217). However, as has been seen, her articles on Spain show the southern land not to lag far behind. As observed earlier, in "An Unnoted Corner of Spain", the Irish outsider observes that Spaniards are not critical, adding: "In this they resemble the Irish" (116). It is worth pondering, then, what the failure to criticize in both cultures might be rooted in. Certainly what the two territories held in common was the power of Catholic conservatism. Binckes and Laing have documented Lynch's being ousted as a contributor to the *Irish Monthly* following her two articles on Greece, citing Lynch's claim regarding the conviction of Jesuit editor Matthew Russell that the aspiring writer was "bent on demoralizing a credulous public" and that he "f[ought] shy now [February 1886] of associating [her] name with his religious newspaper" (Binckes, Laing 2011a, 124).[67] What is clear from the articles on Spain is that Lynch never concentrates her attention on the cult of virgins or saints, not even when it might be expected, given

67 Already in 1881, the Archbishop of Dublin had given forth on women's intervention outside the home: "the woman who […] parade[s] herself before the public gaze […] degrading the women of Ireland" (Pierse 2010, 138).

the title or subject matter, as in "Montserrat". However, she does single out the so-called Hunchbacked Virgin, *La Geperudeta*, honoured in Valencia.[68] She describes the splendour that abounds around the figure but goes on to express, ironically, a critical view with regard to the impact of such practices on the construction of Spanish womanhood: "Like all the other Virgins of Spain, this statue has a gorgeous wardrobe, and its cloaks and gowns twinkle in waves of coloured light shed by innumerable jewels. What a beautiful lesson in vanity and extravagance these shrines preach to the women of the Iberian Peninsula!" (AS, 664). Four years on from this observation, and adopting a deprecating distance by drawing on a trope of travel writing, Lynch will again express a sardonic view in relation to the country's established "[r]eligion", the mention of morning mass and the description of the trappings of the faith, indicative of Catholicism, seen to be merely mechanically observed:

> Religion plays an inevitable but facile part in every phase of Spanish life. Morning mass is as regular as breakfast; but I doubt if the result be in the least spiritual. […] the religion [is] an impossible mixture of materialism and contented ignorance, with a remote, naïve strain of paganism, which keeps the modern traveller of tolerant views on the edge of a smile, so quaint and hideous and sensual are all these forms of worship – gorgeously dressed dolls, crucifixes decked out with the skirts of a ballet dancer, and gold-fringed scarves, beads, medals and processions. (SH, 360)

Finally, comments in the article "Toledo", published in *The Idler* in the same year as "The Spaniard at Home", expressing sympathy and solidarity with both Jews and Moors, expelled from an intolerant Spain, together with the raw representation of the Catholic saint, Vicente Ferrer, as "fanatic" (T, 258), further contribute to depicting Spanish Catholicism as historically repressive.[69]

"The Spaniard at Home" concludes: "Spain cannot by the kindliest observer be regarded as civilized or modern" (360) and neither the benevolence affirmed in the case of Greece or the admiration felt for France is

68 According to Calzadilla (1911) Lynch was hunchbacked.

69 In a letter addressed to Arvède Barine, Lynch identified herself as "anti-catholique" (MS letter, n.d. [1901], Wednesday, BNF, NAF Vol. 18345 f. 330; cited by Binckes, Laing 2011b, 162, note 28). It is worth noting that both "Toledo" and "The Spaniard at Home" appeared in March and September of 1898, that is, following Émile Zola's open letter, "J'accuse", in which he defended Alfred Dreyfus, the Jewish officer accused of treason. Further comment on Christians and Moors, to the advantage of the latter, is reflected in Lynch's "Along the Spanish Highways".

registered in Lynch's writing.[70] Never mollycoddled like a Spanish girl or exhibiting the complacency noted in Spanish women of "the middle and lower classes" (ST, 6), Lynch fought for women's rights and wider social progress both through her independent lifestyle and her writing, including the texts on Spain. Yet, paradoxically, there is a note of resistance to change in the Spanish articles, moreover, with regard to women. Such instances relate to woman as an object of desire. Thus, and in passing, Cádiz is dismissed as "[o]f a prettiness so dainty and regular that you weary of it before the first day is over" though "[n]ight decorates it with some variety – everybody is abroad". It is then that the "vivacity and volubility" of the men amuses, but the women seduce: "You are enticed along by the smiles and lovely allurements of the maidens and matrons, with their exquisite walk, their mantillas and long-fringed shawls" (AS, 667). Furthermore, a traditional representation of Spain is embraced and regret expressed at its passing:

> Here at least, the guitar twangs and the mantilla is still worn, sometimes even with the traditional rose; and often a dark-eyed nymph passes with her slight Andalucian swagger and its message of charming provocation, flaunting a rose between her lips. But only sometimes, alas! The fashions of Paris have encroached so far, and the ladies of Cadiz are not unacquainted with a passion for the shoddier articles of England. (AS, 667)

In 1894, as expressed in the article for *Good Words*, the "dark-eyed nymph" is memorable, albeit with the trite trappings of Romantic representation, but she is more memorably – and defiantly – recalled in the preceding year when Lynch is publishing on home ground in the *Freeman's Journal*. Far from feminine, "Carmen" acquires New Woman traits, flaunting a cigarette, rather than a rose, between her lips:

> I have seen in Cadiz a Carmen in the flesh – a rollicking, smoking, dangerous Carmen off the stage, who was neither vulgar nor offensive. Her walk was certainly a swagger but it was noble and even picturesque in its way. She did not wear a dagger in her garter, according to the legend, but she looked quite capable of stabbing a rival or a troublesome lover. She was, however, aboundingly good-natured, and not even her swagger and strident voice could destroy her magnetic and penetrative charms. (UD, 5)

70 On Greece, for instance, see Lynch's address to the Greek novelist and essayist Demetrius Bikélas, published as a preliminary piece to *Daughters of Men*: "I lack neither friendship nor sympathy with your race" (1892, n.p). Bikélas was also a poet, businessman and first president of the International Olympic Committee. On France, see her *French Life in Town and Country* (1901).

Ultimately, the recollection ends on a note of admiration and surrender to the Spanish woman's – uncivilized – body: "untaught she was insolently grand with her long-fringed shawl, stamping and whirling and twisting her body backwards and sideways after the vivid *chula* fashion" (UD, 5).

The charisma of Carmen in Cádiz is striking though the enticement is not unique. In El Ferrol, "the most attractive working girls in the entire world" are seen to "flaunt their provocative charms in the face of admiring naval officers" (UC, 117-18). However, it is an "exquisitely graceful female jockey" at an "inferior" circus in La Coruña whose femininity and strange "poetic grace", beyond the boundary of the dominant discourse (just as the circus itself is on the margins of mainstream society), captivate the onlooker irresistibly:

> I saw [her] ride as I have never seen man or mortal ride before. The Rational Dress Society might be guided by her miraculous instinct in choice of raiment. Her dainty, high-topped boots, her white leggings revealing without impropriety or abandoned charm a matchless perfection of slim form, and a beautifully fitting yellow and brown satin and plush jacket, as long as a Louis XV coat, with cap to match, made a whole of bewitching effect. That she, too, was beautiful goes without saying. She remains in memory as the single instance of a delicately refined and feminine creature, flashing a *queer* inexplicable poetic grace, without any trace of boldness, of vulgarity, through the malodorous atmosphere of circus and music-hall. (UC, 116-17; emphasis added)

A further instance, in the market-place in Valencia, might be mentioned, where the energy of women selling their wares is "captivating" (AS, 663). The response in this instance particularly focuses on a woman vendor's brimming vitality, though her beauty is not ignored:

> One woman, above all, has left an ineffaceable memory. She was apple-cheeked, with clear grey eyes that danced with the pleasure of blithe blood running through her healthy veins. It would be calumny to call so cheering a creature merely pretty. She was the embodiment of practical gaiety and full-blooded youth, and was vividly lovely in her quaint Valencian head-dress; black hair plaited widely just above the neck, and run through with four pearl and emerald pins, two on either side between ear and temple, parted in the middle and frizzed along either side of the narrow brow. This divinity presided over bags and sacks of the delicious pistachio nut, from which the *chufa* is made. (AS, 663)

It might be added that the detail supplied with regard to the jockey's outfit at the circus in La Coruña or the hairstyle of the market-seller in Valencia evoke the painterly quality visible in the description of landscapes, already

noted in the articles. The rendering of "the matchless skin" of Spanish women is also sensually conveyed through the experience of touch and sight: "In Spain alone is woman's skin of an unblemished texture – smooth as satin, soft and delicate as the leaf of a rose in full flower" (AT, 43).

Lynch was writing at a time when gender boundaries were breaking down. English novelist George Gissing assessed the 1880s and 1890s as decades of "sexual anarchy" when, as Karl Miller has noted: "Men became women. Women became men. Gender and country were put in doubt" (Showalter 1992, 3). It may be claimed that Lynch was plagued by doubts about her country of origin and the power of patriarchy within it as well as by its deprived status within the Union. Therefore, travel and, more particularly, travel writing on Spain over the *fin-de-siècle* and into the new century, enabled Lynch to seek new horizons with a view to improving her financial prospects, finding a space for exploring her sexual identity as well as accommodating and reinforcing her challenge to conventional forms of gender and sexuality, as also found in her novels of the 1890s, from *The Prince of the Glades* to *Jinny Blake*.

There is much else that the Spanish articles carry with regard to Lynch's preoccupations: contempt for English rule, as witnessed in Las Palmas, and English arrogance, exhibited by "the clean, well-washed English cad […] swagger[ing] about a foreign hotel" (OB, 6), mentioned in her first Spanish article; her antipathy to trade and commerce, repeatedly highlighted; her defence of animal rights, reflected in her bloody representation of bull-fighting, and her environmental concerns, visible in her opposition to the chopping down of trees in Galicia and poor town planning in Valencia. Her interest in and recognition of the difficulty of translation can also be seen in her article on "Pereda, the Spanish Novelist".

Ultimately, the articles reveal ambivalence in Lynch's response to Spain: she is deeply frustrated by the country's resistance to change, the ubiquitous sense of resignation on the part of women and the grooming of girls for mindlessness and subjugation, yet she is captivated by it. She is bewitched by moonscapes, experienced under skies void of industrial smoke or smog, charmed by simple folk and, particularly, by the beauty of Spanish women. On occasion, the representation of such beauty may veer towards Romantic stereotype, though the specific detail and the surrender on the part of the narrator are far from trite.

7 The Spanish Novel: *Jinny Blake*

Lynch's ninth work of fiction moves from London to Madrid via Paris and the Pyrenees before moving south to Málaga, via Jaén and Granada. The narrative is centred on the young female protagonist, Jinny, the volatile daughter of an actor on the London stage, Herbert Blake, and his Irish

wife, Ethna, now deceased.[71] Mr Blake is concerned that his daughter should not see him on the stage and also anxious that she should not go into a convent or fall into the hands of an inappropriate suitor. Aided by his American wife-to-be, the widowed Lady Jewsbury, Jinny will be taken abroad, where she will initially succumb to the charms of a dashing Spanish aristocrat before returning home earlier than expected. Eventually, a little older, and undoubtedly wiser, she will be ready to seek "solider nourishment" for her "soul" (JB, 304).

The opening two chapters of the twenty-two of which *Jinny Blake* is composed take place in London and Paris before Chapter 3 transports the reader from the French capital to the fashionable spa of Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrenees. It is from here that Jinny and her party travel to Madrid with the aristocratic Spaniards met in the French resort. The final two paragraphs of Chapter 6, "Into the Land of Cervantes", register Jinny's exhilaration as she moves into the unknown southern territory whilst evoking the Romantic legacy with regard to Spain:

> the dim, unfamiliar landscape. Spain! The wonder and excitement of it held her silent, […] she felt so completely under the spell of enchantment […] Her glance pierced onward through the thickening shadows, and her mind peered backward through the half-forgotten pages of history. This, then, was Spain! (89)

The action which follows, from Chapter 7 on, takes place in the Spanish capital before the party travel further south to Málaga (in Chapter 12) on an unpredictable train journey, seen to be subject to the whim of the engine-driver or rivalry between the engine-driver and stoker. The representation of the south echoes that of earlier nineteenth century Romantic notions conveyed through the gaze of male travellers: "Through the centre of Spain, as desolate as the desert, and then along the highway of that enchanted land, Andalucia. […] Every yard onward advanced them into a more southern and strange landscape" (178, 177). Jaén is mentioned in passing, a place for an evening meal, with more time, not surprisingly, given Lynch's travel writing forebears, reserved for "Granada, the sacred tomb of Moorish glory" (179). The description devoted to the city and, more particularly, the Alhambra, may draw on Lynch's own rapturous experience though this is not further documented in either her journalism

71 The review in FJ refers to Jinny as the daughter of "the great Irish tragedian" though Herbert Blake's Irish identity is never made explicit in the novel (21 May 1897, 2). He is identified in the opening paragraph as "the popular tragedian" (Lynch 1897b, 11). The review in the *Glasgow Herald* also alluded to Blake as "an Irish actor" (27 May 1897, 9). In constructing the character of Herbert Blake, Lynch may have drawn on the career of Dion Boucicault (1820/22-1890), leading critics to readily identify Jinny's father as Irish.

or other novels. However, the opening sentence of the paragraph carries conviction as to the city's treasures:

> One perfect day at Granada is worth most of the draughts of splendor earth can elsewhere offer us. The party at least thought so and carried away a picture of opalescent serrated mountain-tops against a glittering azure, Moorish lanes aglow with every precious hue, the mighty Alhambra – magic letters woven out of a dream of romance – upon a consecrated hill, a mass of stone to crowd the thought of every other palace of the world out of memory; fountains and chattering streams shot with coloured flames like the facets of a diamond, and over all cool scented airs blowing from the mountains and laden with the poignant sweetness of every southern shrub. (179)

The sojourn in Málaga is brief; come Chapter 15, Jinny is on a brig, bound for home and showing herself to be more than a match for her male fellows:

> Jinny's joyous temper, her songs, her laughter, and ready powers of mimicry, speedily rendered her popular with the men. She examined everything, spoke to everybody, including the stokers, went down into the grimy engine-room, smoked cigarettes, sang Irish melodies for the men, and played écarté with the Captain in the chart room. (223)[72]

The breaking of the boundaries of class, gender and space are inequivocal yet, undoubtedly, the novel carries "contradictory inflections" (Binckes, Laing 2011a, 114).

Eighteen year-old Jinny's rebelliousness, her challenge to the established both in verbal encounters with her elders and in her unconventional behaviour, is made manifest from early on in the novel. Her intelligence is also recognised and voiced by a variety of characters, some of whom are far from tolerant of her waywardness. Jinny's chaperone abroad, Mary Jewsbury, the American widow of a British peer, sees her as "your wild Irish girl" and an "untamed creature" (13) and is still viewing her charge as "perfectly unmanageable" (231) following the time spent in France and Spain, aimed at bringing the girl's volatility to heel; Mary's brother John, on the other hand, finds Jinny's "boyish candour" (28) attractive. Jinny's old schoolfriend, Devonshire lass Nannie Brown, remembers her as "always brilliant, […] even as a school girl" (52) and her seductive Spanish suitor, Pepe de Cordellia, recognizes "[s]he had brains" (135). His formidable father pronounces Miss Blake to be "somewhat overreaching in the matter of intellect, perhaps" whilst prescribing that "her sex should

72 The novel's remaining seven chapters (16 to 22) take place in London, where the action began.

sparkle less and carry itself more passively" though he will admit to finding her "a very beautiful and accomplished young lady" (110). Jinny herself resists a fixed identity in discourse which looks forward to a twentieth-century plurality of consciousness, as reflected in Woolf's *Orlando* or to the fluidity of *écriture féminine*: "which of my selves will come out of this drenching of sunlight [in Spain]. 'Unstable as water,' you know. I may go unmated for life. Why not?" (44). However, within the *fin-de-siècle* context of the novel's publication, the reader might identify in Jinny the stuff of the (Irish) New Woman and the views she repeatedly expresses (apart from her transgressive demeanour) certainly seem to lend support to the notion.[73] Her views on marriage are further illustrative in this connection and many other instances are revealing of the extent to which Spanish society lagged behind with regard to the emancipation of women.

Given such challenging views to the *status quo* as represented through Jinny, the novel's *dénouement* seems somewhat undermining. An explanation may perhaps be found in current contingency, pointed to by Tina O'Toole in connection with George Egerton's experience:

> The effects of the scandal created by the Wilde trials in 1895 were far reaching, and a backlash against dissident voices quickly gathered force. […] this growing conservatism affected the work of the New Woman writers, particularly that of Egerton, as John Lane began to suggest changes to her work and reject her more radical experiments. […] Egerton was asked to tone down her subject matter […] (O'Toole in Hansson 2008, 139)[74]

Contemporary reviews of *Jinny Blake* were not altogether enthusiastic though the *Freeman's Journal* did express nothing but praise for their contributor's "delightful book" whilst promising the reader an "eminently delightful" perusal.[75] In the same year that *Jinny Blake* appeared, Lynch published *An Odd Experiment*, apparently a much "odder" text in terms of established morality in its overt depiction of a *ménage a trois*, though the *ménage* adheres to conventional morality. However, the "Spanish novel" would more than restore the balance in favour of the *status quo* with three conventional marriages accumulating as the novel ends. The explanation may lie in the differing procedures and degrees of tolerance adopted by

73 Given the "strong central female character", *Jinny Blake* has recently been assessed as "perhaps the most straightforward New Woman text in [Lynch's] oeuvre" (O'Neill, Yatani 2016, 114).

74 See also Binckes, Laing 2011a, 114.

75 See FJ, 21 May 1897, 2. Other reviews of *Jinny Blake* appeared in: *The Yorkshire Post*, 6 Oct. 1897, 3; *Atheneum*, 22 May 1897, 675-6; *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 23 Feb. 1900, 4; *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1897, 9.

publishers: the publishing house of Joseph Malaby Dent, the self-made entrepreneur of J.M. Dent & Company, published *Jinny Blake* whilst Methuen & Co, founded by the middle-class Oxford graduate and teacher Algernon Methuen Marshall Stedman, took on the potentially transgressive text, as it subsequently took on those of other transgressors: Oscar Wilde (*De Profundis*, 1905) and D.H. Lawrence (*The Rainbow*, 1915).

Jinny Blake connects with Lynch's journalism on Spain on a number of counts. Her observations with regard to the frivolous behaviour and pursuits of middle-class Spanish women are present in the novel as is the more egalitarian nature of the Spanish aristocracy in contrast to the British. The novel also reflects the connection with, and vindication of, Ireland, from mere mentions of shamrock to challenging lines from "The Wearing of the Green"; through the kindly character of Colonel O'Malley and the boy duke's having an Irish nurse.[76] Jinny will also defiantly declare herself to "come of a perverse and rebel race" (98). This self-identification (expressed through the discourse of the master race) might account for the claim referred to above in reviews of the novel that Jinny's father was Irish.

Finally, it may be noted that Spain is seen in the novel both through people in conversation, by way of custom, and in the depiction of landscape, as found in Lynch's Spanish journalism. Further authenticity to this Spanish tale is sought through the representation of the child duke's particular pronunciation and use of English though this is not only presented as a young Spaniard's rendering of the language but as a consequence of the Hiberno-English learnt from his governess. Thus, a further foregrounding of Irish culture is achieved.

76 Apart from the particular function in Lynch's novel, the young duke's Irish "nurse" registers a practice which grew into the twentieth century, i.e. that of young Irish women employed as governesses in the households of the Spanish aristocracy and upper middle-class. Kate O'Brien drew on her own experience with the Areilza family for *Mary Lavelle* (1936). See José María de Areilza, "Mary Lavelle", *El País*, 13 Aug. 1985, 9. Lynch refers to the presence of Irish nannies in Spain in GS, 390.

8 The Spanish Travel Book: *Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital*

Lynch published a text carrying information and impressions about Toledo, the quintessential Castilian city, with J.M. Dent & Co in their "Mediaeval Towns" series in 1898. Profusely illustrated by Helen M. James, who also contributed to other titles in the same series, it was reprinted on two more occasions, in 1903 and 1910. A few years later Francis W. Halsey included several extracts from it in *Seeing Europe with Famous Authors. Volume IX: Spain and Portugal* (1914).[77]

The early twentieth century witnessed the gradual rise of Toledo as a tourist destination, the city becoming increasingly aware of its vast multicultural legacy. The efforts to preserve the local heritage initially faced a number of difficulties, ranging from the controversial practice of selling paintings to foreign collectors to the putting forward of questionable urban plans envisioning the destruction of historic quarters (Storm 2013). However, it was finally agreed by a number of intellectuals and politicians that in the face of modern tourism the city could benefit from its architectural and artistic treasures. Even though the image of Toledo as a sleepy, dilapidated town, represented in many Romantic travel books (García Martínez 2011), was gradually becoming a phenomenon of the past, the city still maintained its allure. Foreign visitors found access to new travel facilities that allowed a day trip from Madrid or a longer stay at one of the local *fondas* or the more sophisticated Hotel Castilla.[78] In this changing context Lynch wrote *Toledo*, a turn-of-the-century text that expresses a dual approach to the city, that is, as both a romantic, idealized site and a treasure house of artworks worth cherishing and preserving.

Lynch did not stay in Toledo merely to see the sights. She spent time in the city in 1897 in local libraries and institutions gathering information. She observed that the working conditions sometimes proved difficult due to restricted opening hours and the occasional discourtesy of civil servants. Moreover, as an unchaperoned foreign woman, on certain occasions she found it challenging to walk around Toledo given the harassment of beggars and impertinent locals. Several years later, one A. Calzadilla, a local guide, acknowledged that she had been subject to ridicule during

77 The selected parts were as follows: "Impressions on Arrival" (23-27), "The Treasury of the Cathedral" (33-6), "Roderick's Great Tournament" (40-2), "The Day of the Foss" (43-7), "The Tagus, River of Romance" (48-51) and "The Sword Makers" (52-4).

78 The investors in the construction of the luxurious Hotel Castilla, inaugurated in 1891, were the Irishman Francisco O'Priede and the Marquis of Castrillo. See the website "Toledo Olvidado", at `https://toledoolvidado.blogspot.com/2008/11/el-hotel-castilla.html` (2018-10-22).

her stay in Toledo on account of her physical appearance.[79] However, such adversities did not deter Lynch. During her stay she managed to examine a number of relevant sources and held conversations with local guides, officials and clergymen, who occasionally appear in her travel book. Lynch appears to have written the volume quite swiftly, producing a hybrid text drawing on the guidebook as well as the historical and artistic monograph.

Toledo: the Story of an Old Spanish Capital is evenly structured, the first five chapters focusing mainly on historical information and the remaining six principally dealing with artistic issues. Lynch devotes the first four chapters to the history of Toledo, from pre-Roman times to the sixteenth-century Revolt of the Comuneros, paying special attention to the Visigoth and Muslim periods. Next, in Chapter 5 – "The Old Capital, Once and Now" – she returns to the present, to the turn-of-the-century Toledo she experienced. The remaining chapters explore the artistic heritage of the city, providing the reader not only with a wealth of data and names but also with Lynch's gift for artistic appreciation. Her gaze focuses on the cathedral (Ch. 6), the paintings of El Greco (Ch. 7), the convent of San Juan de los Reyes and the Jewish synagogues (Ch. 8), the local aristocratic palaces (Ch. 9), and, finally, on all the other monuments deemed worth visiting, including the old bridges and gates of the city (Chs. 9 and 10). The volume carries an appendix providing useful information for potential tourists.

Like many travel narratives, the text begins with an opening section signalling the moment of symbolic entry into a new milieu whilst evoking a threshold experience. Lynch, the woman traveller alone, crossing the bridges and gates of Toledo, walks towards a mysterious location, a "mausoleum of petrified memories" (1898a, 6). She contemplates the magnificent old town and contrasts both its stillness and legendary status to the bustling experience of Madrid. To do so, she draws on the words of another contemporary traveller enamoured of the Castilian city, the French writer Maurice Barrès, whose works she quotes from. Moreover, she employs familiar Romantic rhetoric though seasoned with a painter-like consciousness. Finally, another relevant section of *Toledo* focuses on the work of the painter Domenikos Theotocopoulos, 'El Greco'. When she visited Toledo, the reassessment of the Crete-born artist, formerly considered a bizarre painter by a number of critics, had already begun, thanks to the efforts of painters like Santiago Rusiñol and Ignacio Zuloaga. They regarded the

79 Calzadilla (1911) denounces this incident in a letter to the editor of a local newspaper. He complains about the constant harassment that foreign visitors are exposed to at the hands of local beggars and youngsters: "Por informes que he podido adquirir, sé que cuando Miss Hannah Lynch estuvo en Toledo, como era pequeñita y jorabada [*sic*], fue objeto de burla por parte de chicos y grandes" (Through reports that I have received, I know that when Miss Hannah Lynch was in Toledo, as she was small and hunchbacked, she was the butt of ridicule by children and adults alike) (2).

sixteenth-century artist as a beacon of modernity, whereas only a few years later writers of the Spanish *Generación del 98* would see him as a symbol of Spanish tradition (García Rodríguez, Gómez Alfeo 2002). Lynch's artistic judgements, published within this *fin-de-siècle* masculinist reassessment of El Greco, merit serious consideration.[80]

Soon after publication, Lynch's artistic travelogue received a fair degree of critical coverage on both sides of the Atlantic. The most positive review appeared, as might be expected, in the *Freeman's Journal*. On 10 May 1899, an anonymous contribution – "Brilliant Book by an Irish Authoress" – declared: "Nothing is lost on her; she sees not only with her eyes, but with her mind and with her heart; the past is to her as living as the present, all the romance, the horror, the tragedy and gloom of the history of Toledo is literally conjured up by her, and she builds the old town for us, conquers and reconquers it, devastates it, and leads us through its ruins" (6). However, the enthusiastic reviewer does not exclusively linger on Lynch's use of romance, but stresses the realism of the book, arguing: "the Toledo that Miss Lynch conjures up for us is no city of enchantment, but an austere bleak town, brown and gaunt, rugged and harsh, ill-paved and ruinous, a dusky, mutilated casket to hold incomparable treasures" (6). According to the reviewer, the merit of the book not only stems from the writer's "extraordinary command of language" and her "wit and mirth and good sayings", but also from her "courage to express her thoughts" (6).

Equally positive was the brief but flattering "In Olden Spain", published in *The Speaker* on 27 May 1899. Having stated that the people of Toledo ought to be "congratulated upon having the story of *their* town told by one of the few novelists who possess the gift of being able to write vivid narrative", there is no hesitation in claiming that "[n]o intelligent reader of the brilliant little monograph upon Toledo […] is likely to forget easily the pleasure which will have been derived from a perusal of its pages" (615). Further reviews revolved around different aspects of *Toledo* that might easily be recognizable to readers. The *Leeds Mercury*, for instance, referred to Toledo as "the Durham of Spain" and paraphrased Lynch's words, declaring that the city of the bygone glorious past "lives no more except in the memory" of scholars and foreign visitors (7). Likewise, but only loosely drawing on Lynch, the *Saturday Review* offered a general description of Toledo that recalled its past ties to the steel industry – "The City of Swords" – and concluded that it now stood as a symbol of decadent Spain. Finally, with the original title "The New Topography", on September 2, 1899, *The Academy* referred to Lynch's volume as a fitting example of a novel type of travel book, that is, a "new topography", more concerned

80 The Spanish critic Manuel B. Cossío (1921, 3) counts Lynch among the foreign writers who contributed to the reassessment of the Greek painter's works, but he mistakenly considers her to be Greek.

with the spirit of the place than with realistic representations of it. The author of the review applauds Lynch's attempt "to unravel the soul found in the stones" (225) and compliments her for guiding her readers "with a verve and a loyalty to her main idea which win her pages from anything like tedium" (226).

In spite of all these qualities, not all critics regarded *Toledo* as well-crafted. Possibly haste led to more than a handful of glaring mistakes, detected by more than one reviewer. After declaring that "the plan of the book is good" and commending Lynch on her "series of *promenades artistiques*", a review in the "Books of the Week" section of the *Manchester Guardian* could not refrain from mentioning the "incredible carelessness in detail and finish", not only in the spelling of names but also in the rendering of quotations in Spanish or Latin. The reviewer complained: "the book throughout is wanting in seriousness […] The writer shows a supreme contempt for the public, which even the most general reader hardly deserves" (4). Similarly, on 17 July 1899, the *Morning Post* sharply asserted: "[Lynch's] descriptions do occasionally weary the reader with garrulity, and the opinions expressed in her book are not such as are likely to be referred to again with pleasure" (6). For all its blunders, echoes of the publication also reached Spain and the United States. One Spanish reviewer, albeit briefly, expressed approval: Lynch was widely travelled and, therefore, could claim competence in her assessment. As he affirmed: "está escrito por persona […] versada en viajes" (it is written by someone who is well travelled) (Webster 1899, 195). In the United States, the critical opinions ranged from those who considered Lynch lacking in historical knowledge to those who used her book as a pretext to offer brief disquisitions on Toledo's glorious past.[81] The multiple range and varied scope of all the reviews and responses demonstrates the transnational reception that *Toledo* enjoyed when the writer had not even turned forty.

9 Conclusion

Lynch's connection with Spain lasted until shortly before her death. By that time, her status as a writer had received an increasing degree of recognition, as an anonymous admirer of her work bore witness in 1902. The devotee in question, perhaps someone who knew her well and wished to see her reputation promoted, spoke of Lynch as a "brilliant and versatile writer" and "[a] sparkling and witty conversationalist whose bon-mots slip from her tongue with as much ease in French and Spanish as in

81 For American reviews, see: "Toledo", *New York Tribune*, 24 Sept. 1899, 13; "Toledo", *The Sun*, 1 Nov. 1903, 2; "Lost in Night of Ages", *The Sunday Oregonian*, 19 Nov. 1899, 22.

English". She is further alluded to as "a polished critic and essayist" as well as "an accomplished traveller" whose "brilliant and delightful little book on 'Toledo'" is seen to make manifest.[82] As such praise illustrates, the writer's relationship with Spain was recognised as not insubstantial. It may be said that through her Spanish journalism and other writings related to the country she had earned her right to be assessed as one of its most insightful Irish commentators. Lynch wrote as if travelling alone and in so doing her writing challenged the norms of travel for women. In a highly charged masculinist society formerly penetrated by Romantic male travellers, she created more than a room of her own. Even though she appears to have frequented the company of the higher echelons of Spanish society, the articles reveal empathy with the population at large and more particularly with the plight of women. In spite of a status quo that recalled her country of origin, for this noteworthy Irish New Woman Spain came to signify not only a means of financial support and, perhaps, the promise of health restored but also, paradoxically, a territory of possibility: a space for independent self-expression and a place for exploring otherness.

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