

Christian Virtues in Humor: A Reassessment of George A. Birmingham,
General John Regan (1913)

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Christian virtues and duties

—The four cardinal virtues which form the foundation of character are: WISDOM, FORTITUDE, TEMPERANCE and JUSTICE. These virtues are natural to all mankind... The three theological virtues are FAITH, HOPE and CHARITY. These are gifts from God... LOVE is the greatest of all virtues as it enables us to act as Christ would.⁽¹⁾

Regarding George A. Birmingham's early political novels, *The Seething Pot* (1905), *Hyacinth* (1906) and *Benedict Kavanagh* (1907), R.B.D. French remarks that "[the] spirit of comedy is in these novels, and a new gift for satiric portraiture is revealed, but they are fundamentally serious works, even tragic in their implications, and they are the work of a Christian moralist."⁽²⁾

The Seething Pot is a story of a Protestant youth, Gerald Geoghegan, who fights for an independent Ireland in pursuit of his father's will. In this novel, Birmingham's spirit of comedy and gift for satiric portraiture are evident in the description of a Catholic priest, Father Fahy. Geoghegan inherits his father's land in the West of Ireland and joins the Nationalist Party led by a Protestant patriot, John O'Neill. As a new landowner Gerald comes to be on bad terms with Father Fahy. The priest demands that Gerald should grant farmers tenant rights on his land for an unduly low rent. On O'Neill's advice Gerald refuses the priest's demand and declares that he will only rent his land to those who can pay the required cost. At a public meeting the priest denounces Gerald and O'Neill. While he speaks passionately standing on a table, a spectator, apparently a supporter of Gerald and O'Neill, crashes against it. The priest falls down and gets hurt. Then O'Neill says, "I'm afraid... that Father Fahy has hurt himself. We shall be deprived of the rest of his, no doubt, interesting speech... If the table had been stronger, the speech might have been longer."⁽³⁾ Birmingham will publish about sixty comical novels later, and this is where one can notice his spirit of comedy first. Through the

conflict with Father Fahy, Gerald realizes the Irish priests' "tyranny and greed and lust of power". Birmingham gives a harshly satiric portrayal of them, saying, "The Irish priests have schemed and lied, have blustered and bullied, have levied taxes beyond belief upon the poorest of the poor; but they have taught the people a religion which penetrates their lives, and which in its essential features, is not far from the Spirit of Christ. Such religion is not to be taught by words. The man who impairs it must first understand it and possess it in his own soul. This is the most wonderful puzzle in Irish life."⁽⁴⁾

In *Hyacinth*, satiric portrayals are given of both Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists. *Hyacinth* is another political novel depicting the title hero's struggle for an independent Ireland. When Hyacinth enters the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin, he attends the student's prayer meeting, where he is appalled at the arrogant imperialism of a Unionist clergyman and students who justify the English occupation of the Boers. Other students bully Hyacinth because they are disgusted with his sympathies with the Boers and Irish Nationalism. Hyacinth joins a secret Nationalist organization led by a militant lady, Augusta Goold. She recruits volunteers for fighting on the side of the Boers against England. Although Hyacinth applies to be a volunteer, she declines his application because she regards him as too soft for a soldier. Then Hyacinth strives to work for the industrial revival of Ireland. However he is discouraged by the hypocritical Nationalist drapers who try to sell English goods by dishonestly labeling them "Irish goods". Another satiric description Birmingham gives is of a convent mill that employs female workers for unduly low wages, even though the mill receives government funding.

Benedict Kavanagh describes a dilemma between Unionism and Nationalism that the title hero suffers. His father, whose name is also Benedict Kavanagh, is an ardent Nationalist politician supporting Charles Stewart Parnell in the time of the Land War. Canon Hamilton, although he is a Protestant Unionist, is a close friend with the father Benedict. When the father dies, he entreats the canon to become a guardian of his young son. The canon brings up Benedict to be a strong Unionist who detests Nationalists and regards the land agitation as "a conspiracy organized by wicked men, having for its objects robbery and murder."⁽⁵⁾ However, when the canon dies, Benedict finds by reading a letter the canon has left for him that his father was a devoted Nationalist. Benedict realizes that his father, as well as Canon Hamilton, was a man of justice and fought for freedom of Ireland. Then Benedict begins to wonder which is right, Unionism or Nationalism. In this novel no satiric portrayal is given of Catholic priests. Instead they are described as men of dignity with a deep faith in Christianity. One of them, Father O'Meara, represents a Christian virtue of loving his enemy. He praises Canon Hamilton, saying, "He was a sincere and upright man, who did steadily and without fear what he believed to be right."⁽⁶⁾

In *Hyacinth* the same Christian virtue of love is embodied by a Protestant clergyman, Canon Beecher. He criticizes Hyacinth's hatred of England and says that it is impossible to accept hatred for the inspiration of one's life and still be true to God. The

canon also says, quoting phrases from *The New Testament*, “God is love, and only he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God... He says, ‘Love your enemies’.”⁽⁷⁾ The canon indicates that Unionism can be as legitimate as Nationalism by posing a question to Hyacinth, “Will you be sure to know the good side from the bad, the Captain from the enemy?”⁽⁸⁾ Deeply impressed by the canon’s words, Hyacinth decides to withdraw himself from hard-line Nationalism and become a clergyman..

In *The Seething Pot* a Christian virtue of fortitude, as well as that of love, is metaphorically represented. When Gerald wonders if he should go on fighting for an independent Ireland, he writes a letter to Desmond O’Hara, editor of a Nationalist newspaper, asking for advice. O’Hara answers it in the reader’s column of his newspaper. Quoting words by a prophet Jeremiah in *The Old Testament*, “I see a seething pot, and the face of it is towards the north”⁽⁹⁾, O’Hara indicates that Ireland is in turbulence and the condition of the North is more violent. He continues, “Let us keep the pot seething if we can. Let us do our little part in this dear Ireland of ours to stir men into the activities of thought and ambition. If we get our toes burnt and our fingers grimy, let us put up with it bravely. If there is a nasty smell, we shall remember that there is good food in the caldron.”⁽¹⁰⁾ O’Hara means to say that people should go on fighting with a strong will, believing Ireland will win independence from England some day.

The Seething Pot, *Hyacinth* and *Benedict Kavanagh* are “serious works” dealing with Irish problems, and “tragic in their implications” because they expose how difficult it is to settle those Irish problems. At the same time they are “the work of a Christian moralist” that reveals Birmingham’s love of Ireland. After publishing two other serious political works, *The Northern Iron* (1907) and *The Bad Times* (1908), Birmingham turns to the writing of humorous novels. Their total number comes to about sixty, and among them *Spanish Gold* (1908), *The Red Hand of Ulster* (1912) and *General John Regan* (1913) are the best-known works. Many critics seem to consider that Birmingham’s humorous novels are only light-hearted and have no serious implications. However, if one reads them more closely and learns more of Birmingham’s life, one will realize that his humorous novels also represent Christian virtues and have as serious implications as his early political novels. *General John Regan* is a controversial work. This article aims to make a reassessment of *General John Regan* by revealing how Christian virtues are represented and what serious implication lies in this work.

General John Regan is originally a three-act play and later published in novel form.⁽¹¹⁾ When it is first produced at the Apollo Theatre in London on January 9th, 1913, it receives huge acclaim by both spectators and critics. Most of them regard the play as a comic farce or satire that portrays typical Irish characters, and many newspapers at that time give reports of how humorous and successful the play is.⁽¹²⁾ The *Westminster Gazette* admires the play as “a really satisfactory three-act farce”. The *Daily Sketch* comments that *General John Regan* is farce—but farce of so picturesque and good-natured a quality that London should laugh at it for many days to come”. The *Northern Whig* remarks that it is extremely humorous and satirizes certain types in Western

Ireland. The *Daily Telegraph* mentions that “*General John Regan* is a joke and a great joke. Not for many and many a night have we laughed so often and so heartily. You will not find a jollier play.” As the play attracts a large audience, it runs for nearly eight months until September 9th with a short break in June, and the number of its performances comes to two hundred and seventy-five in total.⁽¹³⁾

General John Regan also achieves a great success in New York. It opens at the Hudson Theater on November 11th, moves to the Liberty Theater and runs until December 21st. American spectators are especially charmed by Mary Ellen, a maid at a local inn owned by Timothy Doyle. Her part is played by Maire O’Neill who also enacted Pegeen Mike in John Millington Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907).

However, while *General John Regan* runs at London’s Apollo Theatre, an Irishman who watched one of the performances writes a letter of bitter criticism to *The National Weekly* of Ireland. His letter is published in its February 1, 1913, issue with the title, “Canon’s Insult to Ireland: A Protest Against a London Play”. He denounces the protagonist, Dr. O’Grady, as “a common swindler with a persuasive tongue” and mentions:

I think there is something of a devilish leer in this picture of an Irish doctor, an Irish priest, and of Irish peasants, who for greed of gold enter into a conspiracy of lies and exhibit to the English public the basest, most sordid, and most ignorant qualities of Irish character.⁽¹⁴⁾

The World of New York also exposes the fact that “before Canon James Owen Hannay’s clever Irish satire, “Gen. John Regan”, was produced at the Hudson Theater, its managers received scores of letters from resentful Irishmen in New York asking that the incident of the priest’s bibulous indulgence in the last act be cut out”.⁽¹⁵⁾ Precisely it is in the second act that a Catholic priest, Father McCormack, yields to the temptation of drink offered by the innkeeper, Timothy Doyle.

It seems that these criticisms are a prelude to a riot which breaks out when *General John Regan* is produced in Westport in February, 1914. Westport is a West of Ireland town supposed to be the setting of the play. In the town Birmingham has served as a Church of Ireland clergyman for twenty-one years from 1892 until 1913. The riot is later to be recorded as a more ferocious affair than the riots caused by the production of John Millington Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1907 and that of Sean O’Casey’s *The Plough and the Stars* in 1926.⁽¹⁶⁾

General John Regan comes to Ireland to be produced by two theater companies. One of them, W. Pane Seldon Company, gives its Irish premiere in Kilkenny on January 26th. Then they tour in Galway and Castlebar before coming to Westport. Spectators’ reception of the Galway production is “extremely mixed”.⁽¹⁷⁾ Portions of the second act where Father McCormack appears are “warmly resented”. Some spectators also get indignant over Mary Ellen, a maid at Doyle’s hotel, because they think that the local girl is portrayed as “a simpleton or imbecile”. When it is announced that the play will be

repeated another night, there is “considerable footing and hissing and some applause”. The production in Castlebar meets a more hostile reception.⁽¹⁸⁾ A number of spectators show their resentment against Father McCormack, Mary Ellen and other characters more openly. With their outburst of howling, hissing and groaning, and also with their singing in chorus of patriotic songs such as “A Nation Once Again” and “The Men of the West”, not one syllable can be heard from the stage during the entire act.

In Westport *General John Regan* is produced at the town hall on Wednesday evening, February 4th, 1914. *The Irish Times* gives a full coverage of the riot.⁽¹⁹⁾ As the riot is anticipated, several policemen are posted inside and outside the hall. When the curtain first goes up, fifty or sixty spectators begin to groan, boo, whistle and stamp their feet. As this conduct continues all through the first act, it is impossible to hear what the players are saying. When the curtain is raised for the second act after an interval, an organized rush is made to the stage and a violent attack is made on the players, especially on the actor representing Father McCormack. He is rendered senseless and his clothes are torn off. The policemen draw their batons and try to clear the stage. The lights are turned off and the play is stopped. The attackers, who are now numbered between three and four hundred, throw chairs and other missiles at the policemen. Although the policemen succeed in dispersing the crowd from the hall with another baton-charge, riots are renewed on the streets. The attackers vandalize some property, yell and boo in front of a hotel where players stay, and throw stones. The riot continues until midnight, and twenty young men are arrested.

The setting of *General John Regan* is a fictional town, Ballymoy, which seems to represent Westport. An American millionaire named Horace P. Billing visits this West of Ireland town on a hot summer day, and finds how dull and inactive the town is. He stays at an inn named “The Imperial Hotel”, of which the proprietor is Timothy Doyle. Billing tells Doyle that it occurs to him that “this town kind of cries out to be wakened up a bit”.⁽²⁰⁾ Its dullness and inactiveness are clearly shown in a passage, “Business, unless it happens to be market day, absolutely ceases in a town like Ballymoy when the thermometer registers anything over eighty degrees”.⁽²¹⁾ Mary Ellen, a maid at Doyle’s inn, makes her appearance as a slattern and ineffective girl. The inn’s yard is dirty with a manure heap and a pig-stye in it. Mary is described as “a very pretty girl, but nearly as dirty as the yard”. She is also very slow in serving food to Billing. Although English and American spectators are charmed by this Irish colleen on the stage, many Irish spectators are angered for they regard her as an insult to Irish maidenhood.

Billing tells Thaddeus Gallagher, editor of a local newspaper, the *Connacht Eagle*, the reason for his visit to this West of Ireland town. He wants to write a biography of a General John Regan who was born in this town and later turned liberator of Bolivia. He also wants to see a statue erected to the memory of the late General and do research for his biography. But no one in Ballymoy knows about the General and his statue.

Then appears the hero of this play, Dr. Lucius O’Grady. He is a cheerful and optimistic young man full of energy, the same type as the Rev. J.J. Meldon, the hero of *Spanish Gold*. Although the doctor does not know anything about the General either, he

pretends to know and tries to hoax Billing. He tells the American a lie that the local council is going to erect the statue soon and makes the American promise a large subscription. Under the leadership of the doctor people in Ballymoy “enter into a conspiracy of lies”, as an Irish spectator of this play in London puts it, for the purpose of cheating the American and getting his money. The doctor orders Thaddeus Gallagher, commonly known as Thady, to write an article in his newspaper about how much people in Ballymoy appreciate the General’s achievement. Major Kent is another character in *Spanish Gold*. He is a conservative, respectable English gentleman with a skeptical disposition. In the novel he is induced by Meldon to set out on an adventure with the clergyman for hunting treasure hidden in a small island off the west coast of Ireland. This Englishman appears again in *General John Regan*. Although he opposes the idea of erecting a statue to an unknown General at first, the doctor successfully persuades him to accept it.

The police barrack is disguised as the house where the general spent his early youth. A ruined house on Doyle’s farm is disguised as his birthplace. While Thady shows Billing around those buildings, the American asks him about the general’s surviving relatives. As Thady does not want to disappoint the American, he thinks of a lie and says that the wife of a butcher Kerrigan is a relative of the General’s. But Kerrigan turns out to be still single. To cover Thady’s mistake, Dr. O’Grady creates another lie and tells Billing that Kerrigan is going to marry a grandniece of the general’s soon. The doctor orders Mary Ellen to play a role of the grandniece.

With regard to the statue, people in Ballymoy depend on Doyle’s nephew, a sculptor. As no one has any idea what the General looked like, the sculptor offers them a statue of a former Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland, the order of which was cancelled when it was almost completed. Dr. O’Grady suggests the idea of inviting the Lord-Lieutenant to the unveiling ceremony and people accept it. Father McCormack is ready to give an opening address. A gorgeous dress is made for Mary Ellen to look fit for a relative of the General’s. The town’s band is formed and the luncheon table is set at Doyle’s Imperial Hotel. However, when every preparation is done for greeting the Lord-Lieutenant, he suddenly cancels his visit. Instead his aide-de-camp, Lord Alfred Blackeney, turns up. He is very angry with Dr. O’Grady and tells him the reason for the cancellation of the Lord-Lieutenant’s visit. Now it looks almost certain that the doctor’s trick will end in a total failure and that people in Ballymoy will suffer a huge debt. On this catastrophic scene, the American man, Billing, reappears and discloses the truth about the mysterious General. Billing admires the doctor for his unfailing energy with which he has done to hoax the American and says, “We haven’t got a medical gentleman on our side of the Atlantic equal to Dr. Lucius O’Grady.”⁽²²⁾ Consequently he offers his subscription to Ballymoy and the unveiling ceremony is held as scheduled.

Certainly there are some flavors of farce or satire in *General John Regan*. But many Irish spectators overlook the fact that Unionists as well as Nationalists are satirized. Thaddeus Gallagher is an extreme Nationalist who grasps at every opportunity to air his Nationalist views. When he shows Billing the ruined house on Doyle’s farm disguised as

the General's birthplace, the American takes off his hat to show his respect, calling the General "the immortal founder of the liberties of Bolivia". As soon as Thady hears Billing's words, he starts talking passionately to the American about how cruelly the English landlords have treated the Irish and declares that Home Rule is almost achieved. When hearing from Thady about what he has talked to the American, Dr. O'Grady asks him if the American threw stones at him. At the ceremony of unveiling the statue, the town's band plays an Irish patriotic song, "The Wearing of the Green". But Thady, being drunk, believes that it is an English song and denounces the song as an insult to the cause of Nationalism. Lord Alfred Blackeney is a Unionist of whom a satiric portrayal is given. He angrily tells the doctor the truth about General John Regan and tries to stop the unveiling ceremony. But he is puzzled by the doctor's line of arguments and defeated. As a result the ceremony is held as scheduled and the Lord Blackeney is induced to make a speech. As he has no ear for music, he thinks that the song played at the ceremony is "God Save the King".

However *General John Regan* is more than a mere satire or farce. The work reveals Birmingham's sincere hope that people of every creed, religion and nationality can live in a peaceful union. It seems that Birmingham expresses his hearty wish for reconciliation between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists by criticizing extreme sects of both ideologies. Dr. O'Grady is the one who makes such union or reconciliation come true. Certainly he "enters into a conspiracy of lies" to hoax the American. If he cheated an innocent man, he should be called "a common swindler", as he is called by an Irish spectator of this play in London. But it turns out that the American is also a hoaxer and therefore what the doctor does is hoaxing the hoaxer. This is the reason why he should not be blamed as a mere swindler. Thanks to the doctor people in Ballymoy can get a large subscription from the American, and the American is satisfied with his visit to the town. It seems that Dr. O'Grady who strives to realize a peaceful union of people has the Christian virtues of wisdom, fortitude, temperance, justice, faith, hope, charity and love.

Birmingham is a devoted Christian all his life. After graduating from the Divinity School of Trinity College, Dublin, he embarks on his clerical career as a curate at Delgany, County Wicklow, in 1888. He moves to Westport in 1892 and serves as a rector until 1912. During World War I, he volunteers as a chaplain for the British Army in France. From 1918 till 1920 he is a rector at Carnalway, County Kildare. After being engaged in church services for the British legation in Budapest in 1920, he is invited to Mells, Somersetshire, as a rector in 1924 and lives there for ten years. In 1934 he becomes a canon for Holy Trinity Church in London and carries on his clerical duty until his death at the age of 85 in 1950.

In *Canon Hannay as I Knew Him* (1951), Hilda Martindale relates an episode to show Birmingham's devout faith in Christianity.⁽²³⁾ During World War II, Birmingham preaches nearly every Sunday morning and evening to a dwindling congregation. Even on the Sunday after a building close to his church and flat is demolished he holds a service. Martindale goes into a cold church covered with debris and dust. Birmingham enters

the pulpit and says, “We will say altogether the General Thanksgiving and then disperse, otherwise we shall all get pneumonia.” This reveals that Birmingham is a devoted Christian and a humorist at the same time.

Birmingham publishes theological works as well as novels. *The Wisdom of the Desert* (1904) recounts the lives of hermits practicing Christianity in Egyptian and Palestinian deserts in the fourth century. Birmingham admires them for their deeds such as being crucified with God, returning good for evil and showing charity to sinners. *Isaiah* (1937) and *God’s Iron: A Life of the Prophet Jeremiah* (1939) are biographies of two prophets in *The Old Testament*. They have a puritanical faith in Jehovah, Israel’s God, and truthfully convey the God’s message to people. They are detested by people whenever they prophesy a disaster befalling their country. But they do so because they love Israel and its people. Birmingham relates Isaiah’s character:

Stern Puritanism is there, uncompromising. Statesmanship is there, wise, far-seeing, well informed. Faith is there, unfaltering even in times of utter hopelessness. But behind all these are love and gentleness—love of Jerusalem and its people; gentleness, not to sin, but to sinners.⁽²⁴⁾

What the Egyptian and Palestinian hermits, Isaiah and Jeremiah have in common are the Christian virtues of wisdom, fortitude, temperance, justice, faith, hope, charity and love. It can be said that Dr. O’Grady of *General John Regan* also reveals these Christian virtues metaphorically and paradoxically.

The doctor is so witty as to devise various lies to hoax the American, which is a proof of his wisdom. The reason why he tries to get the American’s money is that he thinks of people’s common good. He also suggests that they should ask the Lord-Lieutenant for a grant to build a pier in Ballymoy when he comes to the unveiling ceremony. Major Kent opposes the suggestion, but the doctor emphasizes that it is for “the good of the town” and tries to make the Major understand that “that’s a worthy object”.⁽²⁵⁾ This shows that the doctor is a man of justice and charity.

The doctor is tolerant to both Nationalists and Unionists. When he introduces Major Kent and Thaddeus Gallagher to Billing, he remarks, “[Major Kent is] a strong Unionist. Gallagher, of course, is a Home Ruler. But these little political differences of opinion don’t really matter. They’re both equally keen on doing their duty to the memory of the great General.”⁽²⁶⁾ The doctor’s impartial attitude partly indicates that he is a man of temperance.

As a proof of his fortitude, the doctor has “faith, unfaltering even in times of utter hopelessness” like Isaiah. When the General’s true identity is disclosed, the Lord-Lieutenant refuses to attend the unveiling ceremony and instead his aide-de-camp comes and bitterly rebukes the doctor. Even in this hopeless situation the doctor never doubts success and gets the better of the Lord-Lieutenant’s man in their arguments. Behind all the doctor’s behavior is love of people, which is the greatest of all the Christian virtues.

General John Regan is not a mere farce or satire, but a serious work that represents

the Christian virtues in the form of humor. When a riot breaks out at Westport, Birmingham is in Glasgow. He is at a loss to understand the reason for the riot. In a lecture at the city's literary club afterwards, he says that "[the] play was conceived in a spirit, not of satire, but of broad comedy."⁽²⁷⁾ It is supposed that Birmingham wrote the play as pure comedy and had no intention to show those Christian virtues. However those Christian virtues come out without the author knowing it himself. *General John Regan* is a work that reveals Birmingham's hearty wish for a peaceful union of people of every creed, religion and nationality.

Regarding *The Seething Pot*, *Hyacinth* and *Benedict Kavanagh*, Sydney Brooks rightly comments that "[together] they form a trilogy that throws a truer light on the inner impulses of Irish life and the Irish temperament than a whole library of blue-books and reports."⁽²⁸⁾ Certainly they are important and valuable works that one should consult when trying to learn about Irish problems. However *General John Regan* has no less serious implications than those novels because it is a work not only of Irish interest but also of universal interest.

Notes

- (1) "The Christian Virtues" in Marianne Dorman's Catholic Website (<http://mariannedorman.homestead.com>)
- (2) R.B.D. French, "Introduction" to George A. Birmingham, *The Red Hand of Ulster* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), ix.
- (3) George A. Birmingham, *The Seething Pot* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), p.143.
- (4) *Ibid.*, pp.186-87.
- (5) George A. Birmingham, *Benedict Kavanagh* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907), p.168.
- (6) *Ibid.*, p.201.
- (7) George A. Birmingham, *Hyacinth* (London: Edward Arnold, 1906), p.265. "God is love, and only he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God" is in "First Epistle of John 4:16". "Love your enemies" is in Matthew 5:44.
- (8) *Hyacinth*, p.265.
- (9) *The Seething Pot*, p.297.
- (10) *Ibid.*, pp.297-98.
- (11) The novel of *General John Regan* was published by Hodder & Stoughton in November, 1913.
- (12) Newspaper reports of productions of *General John Regan* in London, New York and Ireland are contained in J.O. Hannay Papers kept by the Manuscript Room in the Old Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Those quoted here are from the *Westminster Gazette* (J.O. Hannay Papers: TCD MSS 3438/7), the *Daily Sketch* (3438/9), the *Northern Whig* (3438/11) and the *Daily Telegraph* (3438/14). Their publication date is 10 January, 1913.
- (13) Brian Taylor, "George A. Birmingham and General John Regan: London, New York and Westport", *Cathair na Mart: Journal of Westport Historical Society*, December 1992, p.98.
- (14) Ann., "Canon's Insult to Ireland: A Protest Against a London Play", *National Weekly*, February 1, 1913, p.109 (J.O. Hannay Papers: TCD MSS 3438/48).
- (15) *The World*, November 16, 1913 (3441/8).
- (16) R. Hogan, R. Burnham and D.P. Potter, *The Modern Irish Drama 4: The Rise of the Realists* (Dublin: Dolmen Humanities, 1979), pp.152-53. Quoted in Brian Taylor, *The Life and Writings of James Owen Hannay (George A. Birmingham) 1865-1950* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1995), p.130.

- (17) *The Evening Herald*, January 31, 1914 gives this report of the Galway production. Quoted in Taylor, *The Life and Writings of James Owen Hannay*, p.130.
- (18) *The Irish Times*, February 6, 1914 (J.O. Hannay Papers; TCD MSS 3441/43).
- (19) *The Irish Times*, February 6 & March 3, 1914 (3441/44-45).
- (20) George A. Birmingham, *General John Regan* (1913; rpt., Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1970), p.18.
- (21) *Ibid.*, p.7.
- (22) *Ibid.*, p.320.
- (23) Hilda Martindale, *Canon Hannay As I Knew Him* (London: Favil, 1951), pp.15-16.
- (24) George A. Birmingham, *Isaiah* (London: Rich & Cowan, 1937), p.57.
- (25) *General John Regan*, p.258.
- (26) *Ibid.*, pp.48-49.
- (27) *Weekly Freeman*, 14 February 1914 (J.O. Hannay Papers: TCD MSS 3441/47).
- (28) Sydney Brooks, "An Irishman, a Clergyman, and a Playwright, *Harper's Weekly*, 15 November, 1913 (3441/25).