

## A Study of the Sources for James Joyce's Essays on James Clarence Mangan

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James Joyce's two essays on the Irish poet James Clarence Mangan (1803-1849) reveal his admiration for him as well as his aesthetic vision as a young man. The first essay, read in University College Dublin in 1902, is enthusiastic, whereas the second, read in Italian in Trieste in 1907, is less so, while still affirming the importance of Mangan to the Irish tradition.<sup>1</sup> The essays are widely-quoted as evidence of Joyce's views on Irish nationalism. Seamus Deane has said that "Joyce exaggerated the extent to which Mangan had been ignored by his countrymen after his death".<sup>2</sup> For anyone familiar with the life and writings of Mangan, Deane's statement that Joyce exaggerated the extent to which he had been ignored is questionable. Since 1999, however, the year in which Jacque Chuto's excellent *James Clarence Mangan: A Bibliography* appeared, Deane's assertion can be disputed with solid evidence, as will be shown in the following. In fact, as will also be demonstrated, it is worth considering how the editions he used influenced his perception of a poet held "straitly" by the history of his country (*CW* 81) and, as a result, some of his opinions on Mangan's nationalism.

Deane seems mostly to allude to the 1907 essay. There Joyce promises to give an idea of the "Cimmerian night that enfolds the name" of Mangan (*CW* 176). He is of the opinion that it is too soon to assert that the earlier poet must "live" forever in the "drab fields of oblivion" yet is convinced that if he were finally to emerge into "the posthumous glory" to which he has a claim, it would not be with the help of his countrymen (*CW* 179). James Clarence Mangan died in 1849, so fifty-three years had elapsed when Joyce read the first essay on him in 1902. In that time, besides the three anthologies mentioned by Joyce which will be described in greater detail here, and the numerous poems by him contained in general anthologies of Irish poetry, only the following appeared exclusively dedicated to Mangan: a supplement to the *Nation* of sixteen pages on 25 December 1852;<sup>3</sup> *Irish and Other Poems by James Clarence Mangan*, published in Dublin in 1886 in one volume. It contained one

hundred and forty four pages and went through two editions, in 1887 and 1904 (Chuto 79-80). In addition to these we find Mangan's own *German Anthology*, a collection of translations from the German and the only book published by him during his lifetime. This appeared in Dublin in 1845 and had a second edition in 1884, again coming out in Dublin (Chuto 74-75); and *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, first appearing as *Selections from the Bardic Remains of Munster* in 1848 as a *Specimen*, then in the first edition *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* in 1849. This went through at least five subsequent editions until 1925, if we do not count one from 1851 and facsimile editions in New York in 1976 (Chuto 69-73). There is also a recent facsimile published in Washington D. C. in 1997. Finally, Mangan's *The Tribes of Ireland* was first published in Dublin in 1852, a second edition was issued in 1864 and a facsimile in 1976 (Chuto 73). However, both *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* and *The Tribes of Ireland* are not anthologies in the strict sense, as they are translations.

In the years between the 1902 essay on Mangan and the one read in 1907 there was more interest shown in the writer than previously. This was due to the work of a Mangan enthusiast, D. J. O'Donoghue, who published a biography in 1897 with the title *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan*. Between 1902 and 1907 two anthologies edited by O'Donoghue came out in Dublin. The first, *Poems of James Clarence Mangan*, was published in 1903 and went through three editions until 1922 (a facsimile appearing in New York in 1972) (Chuto 83-86). The second, *Prose Writings*, was issued in 1904 and a facsimile was printed in New York in 1976 (Chuto 86-87). In 1906 another anthology appeared in Portland, Maine, with the title *The Bibelot*. There was only one edition of this. As Chuto shows, the *Bibelot* series, published by Thomas B. Mosher, "consisted in reprints of 'Poetry and Prose for Book Lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known'" (Chuto 87). This observation supports Joyce's view that Mangan's work was ignored at the time, as does the relative paucity of anthologies of a writer who Joyce considered a national poet. It must also be remembered that Joyce's essays were written at a time when the Irish Literary Revival was beginning and Yeats' reputation was still being established; Joyce had not even written his major works, so it could be said that Mangan was one of the most important writers in the relatively short Irish literary tradition. The scarcity of anthologies of his work is even more surprising then.

As far as I can ascertain, Joyce makes reference to at least three anthologies: John Mitchel's *Poems by James Clarence Mangan*, first

coming out in New York in 1859; *Essays in Prose and Verse*, edited by C. P. Meehan, first appearing in Dublin in 1884; and Louise Imogen Guiney's *James Clarence Mangan. His Selected Poems, with a Study*, published in New York and London in 1897. In addition to these, there is strong evidence that Joyce mentions the so-called third edition of *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, to be more exact the preface by the editor, C. P. Meehan, and to the "Fragment of an Unfinished Autobiography" (Chuto 71-72).<sup>4</sup> There is of course the remote chance that Joyce may have consulted the periodicals where Mangan's work appeared during his lifetime and rarely after his death. However, the biographical details he supplies about Mangan make it safe to assume that some of the sources for his information are to be found in these books.

### ***Essays in Prose and Verse*, edited by C. P. Meehan<sup>5</sup>**

Joyce holds in his 1902 essay that Mangan's writings have never been "collected" and are "unknown, except for two American editions of selected poems and some pages of prose, published by Duffy" (*CW* 78). The latter was the only edition of Mangan's work in Joyce's possession when he moved to Paris in June 1920, as is seen in Richard Ellmann's inventory.<sup>6</sup> Joyce held onto *Essays in Prose and Verse*, published in Dublin by James Duffy & Co., Ltd., in 1884, for eighteen years, as the signature makes clear "Jas A Joyce 1902" (Ellmann 118). Another edition was printed in 1906 and a possible third in 1920 (Chuto 77-78).

It must be said, however, that there are not very clear references to this anthology in either of the two essays Joyce wrote on Mangan. In the first, read in Dublin in 1902, for instance, he describes Mangan's knowledge of many languages: "In Timbuctoese, he confesses with a charming modesty which should prevent detractors, he is slightly deficient, but this is no cause for regret" (*CW* 77-78). In the story "An Extraordinary Adventure in the Shades", in *Essays in Prose and Verse*, the narrator remarks, "Timbuctoese I was slightly deficient in" (Meehan A 76). In the 1907 essay, however, he does not mention "Timbuctoese" when speaking of Mangan's knowledge of many languages (*CW* 178). Joyce read the paper on Mangan on February 15 1902, and even though the book is autographed this same year perhaps it came into his possession some months later, or if he did have it, he simply did not have time to consult it in depth. It is not so easy to explain, however, that there are no clear references to it in the 1907 essay. The only possible explanation is that he did not find it representative of Mangan at his best, as his criticism of the prose writings makes clear. The edition in his

possession at this time contains prose pieces by Mangan, the first anthology to publish them. Joyce is of the opinion that they are perhaps interesting on first reading but that actually they are “insipid attempts” (*CW* 182). This contradicts his declaration in the 1902 essay when he says that they are “pretty fooling” on first reading but that one distinguishes a “fierce energy beneath the banter”. He likens the desperate circumstances of the writer, the victim of too “dexterous torture”, to the “contorted” writing (*CW* 78). The only other anthology available to Joyce and which included Mangan’s essays was D. J. O’Donoghue’s *Prose Writings*, published in 1904 (Chuto 86-87). However, Joyce could only have had this for the second essay on Mangan in 1907. There is also the possibility, as was mentioned earlier, that Joyce consulted the journals where Mangan first published his stories during his lifetime. We should keep in mind, nevertheless, that the last of Mangan’s prose pieces appeared in 1844. This was “My Bugle and how I Blow It”, coming out as a reprint in the *Nation* (Chuto 66).

**John Mitchel, *Poems by James Clarence Mangan*,<sup>7</sup> and Louise Imogen Guiney’s *James Clarence Mangan. His Selected Poems, with a Study*<sup>8</sup>**

Joyce quotes from Mitchel’s introduction to the above edition in the 1907 essay. He might have read it in Mitchel’s *Poems by James Clarence Mangan*, first published in New York in 1859 and going through at least seven editions in the United States until 1903 and a possible eighth in Dublin in 1860 (Chuto 76-77). So this anthology would have been readily available in the United States only. One edition was printed in Dublin, but this was forty-two years before the 1902 paper. The introduction was partially reprinted in D. J. O’Donoghue’s *Poems of James Clarence Mangan*. However, Joyce could only have used this for the 1907 essay, as O’Donoghue’s book was first published in 1903. He does not quote Mitchel in the 1902 essay, whereas he does so in 1907. However, there is a strong possibility that he did use Mitchel’s anthology for the 1902 piece, and my future research will shed more light on this. Louise Imogen Guiney also quotes quite extensively from Mitchel in “James Clarence Mangan: A Study” in her edition first published in New York and London in 1897 (there were no reprints) (Chuto 80-83).

This is how Mitchel describes his first meeting with Mangan:

The first time the present biographer saw Clarence Mangan, it was in this wise: Being in the college library, and having occasion for a book in that gloomy apartment of the institution called the “Fagel

Library,” which is the innermost recess of the stately building, an acquaintance pointed out to me a man perched on the top of a ladder, with the whispered information that the figure was Clarence Mangan. It was an unearthly and ghostly figure, in a brown garment; the same garment (to all appearance) which lasted till the day of his death. The blanched hair was totally unkempt; the corpse-like features still as marble; a large book was in his arms, and all his soul was in the book.<sup>9</sup> (O’Donoghue xxxiv-xxxv)

Guiney quotes the same passage almost verbatim (Guiney 20). Here is Joyce’s version from the 1907 essay: “There it was [in Trinity College Library] that his biographer and friend Mitchel saw him for the first time, and in the preface to the poet’s works, he describes the impression made on him by this thin little man with the waxen countenance and the pale hair, who was sitting on the top of a ladder with his legs crossed, deciphering a huge, dusty volume in the dim light” *CW* 178). Joyce’s inaccurate rendering is obviously taken from Mitchel rather than Guiney, as one of the few alterations she makes to Mitchel’s words is to omit that it was the first time they met: “The present biographer being in the College Library, and having occasion for a book in that gloomy apartment called the Fagel Library” (Guiney 20).

Mitchel mentions the fact that Mangan never published in England, speaking of the “comparative unacquaintance” of Americans with Mangan’s poems:

The comparative unacquaintance, also, of Americans with these poems may be readily accounted for when we remember how completely British criticism gives the law throughout the literary domain of that semi-barbarous tongue in which I have now the honour to indite. For this Mangan was not only an Irishman, —not only an Irish papist, —not only an Irish papist rebel; —but throughout his whole literary life of twenty years he never deigned to attorn to English criticism, never published a line in any English periodical, or through any English bookseller, never seemed to be aware that there was a British public to please. He was a rebel politically, and a rebel intellectually and spiritually, —a rebel with his whole heart and soul against the whole British spirit of the age. (O’Donoghue xxviii)

Later in the essay he makes a less political statement: “. . . he never sent a line of his verses for publication in any London periodical; perhaps through diffidence; not feeling confident that any production of his could satisfy the critical taste of the step-sister land” (O’Donoghue xxxvi).

Guiney also mentions the fact that Mangan never published in England, quoting from Mitchel (Guiney 55-56).

Guiney comments on Mitchel's words thus:

Mangan, modest by nature, had schooled himself to the neglect of the critics; no selfish zeal was able to fire him, and he would not have crossed the street to advance his interests. . . . It is just to reflect, also, that he kept from the agreeable ways of publicity in London, because his feelings and associations, so far as they were defined, were republican and hostile, and on the side of his country in her storms of fifty years ago. (Guiney 56)

Joyce interprets the information given by Mitchel in his own radically different manner. In the 1907 essay we see that although Mangan wrote such a "wonderful English style, he refused to collaborate with the English newspapers or reviews; although he was the spiritual focus of his time, he refused to prostitute himself to the rabble or to make himself the loud-speaker of politicians" (*CW* 184). The emphasis put on Mangan's disdain of public recognition by Guiney and low self-confidence or open rebellion against London by Mitchel is changed by Joyce into a courageous stand against both British opinion and Irish politics.

***The Poets and Poetry of Munster, edited by C. P. Meehan*<sup>10</sup>**

This is the so-called "third edition", as according to Chuto "the publisher or the editor of this volume may have been unaware of the existence" of a third edition published in Dublin in 1851 (Chuto 71). This book appeared in Dublin in 1883 and contained a preface by C. P. Meehan and the "Fragment of an Unfinished Autobiography" by Mangan. It was reissued in Dublin in 1901 (so Joyce could have easily found it for his 1902 essay) and, also in Dublin, in 1905.

There is strong evidence that Joyce was acquainted with Meehan's preface before writing both the 1902 and the 1907 essay. Meehan in his biographical preface describes Mangan's physical appearance in this way:

. . . the dress of this spectral-looking man was singularly remarkable, taken down at haphazard from some peg in an old clothes shop—a baggy pantaloons that never was intended for him, a short coat closely buttoned, a blue cloth cloak still shorter, and tucked so tightly to his person that no one could see there even the faintest shadow of those lines called by painters and sculptors

drapery. The hat was in keeping with this habiliment, broad-leafed and steeple-shaped . . . and [he] never appeared abroad in sunshine or storm without a large malformed umbrella, which, when partly covered by the cloak, might easily be mistaken for a Scotch bagpipe. (Meehan B xv-xvi)

Joyce in the 1902 essay describes Mangan's "strange" dress "in which some have seen eccentricity and others affectation—the high, conical hat, the loose trousers many sizes too big for him, and the old umbrella, so like a bagpipes" (*CW* 77). Mitchel and Guiney describe Mangan's appearance but neither make the rather unusual comparison of his umbrella with a bagpipes, while Meehan does.

It is obvious that Joyce consulted Mangan's unfinished autobiography in *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, although it was published previously in the *Irish Monthly* in November 1882. Nevertheless, as has just been mentioned, *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* was reissued in Dublin in 1901, which would have made it more accessible to Joyce than a periodical which was almost twenty years old. In addition, Joyce quotes one of Meehan's notes to the autobiography from *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* without acknowledging it. Mangan in his autobiography claims that one of his homes as a boy "consisted of "two wretched rooms, or rather holes, at the rear of a tottering old fragment of a house, or, if the reader please, hovel, in Chancery Lane" (Meehan B xli). Meehan in his note argues that "this is purely imaginary; and when I told Mangan that I did not think it a faithful picture, he told me he dreamt it" (Meehan B xli). In the 1902 essay Joyce indirectly cites Meehan, writing that when someone told Mangan that the account of his early life was "wildly overstated, and partly false", he answered, "Maybe I dreamed it" (*CW* 77), an inaccurate citation repeated in the 1907 essay although differently phrased (*CW* 181). It seems that, in this inaccuracy as well as in those found in his allusions to Meehan's account of Mangan's physical appearance and to Mitchel's autobiographical introduction to *Poems by James Clarence Mangan*, Joyce was working from memory and did not have the texts open before him when composing the essays. Nevertheless, he mentions Mangan's singularly eccentric description of his father correctly. This he would have found in "Fragment of an Unfinished Autobiography". Joyce renders it more precisely in the 1902 essay. Mangan describes his father thus: ". . . if anyone can imagine such an idea as a human boa-constrictor, without his alimentive propensities, he will be able to form some notion of the character of my father" (Meehan B xxxvi). In the 1902 essay Joyce

writes that Mangan's father was a "human boa-constrictor" (*CW* 76). In the 1907 essay Mangan's parent is less correctly depicted as a "human rattlesnake" (*CW* 181).

When we have digested all these facts, what becomes clear is that Joyce had read Meehan's *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* before writing the 1902 and the 1907 essays and had definitely been familiar with Mitchel's introduction to his *Poems by James Clarence Mangan* for his 1907 treatise on the earlier writer. Whether or not he had seen Guiney's edition has to be left an open question at this stage. He was certainly aware of its existence, as we have seen, but it requires further investigation to ascertain if he actually had the opportunity to read it even partially. In what remains of this essay, then, I shall argue that the information Joyce gleaned from both Mitchel and Meehan was present in the formation of his opinion on Mangan's nationalism.

### **John Mitchel and C. P. Meehan**

Both Mitchel and Meehan knew Mangan personally, Meehan becoming friendly with him in the last five years of his life. Mitchel's introduction to his *Poems* and Meehan's preface to *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* are therefore biographical and autobiographical. It is a fact that the personal beliefs of the author of a biography will colour the description he/she will give of the subject of the chronicle. John Mitchel (1815-1875) was a revolutionary, actively involved with the Young Ireland movement (which had staged an unsuccessful rebellion in 1848) and was deported to Australia for what was seen as sedition by the British government. He wrote two influential books which are often regarded as inciting the Irish towards a violent solution to their problems. The first of these, *Jail Journal*, is Mitchel's account of his deportation to Australia, the time he spent there and his subsequent escape. The second, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)*, is a history of his country which ends with the Young Ireland revolution in 1848. The idea behind this history is that Ireland may have been conquered, but it has not been finally overcome. It is a manifesto expressing his burning indignation at the shoddy treatment Ireland had received at the hands of the British and an encouragement to resist the colonizer. We have already seen his flag-waving interpretation of the fact that Mangan never published in England. In his *Poems by James Clarence Mangan* he reprints Mangan's declaration of patriotism made at the end of his life in 1848, in which he tells his friend:

Insignificant an individual as I am, and unimportant to society as my political opinions may be, I nevertheless owe it, not merely to the kindness you have shown me, but to the cause of my country, to assure you that I thoroughly sympathise with your sentiments, that I identify my views of public affairs with yours, and that I am prepared to go all lengths with you . . . for the achievement of our national independence. (O'Donoghue xxxvii)

Mitchel remarks that this is “the only expression (in prose) of the writer’s political sentiments which I have ever seen or heard of” (O’Donoghue xxxvii). Mitchel is honestly stating that Mangan never expressed his patriotism openly, although it does appear in his poetry. This may have led Joyce to claim in his 1907 essay that Mangan contributed some poems to the “revolutionary paper” (by which he means the *Nation*, the official organ of the Young Irelanders) but that he took little interest in the “nightly meetings of the party” (*CW* 178).

Mitchel is critical of the poetry in which Mangan expresses his nationalism. He speaks of “O’Hussey’s Ode” and “Sarsfield” “ballads of wonderful power and passion, but of a dreary desolation almost frightful” (O’Donoghue xliii). He continues in this critical manner:

And it must be confessed that this character of extravagant but impotent passion greatly prevails throughout the Irish ballads at all times, expressing not only that misery produced by ages of torture and humiliation, but the excessively impressible temperament of the Gael, ever ready to sink into blackest despondency and blind rage, or to rise into rapturous triumph; a temperament which makes both men and nations feeble in adversity, and great, gay and generous in prosperity. (O’Donoghue xliii-xliv)

Just as Joyce cites inaccurately from Mitchel and Meehan, he also interprets these opinions in his own way. Mitchel, the patriot, is critical both of Mangan and his countrymen’s patriotism. The similarity to the views expressed by Joyce should warn those who see in the essays a total condemnation of nationalism not to make too hasty judgements in this respect. Mitchel is critical of Mangan’s attitude to his country, basically defining it as desolate, impotent, and too impressionable, too ready to sink into despair and “blind rage”. Both defeatism and uncontrollable anger are major obstacles in the nationalistic programmes of independence. The similarity of Mitchel’s criticism of Mangan to what Joyce remarked in 1907 is plain. The latter held that “love of grief, despair, high-sounding threats” are the principal “traditions of the race”

from which Mangan proceeds (*CW* 186). It could be possible that some of Joyce's criticism of Mangan's nationalism is based on his seeing him as not effective enough in this aspect. Indeed, in this essay he had already censured Mangan for passing on the tradition of his country with "all its regrets and failures" unchanged to future generations (*CW* 185).

Another widely-quoted passage from the 1907 essay is Joyce's claim that Mangan "sums up in himself" the "soul of a country and an era" (*CW* 184). Mitchel makes the same remark: "his history and fate were indeed a type and shadow of the land he loved so well", later asserting that "like Ireland's, his gaze was ever backward, with vain and feeble complaint for vanished years. Like Ireland's, his light flickered upward for a moment, and went out in the blackness of darkness" (O'Donoghue xxxvii). Even the highly-charged language Mitchel employs reminds us of Joyce's words above and in many parts of the essays. Mitchel wrote this in 1859 when indeed Ireland's hopes for independence had been extinguished for a time, yet in this passage which discusses Mangan as a symbol of his country, there is an implicit criticism of Irish defeatism again. There can be no doubt that Joyce, having read this, borrowed the terminology and the perception of Mangan's nationalism. To use, then, this essay as an example of Joyce's scepticism is to miss out on the subtleties of his ideas about his country. On the whole, this is constructive criticism in the sense that it does not display a total negation of nationalism, simply the wrong sort.

In the 1902 essay, Joyce writes that when Mangan is spoken of in his country the Irish mourn the fact that he was "little of a patriot" (*CW* 76). As a matter of fact it seems that Mangan's interest in the affairs of his country comes about at the end of his life. In a letter to Charles Gavan Duffy dated 5 May 1840, nine years before he died, he tells him not to ask for "political articles just now—I have had no experience in that genre d'écriture, & I should infallibly blunder".<sup>11</sup> Joyce is correct in identifying Mangan's lack of literary fame with his being a lukewarm patriot in the eyes of his countrymen. Yet, how does this idea expressed in the 1902 essay fit in with Joyce's negative assessment five years later? The possibility is that he, in agreement with his countrymen, sees Mangan's patriotism as flawed.

Irish Catholicism has often established a strong link between patriotism and religion, as we find in Mangan's assertion that religion and politics are more intimately connected than it is the fashion to imagine.<sup>12</sup> It is just this connection which is made in a slightly different pledge which Meehan reproduces in his biography of Mangan in the preface to *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. It was made to Charles Gavan Duffy, also associated with the Young Irelanders: "I, James Clarence Mangan,

promise . . . to dedicate the portion of life that may remain to me to penitence and exertion". He also promises to "constantly advocate the cause of Temperance — the interests of knowledge — and the duties of Patriotism" (Meehan B xxi). Meehan's description of Mangan speaks of his religious faith stating that he "frequented the sacraments" (Meehan B xvi-xvii) and died "with his hands crossed on his breast and eyes uplifted, manifesting sentiments of most edifying piety, and with a smile on his lips faintly ejaculating, 'O, Mary, Queen of Mercy!'" (Meehan B xxvi). Charles Meehan, priest and historian, was a faithful friend to Mangan in the last, most miserable years of his life. Ellen Shannon-Mangan, Mangan's most recent biographer, affirms that "almost certainly" he returned to a more active practice of his faith through the influence of Fr. Meehan.<sup>13</sup> Meehan as a priest devoted much time to the poor in his parish, but after 1848 "he turned his back on politics" (Shannon-Mangan 287). Shannon-Mangan writes that Meehan's depiction of Mangan in the preface of *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* is valuable (Shannon-Mangan 288). It is factual and honest as far as can be determined. Indeed, Mangan in an essay he wrote on Meehan affirms that his "distinguishing trait in all things is his earnestness".<sup>14</sup> The account Meehan gives of Mangan in the preface to *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* reflects this sincerity. It is lucid and unprejudiced.

However, as has been mentioned, Joyce quotes inaccurately from both Mitchel and Meehan and did not seem to have the books before him when writing the essays. As a result, the information he uses from these two sources has to be based on the general impression they caused. This impression was of a writer who was caught in the stranglehold of the most conservative sectors of Irish society, radical nationalism in the case of Mitchel and strict religious belief allied to a love of one's country in the case of Meehan. Joyce, in his individual and indeed accurate evaluation of the earlier writer, would have been unavoidably swayed by the ideology he sensed in the sources used. This translates into that memorable description of Mangan given in 1907, where Joyce expressed his belief that "hysterical nationalism receives its final justification" in him (*CW* 186). My contention is that Mangan's nationalism had been filtered through to Joyce by Mitchel's zealous patriotism and Meehan's religious nationalism, as we have seen in their reproduction of Mangan's pledges and Mitchel's pride in his rebelliousness when ignoring the British reading public. The result was that, for Joyce, Mangan's nationalism was "hysterical". A community remembers a writer not only because of what he/she has written. As a matter of fact, we often know more about a writer's life than his/her actual works. This inevitably is a

determining factor in the establishment of their literary reputation and the canonical decisions made on them. Mangan, in Irish society, had become linked to extreme nationalism and religion and was then condemned for his addictions, as these did not fit in with the preconceived notions the Irish had of him. These preconceived notions were determined, at least in part, by the popular biographies of Mitchel and Meehan. The nineteenth-century biographical works on Mangan, some of which Joyce knew well, had a considerable impact on aesthetic evaluations of the poet's work. Joyce's pertinent remark that the Irish found fault with Mangan as a writer for other than aesthetic reasons (*CW* 180) is as accurate today as it was in Joyce's time. Yet it is also true that in the comments cited from his essays on Mangan we can see how Joyce was acted upon by the implicit ideology in these early biographies.

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<sup>1</sup> Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann, eds., *The Critical Writings of James Joyce* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959) 73-83 & 175-186; henceforth cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Deane, Seamus, "Joyce the Irishman," in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 32.

<sup>3</sup> Chuto, Jacques, *James Clarence Mangan: A Bibliography* (Dublin and Portland, Or.: Irish Academic Press, 1999) 76; henceforth cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>4</sup> As an indication of the confusion surrounding the subsequent editions of *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, the edition I am using is a facsimile of the fifth edition. Chuto gives 1905 as a possible publication date for it, whereas the editors of the facsimile give 1885.

<sup>5</sup> James Clarence Mangan, *Essays in Prose and Verse*, ed. C. P. Meehan. 1884. (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., Ltd., 1906); henceforth cited parenthetically in the text as Meehan A.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber & Faber, 1977) 97 & 118; henceforth cited parenthetically in the text. *Essays in Prose and Verse* was first published in Dublin in 1884. I am using the 1906 second edition, which is "a mere reissue" of the 1884 one (Chuto 78).

<sup>7</sup> James Clarence Mangan, *Poems of James Clarence Mangan*, ed. D. J. O'Donoghue. 1903. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., 1918); henceforth cited parenthetically in the text using the editor's surname.

<sup>8</sup> James Clarence Mangan, *James Clarence Mangan: His Selected Poems with a Study*, ed. Louise Imogen Guiney (Boston, New York: Lamson, Wolfe &

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Co.; London: John Lane, 1897); cited parenthetically in the text using the editor's surname.

<sup>9</sup> I am at a distinct disadvantage with regard to Mitchel's introduction to his anthology of Mangan, as I only possess the partial reprint given by O'Donoghue in his *Poems of James Clarence Mangan*. Louise Imogen Guiney would have used the complete version in her study published with the anthology in 1897, as O'Donoghue's edition with the partial reprint was not published until 1903. So I cannot fully judge to what extent she draws on Mitchel for her biographical information.

<sup>10</sup> James Clarence Mangan, *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. 1883. (so-called third edition) ed. C. P. Meehan (Poole, Washington, D. C.: Woodstock Books, 1997); henceforth cited parenthetically in the text as Meehan B.

<sup>11</sup> MS 5756, National Library Dublin.

<sup>12</sup> MS 138, National Library Dublin

<sup>13</sup> Ellen Shannon-Mangan, *James Clarence Mangan: A Biography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996) 287. Henceforth cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>14</sup> James Clarence Mangan, "Sketches and Reminiscences of Irish Writers, No. IV. The Rev. C. P. Meehan," in Jacques Chuto, Peter Van de Kamp, Augustine Martin and Ellen Shannon-Mangan, eds. *The Collected Works of James Clarence Mangan. Prose: 1840-1882. Correspondence* (Dublin and Portland, OR.: Irish Academic Press, 2002) 204.