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Women, Romance and Romantic Nationalism in Dragojla Jarnević's *Dva pira* (Two Wedding Celebrations, 1864) and M. E. Francis's *Dark Rosaleen* (1917)

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While the reasons for the choice of a romance novel by the two authors and the positioning of the genre within the Croatian, and the literary tradition of Irish writing in English differ, the historical context which motivates the two novels is highly similar. Namely, the Illyrian revival of the 1830s in Croatia corresponds in spirit and social atmosphere to the Irish national revival associated with the Home Rule as the two nations begin their anti-colonialist projects. Under a strong influence of the romantic nationalism of the day, both, Jarnević and Francis, construct their female characters principally through their participation in the national process. Within this ideology, any venture outside the boundaries of the outlined roles leads to a life of misery, which is a mode of expiation for the transgression; the order of the universe thus restored. However, by making it clear that the wrongs done to women are inseparable from those inflicted to the Croatian and the Irish nation respectively, the two authors transcend this typical portrayal of women in nationalist movements, thus contributing to the formulation of the female anti-colonialist narrative. Finally, while Francis never abandons the conventions of the romance genre, and leaves her heroines locked in a typical representation of the day, Jarnević takes a step further by stretching the genre to depict an emerging female consciousness, thus earning the name of a Croatian proto-feminist (Andrea Zlatar).

Introduction

In his essay "Two Types of Nationalism" John Plamenatz formulates "western" nationalism which has emerged primarily in Western Europe, and its "eastern" variant, which is to be found in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and in Latin America. While both types presuppose the acceptance of common standards against which the state of development of a culture is measured, in the "western" type, even when feeling disadvantaged with respect to others, Western nations feel they have "little need to equip themselves culturally by appropriating what is alien to them" (Plamenatz in Chatterjee 1986: 1), as they are already "culturally

equipped" to achieve the desired development. "Eastern" nationalism, on the other hand, as it appears among "peoples recently drawn into a civilisation hitherto alien to them, and whose ancestral cultures are not adapted to success and excellence by these cosmopolitan and increasingly dominant standards" (2), is an attempt to "re-equip" the nation culturally, to regenerate the national culture through an ambiguous "rejection of the alien intruder and dominator who is nevertheless to be imitated and surpassed by his own standards"¹ (2) in the process formulating a modern nation while retaining its distinctive characteristics. Typical of anti-colonialist movements, the nationalism of the Croatian Illyrian movement as described in Dragojla Jarnević's *Dva pira*, and the Irish revival as depicted in M. E. Francis's *Dark Rosaleen* are of this second type, as the two nations are struggling to do away with the effects of the deep-rooted influence of their respective, German and British, colonizers. It is within the structures of domination as articulated by these social relations (cf. Yuval-Davis 1997: 11) that Jarnević's and Francis's choice of the romance genre, their adherence to the conventions of romantic nationalism, as well as their treatment of female characters should be interpreted.

The writers and their times

While women are, like men, indisputably, members of national collectivities, "different rules and regulations address them as opposed to men" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 37), a testimony to which are not only Jarnević's and Francis's characters, but their own lives as well.

Dragojla Jarnević (1812 – 1875) was born in Karlovac, Croatia, an Illyrian province of the French Empire, where she attended primary school in German language. In 1839 she went to Graz where she learned the trade of a dress and hat maker. Under the influence of Ivan Trnski she started learning Croatian, and began to write nationalist poetry. Following her return to Karlovac in 1840 she had to support herself with dressmaking while publishing poetry and short stories in nationalist papers *Danica Ilirska* (*The Illyrian Morning Star*) and *Kolo* (*The Circle*). It is at that time that she switched from German into Croatian in the writing of her *Journal*. The *Journal*, kept meticulously from 1833 to 1874, encompasses not only the key points of female identity formation in the nineteenth-century Croatia, such as "love, body, shame, illness, death, yearning, flirtation, marriage, upbringing" (Zlatar 2004: 45), but incorporates a series of cultural, historical, political and metaphysical references as well, thus contributing to the portrayal of an era.

In order to achieve a degree of economic independence, she ran a private school for girls and taught village children in Pribić and Krašić in the period

¹ The other rejection the process involves, argues Plamenatz is the "rejection of ancestral ways which are seen as obstacles to progress and yet also cherished as marks of identity" (Plamenatz in Chatterjee 1985: 2). That, however, is not the case in the two national revivals discussed in this article.

from 1849 to 1853. To the same end she published dozens of sentimental and adventure stories in literary magazines *Neven*,² *Leptir* (*The Butterfly*), *Glasonoša* (*The Messenger*) and *Naše gore list* (*Fellow Countrymen*) in the following two decades. From 1866, back in Karlovac, she associated with prominent members of the Croatian teachers' movement (D. Trstenjak, S. Fabković, J. Tomić), and, as there were no specialised women's magazines at the time, she contributed articles to magazines dealing with pedagogical issues. She held lectures on the subject and participated in the work of the Croatian Pedagogical and Literary Society, becoming its first female member in 1872. Her novel *Dva pira*, published serially in nationalist *Domobran* (*Home Guard*) in 1864, is only the second in modern Croatian literary history.³ Still, even if written from a position of no literary tradition to follow, it foreshadows the narrative techniques of August Šenoa (1838-1881), the *Magnus Parens* of the Croatian novel (Nemec 1994: 79).

Personal life of Mary E. Francis (1859-1930) differed radically from that of Dragojla Jarnević, as Francis enjoyed, not only the benefits of an affluent childhood, but also the social security which came with marriage. Mary E. Francis was born at Killiney Park, near Dublin and grew up in Lambert Park, a country house in County Laois. "The autobiography of her early years, *Things of a Child* (1918), recalls an entirely domestic Victorian girlhood of games, picnicking, and riding; of nursery and governesses and of a mother who read Scott, Dickens, and Edgeworth to her children..." (Foster 2008: 36). Together with her sisters, she was educated at a convent in Belgium. In 1879 she married Francis Blundell of the Catholic gentry in Lancashire, where, in Crosby village, she stayed for the rest of her life. "The census record lists her husband as a land agent" (57). Thus being able to afford domestic help – "there were ten servants employed at Crosby Hall" (57), Francis could relatively easily find the time to write.

Even when in 1884 her husband died, she continued to write. In addition to religious literature, she published a large number of novels in which, typical of the popular fiction writers of the period, she tacitly asserted the "difference coexisting with the assumption of similarity" (35) among the British and the Irish culture. Still, her writing increasingly implied that "no solution is possible that compromises the spiritual hegemony of Catholicism" (142), an assertion evident in *Dark Rosaleen*.

In spite of different private circumstances, Jarnević and Francis share the marginalised position of a woman writer in a nationalist age. Namely, even if positioning themselves within the nationalist discourse of the day in line with

² Literally *Calendula*, but in Croatian language it has the connotation of "never waning."

³ In his *History of the Croatian Novel* (1994) Krešimir Nemec states that, since only a fragment of the novel *Udes Ljudski* (*Human Destiny*) by Antun Nemčić was published in 1854 in *Neven*, Jarnević's *Dva pira* was preceded only by Miroslav Kraljević's *Požeški đak* (*The Student from Požega*) published in 1864. However, as it was written largely in the 1850s, and in the period of Bach's absolutism, "writing about our nation in such an exhilarating and fiery manner, as it is done in this novel was not allowed," Kraljević had to postpone the publishing of the novel for "more benevolent times" (Nemec 1994: 65).

the rules which address them as women, in the collective imagination associated "with children, and therefore with the collective, as well as the familial, future" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 45), both, Jarnević and Francis remain excluded from the canon of revival literature.

While their reasons for the choice of the romantic genre differ, as do their respective literary traditions and the writers' position, the historical context and the resultant nationalist discourse, as well as the writers' response to it, is highly comparable. Namely, while the affirmation of the novelistic genre is typically associated with the rise of the bourgeoisie – industrialisation creates free time, increased standard of living allows time for entertainment, price of books is decreased, publishing houses and libraries are formed (Nemec 1994: 50-51), Croatia, individual novelistic attempts notwithstanding, remains outside these developments. In the mid-nineteenth century Croatia is a predominantly agrarian country, with manufacturing only in its beginnings. Hence bourgeoisie are few, and mostly of German origin, hence very unsympathetic towards the nationalist movement in Croatia. German and Latin are official languages.⁴ Therefore most Croatian towns are almost entirely Germanised. The Zagreb bourgeoisie buys German papers and German books, and goes to the theatre in German (Nemec 1994: 51). In 1848 Adolf Veber Tkalčević wrote in *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska (The Morning Star of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia)*:⁵

In our little towns, and especially in Zagreb, one could easily count on one's fingers the houses wherein our language is spoken. What is more appropriate and sweeter for female lips than German, what is coarser than Illyrian. A native heart breaks when it hears not only the noble, but also the common townsmen's daughters speak tauntingly of the national language. (...) As soon as the gentle female bud shows its head, the caring mother thrusts German novels in her hands, to teach her to communicate with the world, and shine in the ballrooms (Nemec 1994 : 52).

The situation worsened during Bach's absolutism (1851 – 1860) when German became the official language in schools, and expression of nationalist spirit was officially banned.⁶ During this period of cultural stagnation no significant literary works were published, and Croatian papers such as *Danica Ilirska* and *Zora Dalmatiska (The Dalmatian Dawn)* were banned, as was the launching of *Domobran. Neven* (1852 – 1858) remains the only voice of the Croatian intelligentsia. As a result, national spirit and language is preserved only in the country by the disempowered folk.

⁴ Croatian becomes official language only after the abolishment of Bach's absolutism in 1859.

⁵ *The Morning Star of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia* was the first Croatian literary news edition published in Zagreb in 1835. It was a weekly literary supplement to the magazine Croatian newspapers initiated by Ljudevit Gaj whose motto was *A nation without nationality is like a body without bones*. In 1836 they name was changed into *The Illyrian Morning Star*.

⁶ Ivan Filipović was sentenced to two years of hard labour for writing a poem titled "Domorodna utjeha" (Patriotic Comfort) (Nemec 1994: 54).

In Ireland the final result of the eradication of the native language was much the same. Just as Croatia, Ireland, too, was in the course of the nineteenth century transformed from an agrarian into a modern society not through the arrival of industrialisation, which was the natural course for western nationalisms, but as Joe Cleary aptly put it, "In Ireland, modernisation via colonisation preceded modernisation via industrialisation; colonisation was at least as devastating and destructive to any idea of stable organic society or to the continuity of tradition as the latter would ever be" (Cleary 2005: 8). Namely, as the Union coincided with the age of mass production, consumerism and advances in transportation and communication, it did not take long for the British to spread their influence through the

inflow into Ireland of printed materials and other goods bearing British patriotic imagery or slogans ... Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century Irish was already considered the language of the past and of the poor; not only by the planter society, but by the emerging Catholic middle class in town and countryside, who, while continuing to use Irish in transactions or social intercourse with the lower orders, had themselves made the transition to English as the language of their domestic as well as their public lives (Jackson 2005: 34).

Thus by 1891 the language appeared to be on the point of extinction (O'Tuathaigh in Cleary and Connolly 2005: 43). Language was, hence, central issue in the social and cultural regeneration of Ireland during the Revival, Douglas Hyde being the first to make a connection between language and identity in his 1892 lecture "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" delivered before the Irish National Literary Society. In the lecture Hyde first pointed out the long tradition of learning in the Irish language, which, while it may not be known to the Irish today, as it has been smothered for centuries, is however, very much appreciated by the "greatest philologists of Germany, France, and Italy" who are "emulously studying it", claiming that "the books written in Irish between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, and still extant, would fill a thousand octavo volumes" (Hyde). Even if he did hope for a Home Rule to be carried out and Irish language be placed on "a par with -- or even above -- Greek, Latin, and modern languages, in all examinations held under the Irish Government," and children in the Irish speaking baronies to be taught in Irish, and "Irish-speaking schoolmasters, petty session's clerks, and even magistrates [to] be appointed in Irish-speaking districts," aware of the poor state Irish language was in, Hyde knew that all they could at the time aspire to do was "to keep the Irish language alive where it is still spoken" which at the time was only in the western counties and the Aran Islands. With the nation ignorant of its own language, the attempt was to be supported by the encouragement of the "use of Anglo-Irish literature instead of English books, especially instead of English periodicals," as it is through the mass media that a culture is most easily and most thoroughly disseminated (Hyde).

At the peak of the Croatian national revival, in 1838, count Janko Drašković made a similar call for national regeneration by making the case for cultural

continuity through the medium of the native language in his essay, "Ein Wort an Iliriens hochherzige Töchter über die ältere Geschichte und neueste literarische Regeneration ihres Vaterlandes" ("A Word to the Noble Daughters of Illyria about History and the Current Revival of Literature of Their Homeland"). Like Hyde, Drašković too begins his essay by explaining the historical, linguistic and literary justification for the present national revival. He lists a whole series of writers who have, "Following the awakening of science to a new life, immediately undertaken to express themselves in their mother tongue, and gave their old poetry a new, charming and beautiful shape, so that it can in every respect be compared with the works of the most educated ancient and modern nations" (Drašković). He praises the efforts of Ljudevit Gaj on the standardisation of the Croatian language, as only a standard literary language can "set in motion this great lever which lifts countries; it is only the standard that will increase the circulation of the domestic and foreign scientific treasure" (Drašković). Like Hyde he stresses the importance of literature and magazines in Croatian, commending Gaj's efforts on publishing *Danica*, and calling for the country's elite to "establish a learned society urgently, and in the pure Illyrian written language work out a body of knowledge, particularly that pertaining to practical life, in order to unfold it before the entire population" (Drašković, emphasis in the original).

Within the nationalist discourse this task is traditionally achieved through the efforts of women who are formulated as "transmitters of culture" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 9). Therefore Drašković appeals to them to choose the Croatian over the German language because

It is a historical truth that the formulation of a nation is best judged with regard to a higher or lower position at which its national language and its women are placed, and that the enthusiasm of the latter is the most powerful incentive to all human activity, no big thing succeeding without it; therefore, lucky is a nation whose advances women, too, are excited about (Drašković).

The discourse was taken up by the Zagreb school teachers in the first Croatian magazine for women, *Domaće ognjište* (*Domestic Hearth* 1900-1914), where, in the preface titled "What we demand and wish" they revealed not only their intentions, but also the dual meaning of the magazine's title: while on the one hand it evoked home, domesticity, the familial, on the other it also denoted "light, enlightenment and culture" (Šilović Karić 2004: 181). Specifically, they stated:

The magazine *Domestic Hearth* is a result of a sincere wish to contribute a piece of live coal to the hearth of national enlightenment. May the modest sparks fly from it to the domestic hearths of our Croatian families, may the worthy mothers with their daughters (...) cherish this spark, and stir it up into a flame, and return it thus burning to the nation (...) (181).

Similarly, in Ireland the *Irish Homestead* (1895-1918) published by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society saw the hearth as the heart of the nation:

It is in the cottages and farmers' houses that the nation is born. Here is engendered the fiery seed of nationality, the love for hearth and home, and kin and race, in which is the strength and endurance of peoples. (...) If

you aim at a civilisation of a high and noble character, you must begin at the hearth. If the hearth is not clean, the high places of state will be of like character (MacPherson).

Again, just as in Croatia, women were formulated as keepers of the hearth, domestic beings, and "the character of the Irish nation and the Irish race was dependent on home" (MacPherson). "Women's membership in different collectivities should be understood within structures of domination as articulated by other social relations" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 67), in case of Croatia and Ireland, primarily that of colonisation. In both cultural contexts, after decades of disempowerment resulting from the process of colonisation, the role of women was reconstructed by the dominant male leadership. And while the case could be made for such "hegemonic constructions" often going "against the interests of women" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 67), it could also be argued that the formulation of women as transmitters of culture is also empowering as it grants them a powerful influence over the social life of the country, one that both, Jarnević and Francis, were aware as they affirmed nationalist ideology and the position of women within it, in *Dva pira* and *Dark Rosaleen*, respectively.

However, while Francis remained expatriate for the rest of her life, thus violating the "'Residency Requirement' of the Revival, most famously imposed by Yeats when he enjoined Synge, a student of French literature, to desert Paris and return to Ireland to write" (Foster 2008: 35), Jarnević responded directly to the call of Janko Drašković directed to the "noble daughters of Illyria", when, as a German-speaking twenty-seven-year-old, she returned to Croatia to write, abandoned German, and began to learn to express herself in Croatian. Not quite so radical, Mary E. Francis continued to write in English, but affirmed the positions of the Irish nationalist movement, thus joining the body of Anglo-Irish literature the reading of which Hyde encouraged in his famous essay.

Women and romance

Writing her romances in the early twentieth century, Francis could draw from the vast body of genre literature, namely, from a long tradition of popular romances of the British and Irish Victorian era. It was the age of the "novel as primarily entertainment and the novel as primarily social commentary" (Foster 2008: 28) read avidly by women as they were much more restricted in their pastime activities than men (Maureen Duffy in Foster 2008: 28). Most of these popular novels read by women were also written by women writers who, while they may have reached for the "domestic romance" as the most popular form of literature for women in the nineteenth century (Modleski 1990: 12), they also produced "not very flattering portraits of domesticity" in their works (13) as part of the social commentary mentioned above. These novels also revealed Irish women writers being deeply concerned about affairs in Ireland, but also those outside the island – "about science, say, or travel, or marriage as an institution (and divorce as a controversial eventuality), the Great War, political developments

in Europe, the stock market, spiritualism, the British Empire" (Foster 2008: 48), these concerns taking the form of "themes or subgenres" (48). Hence Francis had not only a ready model, in her own language, that she could follow, but also the audience with the experience in the genre, when she decided to tackle a whole series of the above mentioned issued in her *Dark Rosaleen*.

For Dragojla Jarnević, on the other hand, there was no tradition to follow. At least not in the Croatian language. Namely, female readership in Croatia was brought up on German novels, of mostly, trivial literature (Nemec 1994: 53). With German and Latin being operative languages, there was no need for translation of those novels: German popular fiction was read in the original. That was the reason why Drašković wrote his essay in German.

In early 1860s the novelistic tradition in Croatian language was nonexistent, as the continuity of Croatian narrative prose was disrupted by a long period of colonisation. There was but a short section of *Udes ljudski (Human Destiny)*, a novel by Antun Nemčić published in *Neven* in 1854, and a relatively small number of short stories which, even if "trivial and dilettante in their character and execution (with a few exceptions)" (Nemec 1994: 55), resulted from the desire to offer Croatian female readership a text in their native language. Thus they abounded in heroic action from the national past which fed the national pride and preserved national consciousness (Nemec 1994: 55).

In her construction of *Dva pira* Jarnević did the same as her male colleague and contemporary Miroslav Kraljević who published the first complete Croatian novel only a year before her, she drew from both sources mentioned above: she used the devices of German trivial literature familiar to the Croatian readership to turn it away from German writers, in her text offering Croatian spirit and character as formulated in the discourse of the national revival.

Whether accepting a designated position in the structure of literary production as Francis did by employing the genre of romance to express nationalist ideology, or making a joint effort with her male colleagues to regenerate national novelistic tradition interrupted by colonisation by producing first modern novels in the Croatian language as was the case with Jarnević, both women were shunned by subsequent literary critics and left excluded from the national canon.

With the affirmation of Revival literature the popular novel of Francis, as well as a whole generation of women writers, was

shunted into its middlebrow sidings: too English, too Anglo-Irish (in the wrong way), too neglectful of native pre-Conquest culture, too—well—popular in those middle-class and urban lower-class ways established before Yeats had defined popularity not as being read by the literate masses but as acceptance by the folk (Foster 2008: 45).

She was additionally marginalized "by the systemic sexism of the day; it was easier to ignore the productions of 'authoresses' and 'literary ladies.' (Even Wilde referred condescendingly to 'lady-novelists')" (Foster 2008: 45).

The latter was the reason for the exclusion of Jarnević from the Croatian literary canon, her position sealed following the "unfortunate" disclosure of

her diary ten years after her death when she was increasingly being discredited as a writer because of her life choices, brave and unusual in the conservative nationalist age.⁷

Gender and nation in *Dva pira* and *Dark Rosaleen*

While both women and men are affected by the national processes in a civil society, women "are acted upon as members of collectivities, institutions or groupings, and as participants in the social forces that give the state its given political projects in any particular social and historical context" (Yuval Davis and Anthias 1989: 6) in ways different than those applicable to men. Yuval-Davis and Anthias have singled out five ways in which women tend to participate in the national process, most of which are, under the influence of the public nationalist discourse of the day, employed in the representation of women in the two novels by Jarnević and Francis.

Firstly, women are formulated as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities, as "control of marriage, procreation, and therefore sexuality tend to be high on the nationalist agenda" (Yuval Davis 1997: 22). Thus the "people as power discourse" and eugenicist discourse on the subject are combined in both, Jarnević's and Francis's text.⁸ Typical of the first, of the discourse which "sees maintaining and enlarging the population of the national collectivity as vital for the national interest" (22) in Jarnević's novel *Dva pira* is Bogatović's formulation of his children as national treasure. The prosperous Croatian small farmer whose father had bought the family's freedom from a pro-Hungarian feudal lord holds a passionate speech on the wedding day of his oldest daughter, which also happens to be a birthday of his youngest female child. Showing off all of his children he exclaims:

Stand, Jelica, here by Mirko, and the rest of you my children, come here, and stand one by the other around me. That's it! one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and the two of you girls, ten. Here they are, all ten of them, so who can say that Pero Bogatović is not a fortunate father and husband! Eight sons, eight grey falcons, and two daughters, two gentle doves. Let any other father in the county show eight sets of muscles, which shall soon be

⁷ Classic example comes from the author of *Građa za povijest školstva kraljevine Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* (*The material for the history of the education system of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia from the beginnings until the present day*), most likely Nikola Andrić, who wrote therein: "Dragojla Jarnević is our greatest spinster, which could not – for over half a century – liken herself to any man just because she doubted that she would ever 'find a creature, who could understand her soul, and to whom her heart could cling'" (Zečević 1985: 11).

⁸ The third, Malthusian discourse, which "sees the reduction of the number of children as the way to prevent future national disaster" was not used in either Croatian or Irish context, both nations, as a result of ruthless colonisation being on the verge of extinction (Yuval-Davis 1997: 22).

excellent, capable of drawing a sword for this dear country. Oh, my children, may the Slavonic spirit live in all of you; when you're old enough to use the sword and the rifle, may you wish to use them for the defence of your kin first. I hope that you will serve as an example to all Croatian sons in the love and faithfulness you feel for your homeland, and that no scoundrel will ever make you deviate from this right track; and my daughters shall be the first among their sisters by kin and blood in all virtues; the Croatian character shall never be lost in them... (Jarnević *Domobran*, 17 May 1864)

In *Dark Rosaleen* too, the child is considered a national treasure, however while Honour Burke, "a magnificent specimen of Irish womanhood" (Francis 1917: 3) is presented suckling both, her own son Patsy, and Hector, the ailing boy of her Protestant neighbours, in the "little scene" presented as "emblematic of Ireland herself" (Francis 1917: 11) thus being representative of the "people as power" discourse, Alexander McTavish, the boy's father, also a gardener to the local Presbyterian minister, while upholding the life of a child – "his only son was to him as the apple of his eye" (Francis 1917: 13), is to him also a means of achieving a continuation of Protestant tradition in Ireland. Thus it is the eugenicist discourse that is given prominence in this novel, which is, much more than *Dva pira*, concerned with the "quality of the national stock encouraging those who are suitable in terms of origin and class to have more children" (Anthias and Yuval Davis 1989: 8).⁹ Thus even though the newly born son to Hector McTavish, and Norah, the daughter of Honour Burke, is a source of "mutual joy and pride" (Francis 1917: 344) to the parents, the boy soon becomes a tool in the battle for the boundaries of the national group, the mother having proven to be a poor guard of those, since as an Irish Catholic she married a Northern Irish Protestant. Thus her weak appeal to give the child an Irish name is left unanswered:

"I was thinkin' about the little one's name, Hec" – she ventured on the abbreviative now – "my poor Da was called Patrick, ye know, and there's your father was Alexander. Will we be callin' him 'Patrick Alexander'?"

"His name's Alexander," said Hector, "Alexander McTavish. Thon's the name I've always fixed to call my first son."

"Couldn't he have Patrick, too?" said Norah, with a catch in her voice (Francis 1917: 343).

Nor was Norah's request to have the child baptised answered as Hector refused to talk about it claiming there is "Time enough for that" (Francis 1917: 344).

A similar example of eugenicist discourse in Jarnević's *Dva pira* is that of Bogatović, the Croatian peasant, and Nepravdić, the district judge forbidding the union of their children, Ivan and Maksica, Bogatović being an ardent Croatian

⁹ Hence Foster lists the novel as the prime example of bad blood in Chapter 5 titled "Bad Blood: Sectarianism in the Irish Novel" in his *Irish Novels 1890 – 1940*.

nationalist, and Nepravdić being a fervent Unionist, or as Bogatović put it "a traitor of his homeland" (Jarnević 23 June 1984). Thus Bogatović, "his blood boiling wrathfully" tells his son: "Son, if you do not leave Nepravdić's daughter alone, I will break your legs and feed you as a Lazarus in the house. I do not need to look for a friend in a scoundrel, when I can find one in an honest man" (Jarnević 25 June 1984). At the same time Nepravdić is forcing his daughter to marry an old, but rich widower, who is, like himself, pro-Hungarian. When she inaudibly refuses the father yells furiously: "Shut up you unfaithful creature ... You shall give your hand to Tomaš and will promise yourself to him; if you don't, I will break you up in two" (Jarnević 15 July 1864).

With the child as a guarantor of the future given such prominence, more specifically, a child brought up in line with the tradition of the preferred social group, the role of women in nationalist movement elaborated most in both novels discussed is, inevitably the one whereby they are constructed as "cultural carriers," or "transmitters of culture," central in "the ideological reproduction of the collectivity" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 9).

In *Dark Rosaleen* ideology of collectivity is principally defined through religion, since, resulting from the public discourse of the day, namely, that of the *Irish Homestead*, religion is everything: it is language, history, social practices, dress, even cuisine. While women in the novels may be described as tolerant of their other, respecting its right to differ, depriving their children of their rights as members of either tradition, to paraphrase Patsy instructing Norah (Francis 1917: 330), is never an option. Thus Honour may be described as "mammy" to both Patsy, her own and little Hector, Rose McTavish might not mind that, gladly exclaiming "Look at the pair of them!" as the boys are seen sitting on Honour's doorstep grabbing bread and milk with their spoons from a large bowl placed between them (18), and Norah may tolerate the pictures titled "The Battle of the Boyne" and "King William of Orange" (259) on her wall at the beginning of her married life, but the moment the lives and the upbringing of their children is at stake, they resort to their respective traditions.

Thus Rose, her child in peril somewhere on the Aran Islands, realises that she has not right to kneel down and pray, as she has "made a mock o' [her] releeigion all they years" (52), and seeing the near loss of her child as a punishment for it, she consents to leave with her family to Belfast, where the child can be "brought up in the faith of his fathers" (52). Honour's great success as a "transmitter of culture" comes from her Patsy becoming a priest, the mother kissing his hands at the end of his first mass (Primizmesse) sobbingly, yet her face shining, "almost as her son's had shone when he descended the altar steps holding the Host in his hands" (125). For her the years as a guard of the domestic hearth had paid off. Namely, early in the novel she is introduced to us as a model housekeeper: "turf fire smouldered on the hearth, the smell of newly-baked bread mingling pleasantly with its aroma," chickens in the corner coop, potatoes and flower neatly stored in a wide ingle, together with a tub of clean water; Honour herself, spinning in the room, as she minds the sleeping children. This skill was passed on to her daughter who, as a married woman, soon transformed the "dismal appearance"

(258) of her new home into a cosy place as she “hemmed dusters and tablecloths and cleaned the house thoroughly from top to bottom” and then helped Hector whitewash the place (286). Hard work notwithstanding, Norah waited for her husband in the evening after work with a boiled “fowl, an’ a nice bit o’ bacon” and roasted potatoes (273). She was, however, soon encouraged to acquaint herself with the English cuisine, Hector appreciating Honour sending them griddle cake on their first night in their new home (260), but soon demanding roast beef and custard pudding on Sundays (274). Resisting English influences, and to the dismay of her husband, Norah decides to wash the windows of her home situated in a Protestant neighbourhood of Derry “clad in a red flannel petticoat and a bawneen” (283). Such petticoats she, like all the other maidens of Connemara, used to “fashion for herself” each year “from yarn of her own spinning” (14). The dress she would not give up, just like her faith, as she wandered around Derry asking for directions to the Catholic cathedral, even when it meant getting the looks of hatred, that “terrible force which rules supreme amid both sections in the North” (264). Thus when the Catholic baptism of her child became uncertain, Hector sternly resisting it, Norah secretly took the child home to be baptised by her brother the priest, to secure not only that the soul of her child be saved, but also that the child be brought up in the Catholic tradition as Patsy reminded her that she “mustn’t do anything to deprive [her] child of its rights. It ought to have the Catholic atmosphere and training at home as well as at school” (330). In addition to religious education, Catholic atmosphere encompassed the teaching of language, Irish English differing significantly from the Northern accent Hector acquired during his long absence in Belfast, but “The homely forms of speech, familiar to his in his childhood, came readily to his tongue,” yet they contrasted “oddly with his clipping Northern accent” (128).

Years earlier Honour attempted to secure this for her daughter and her grandchild as, when Norah decided to marry Hector, she made sure that he signs a written promise (witnessed by her brother, the priest) that he “will never interfere with the free exercise of [his] wife’s religion, and that all the children [they] may have will be baptised and brought up in the Catholic faith” (238). However, the cost of achieving this turns out to be high: it is the loss of her son, who, in a sentimental and melodramatic ending, with his dying breath baptises the child and absolves Hector of his sins (371).

The same ideology is evident in Jarnević’s *Dva pira*, although the crucial point of difference is the nation, as Croatia is trying to define itself against both, Austria and Hungary. Women are here, too, seen as “culture carriers” as Jurica, the future husband of Jelena Bogatović whose wedding celebration opens the novel, reprimands Jelena, one of the like of the daughters of Illiyria that Drašković directed his essay to, for wearing dresses of Parisian or Viennese cut: “There are beautiful cuts in our national fashion, and if our ladies were really smart, they could alter them into city clothes tastefully, so that they are not reminiscent of peasant clothing” (Jarnević 24 May 1864). Jurica also reproaches her for “reaching for the German grammar” as soon as dissatisfaction was expressed with such a beautiful girl not speaking German (Jarnević 24 May 1864), and advises her to

"learn [her] mother tongue properly, and then turn to German" because the Slavic people have always been glorious, and you can rightly be proud for belonging to this nation" (Jarnević 24 May 1864). When, however, Jelena naively states that "Man stands for the nation," and the woman should "supervise the house and take care of the husband's everyday needs" (Jarnević 24 May 1864), Jurica persuades her to the contrary, summarising the ideology of the movement which is identical to the one presented in *Dark Rosaleen*:

When a woman busies herself humbly in the domestic circle, when she raises her daughters wisely and with modesty, and stimulates her sons' courage, while teaching all of them to love their home, and to see themselves as a limb of the entire nation, and never break away from their own kin ... Wise women have been seen to decide on the destiny of the entire nations and have sacrificed their lives ... so how could women not understand the dignified idea of nationhood (Jarnević 24 May 1864).

Jelena later explains to her father that the most important duty of women who wish to call themselves Croatian is to teach themselves and their children Croatian. Namely, she claims that "the homeland cannot advance until women, too, start working for it; that is, until they start emanating the patriotic spirit and completely accept the mother tongue, cherishing it and working its field." True patriots are those, she continues, "who cultivate the domestic flower garden and pull up weeds, which have stricken deep roots, while plating in them our flowers: the immortelle and the basil" (Jarnević 25 May 1864). Blaženka Nehajković, a daughter of the leading local Unionist, who has recently converted to Croatian nationalism, propounds the same ideology regarding the role of women in nationalist movement when she states that "we weak women cannot fight against the enemy with the sword and the fist, but can stay at home and plant patriotism in the hearts of people, as busy bees put honey in the beehives, and shall, with God's blessing, be of use that way" (Jarnević 8 May 1864).

However, "women do not only teach and transfer the cultural and ideological tradition of ethnic and national groups. Very often they constitute their actual symbolic figuration (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 9). The example of a woman as a "signifier of ethnic/national differences" (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989: 9) is perhaps most evident in *Dark Rosaleen's* Honour Burke wherein she is referred to as "a magnificent specimen of Irish womanhood," graceful in spite of her "great height and ample proportions" (Francis 1917: 3), "nourishing at the same bosom the child of her own flesh and the stranger within her gates" (11), both babies lying on a "coverlet of green baize" (9). We are reminded of the image at the end of the novel as the heads of the wounded Patsy and Hector "lay so close together in her lap that the blood-stained hair mingled" (372). After her son dies, she takes her grandchild, which we now recognize as a token of future life, in her hands, and stands "tearless, a very statue of grief," the doctor wandering if the child "was typical of Ireland – a new Ireland that might achieve great things, though it was the child of blood and tears" (372).

In Jarnević's *Dva pira* national difference is not embodied in a woman, rather nation is presented as a loved woman in danger. Typical of it is the above

mentioned speech by Bogatović wherein he expresses thankfulness for having eight sons as all of them are ready to draw a sword for the dear homeland (Jarnević 17 May 1864) which is in danger. Jelena confirms the construct when, after hearing the news of her husband dying in battle (which soon proved to be false, however), declares: "I do not need comfort father, my greatest comfort is that he fell for his homeland, which he loved and which he was willing to sacrifice himself for" (Jarnević 23 May 1864).

Lastly, when it comes to participation in national, political and military struggles women in both novels are "seen to be in supportive and nurturing relation to men" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 10). Thus Honour can only relieve her son's last moments and nurture Hector back to health, which is what doctor prophesises will happen, while Jelena literally goes to the backlines of the battlefield by the Drava River where Croats were fighting Hungarians, to dress her husband's wounds: "Do not admire, brother, my deed. As soon as I got the word that my husband fell in the battle – I said: he fell for his country! but when you sent the word that he was badly wounded, I deemed it my duty to dress his wound, and not leave him whether he lived or died" (Jarnević 25 July 1864). After he gains senses, Jurica praises her brave act wishing that at least every tenth Croatian woman would do the same, "fortunate shall be our homeland then, it would blossom with caring mothers, faithful wives and noble patriots, who would fulfil their calling conscientiously at all times" (Jarnević 27 July 1864).

Nineteenth-century nationalism has typically "sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope" (Enloe in Pettman 1996: 50), women's participation in it is limited to being wives and mothers, thus "not transforming but generalising their domestic identity" (Pettman 1996: 51). While both, *Dva pira* and *Dark Rosaleen* formulate a response to Drašković's and Hyde's call respectively, and thus necessarily propound the ideology of the nation beginning at home and women having a crucial role in the process of its regeneration, the two writers used the space available, even if in the genre of romance, to discuss a whole series of issues that troubles their colonial societies.

Departures from the dominant discourse and genre

Both Jarnević and Francis introduce motifs and themes that transgress the genre of romance, and the role of women in society as formulated by the nationalist discourse. Some of them are more pertaining to women, others concern the colonial situation.

Both writers discuss the position of women in marriage, Francis focusing on an inter-religious marriage describing Hector and Norah. Abandoning sentimentalism of any kind in the pages describing their marriage "The novel becomes a poignant and brutally realistic picture of a mixed marriage in Ulster. In Protestant Ulster, of course, the implication being that this is the least likely place for a mixed marriage to work, which was probably true." (Foster 2008: 141). It is very well written and could, as Foster rightfully notices, "stand alone as a moving novella. The growing isolation of Norah in a Protestant quarter of Derry"

is described through Hector situating them in a Protestant neighbourhood of Derry so that Norah has to listen to drunkards yelling "To Hell with the Pope!" (Francis 1917: 262) at night, and walk to the distant Catholic church in the hatred filled atmosphere. Also Hector suddenly began forcing her to leave the pictures describing Protestant victories (The Battle of the Boyne and William of Orange) on the wall even though those "were not likely to rouse enthusiasm in the breasts of Irish Catholic[s]" (Francis 1917: 259), to have the child wear an orange ribbon, and finally breaks the statue of Mary her late father gave her, and in front of which she would pray at night, himself increasingly becoming immersed in the ideology of the Orange order.

As the marriage deteriorates under this "pressure of growing neighbourhood hostility," we see "the rapid triumph of the communal and tribal over the personal and emotional, hate over love—all this is well done to the point of the reader's discomfiture" (Foster 2008: 142).

Instead of dealing with the difficulties of marriage, Jarnević concerns herself with the issue of the necessity of woman to marry at all, thus formulating a new category in Croatian literature – that of a dignified older woman who never marries, coping with destiny instead. Namely, Blaženka Nehajković, a noblewoman, daughter of the local feudal lord, falls passionately in love with Ivan Bogatović, son of a peasant farmer. Jarnević gives a fairly bold description of Blaženka's secret passion: "Inadvertently, a secret feeling creeps into her heart, and fills it with sweet pain. In the beginning she liked looking at the handsome young man, but in time she developed desires in her breasts, which she tried to renounce. In vain! the guardian angel left her – blinded with passion she started to dream" (Jarnević 22 July 1864).¹⁰ This "'coding of intimacy' is Dragojla Jarnević's innovation in nineteenth century Croatian literature. Understanding her own bodily needs, ... pleasures denied, sexual fantasies, radical states of female sensuality" (Nemec 2006: 242) was not only new, but was all considered radical in the puritanical milieu of the then Croatia. As for the union between Blaženka and Ivan, the main obstacle to it is not the class difference, as one might think, since Blaženka, in the spirit that swept over Europe in the middle of the nineteenth

¹⁰ This reflects her thoughts in the journal wherein she elaborated a „duel of the mind“ and the “daemon of corporality”: “I can enjoy things simply and freely, that is true, to no one have I made promises regarding my actions, I answer to no one but my good Saviour, who knows me and sees me, and yet I still torture my body and deny it what, as of late, more than ever it desires ... I wished to beat the passions of the body, but it seems that the spirit does not always rule over the body, and that, even when in an alliance, one cannot rule over the other completely and directly; because if that were to happen, my body would have to, following the restless and terrible battle it had lead for many years now against the aggressive desires, be cleansed and with no drop of lewdness, which it now increasingly desires. But I shall prevail! I shall prevail even if the restlessness of my heart suffocates me, if the blood vessels bursts from shivering, even if my day gets overtaken by night in tears and even if my brain gets clouded” (Jarnević 2000: 339).

century, believes in the equality of people stating that God created "All peoples, all tribes and classes ... with equal right and called for the enjoyment of this beautiful and wonderful world, but human arrogance differentiated man from man, raising one, and surrounding him with prejudices, while stamping the other one into dust..." (Jarnević 1 August 1864). Instead, it is the fact that Ivan "entertains no thought for her" (Jarnević 14 July 1864), as he is in love with another. Having learned that, Blaženka starts to fight "the temptations of love" and thus "wears out her weak heart in the great struggle with reason" firmly deciding: "Even if it means my ruin ... I will overcome this unbecoming passion" (Jarnević 22 July 1864), a task she set out for herself, one which she fully accomplishes, only Jelena late in life observing hints of the old passion, and whispering "Poor maiden" (Jarnević 21 September 1864).

This struggle to improve one's self is, in addition to the curtailing of passions and emotions, evident in Blaženka's conversion to Croatian nationalism, too. She is constructed as a typical "noble daughter of Illyria" of Drašković's essay, as we learn about her youth in the boarding school for noble girls in Pressburg (Požun, today Bratislava) where she was educated in Hungarian. When she returned home she was given German, French and Italian books by her parents who "banished the mother tongue entirely from the family circle, and thus the girl's developing mind was left entirely ignorant of its true source" (Jarnević 6 July 1864). However, in reaction to the growing extent of nationalist discourse in her environment, she joins the movement and announces her decision to her father who responds by locking her up in the house. The father gone, Blaženka establishes rapport with the Bogatović family, primarily with Jelena who becomes her teacher in the national matters. It is to her that Blaženka first announces her change of heart:

You have for a while had business in the village, have met with patriots and have followed them on their patriotic path. Your young heart and bright mind immediately understood the spirit of the times, and you have resigned yourself to it having before your eyes the beautiful patriotic cause; you did not mind anything, you went where your bright mind and passionate heart let you. At that time I did not yet understand these aspirations, and have let myself be misled by my father and his friends. It was only later that I realised that they were people of doubtful character ... My dear Jelena! Believe me, ever since then I have tried to love my homeland with my heart and soul, to love my nation into which I was born and which I love, and I am willing to prove this love however and whenever I can (Jarnević 7 July 1864).

To that extent Blaženka decides to sell the jewellery she has inherited from her mother to buy a subscription to *Narodne novine* (*National papers*) and *Danica ilirska* (Jarnević 11 July 1864), an act which reveals yet another theme Jarnević is concerned with – that of money as a means of personal independence for women. Its importance is reinforced at the end of the novel, even if common in romance genre, when Blaženka, because financially independent, has options: in her older age, and with Ivan dead, she decides to rent her property and travel the world (Jarnević 23 September 1864).

Even if Blaženka's and Jelena's personal growth may seem as merely responding in a desired way to concerns resulting from "masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope" (Enloe in Pettman 1996: 50), it is much more than that as in a number of instances they are revealed as active participants in political struggles, not just followers "in supportive and nurturing relation to men" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 10). Thus in the first chapters of the novel we find Jelena openly speaking for the nationalist cause as she criticises Blaženka for "breaking away from her own", while if she "sided with the land of her birth, the homeland would embrace her as a faithful and noble child – this way every honest man will despise you, while your homeland will be ashamed of you" (Jarnević 6 June 1864). When Blaženka announces her conversion Jelena commends her by stating that her blood is now clear of "the stench that runs in the veins of all traitors of their homeland" (Jarnević 8 July 1864). Apt in nationalist discourse, Jelena also acts as a peacemaker when she speaks to the peasant farmers of her village against revenge to the feudal lords following the fall of feudalism in 1848, thus changing the course of political events in the village:

Do not let the entire people's party be branded because of a handful of people; since our enemies will say: They are not about nationality, but rather snatching and arson. The revenge does not become us, but the one who controls our destinies. Disperse, go to your homes, and be people, not arsonists, - robbers (Jarnević 22 July 1864).

Blaženka takes a stand when she announces that she wishes both, the teacher of Hungarian and her Hungarian suitor to be sent away. She continues to resist her father by publicly associating with the nationalists so that, years later, she is recognised by a Croatian soldier as "a patriot, and one of the first, moveover" (Jarnević 9 August 1864).

Her father, on the other hand, claimed that he, too "love[s] [his] homeland, believe me, that is why I wish material progress and wellbeing for it; you see, thus we have one and the same aspiration regarding the wellbeing of our homeland, only our means, by which we wish to achieve the goal, differ." As a Unionist, Nehajković does not see why centuries-long ties with Hungary should be "broken, the ties that were sacred to our grandparents and great-grandparents." Also, he is not concerned with the advancement of the people and the nation, but with the preservation of the *status quo*: "...leave the peasant enough so he can dress himself, and have enough to eat and drink: what more does he need? ... The more knowledge people have, the more they need; the more spiritual power they have, the greater the resistance and disobedience toward the government" (Jarnević 16 June 1864).

The discourse is reminiscent of Francis's Hector who, when comparing the cities of Northern Ireland and rural Ireland, perpetuates the stereotypes about the two nations. Thus he constructs Belfast in terms of growth, power and strength:

"There's all sorts in Belfast," rejoined Hector, rather shortly. "It's a place you couldn't help bein' proud of," he went on, after a moment. "The money that's in it, and the work that does be goin' on, an' the power that's growing

in it day by day – it's far beyond Dublin that way! Aye, an' the men there is strong men, most of them, an' knows their minds; you can't help but respect them" (Francis 1917: 137-8).

The association of Belfast with power and strength is reinforced later in the novel, during the couple's visit to the city, when Hector, walking about exclaims: "Think of the brains that planned inventions like thon ... Think of the kind o' men they must be that has the power to climb up that way – to lift themselves an' to lift others, an' to start an industry that's heard of all over the world" (314).

The foreman in the factory in which Hector works completes the construct by saying that "if the Government 'ud let us alone we'd be doin' fine" (291). Typical of the discourse, the identity of the Self is created by characterising the colonised subject as the other through the discourse of primitivism: "Catholics are not overfond of hard work" (299) and it is in the public houses of Derry "they do like to be spendin' most of their time" (299).

The association of Northern Irish Protestants with the Empire and their Unionist feelings are first expressed by the, previously mentioned, foreman who claims that "We may be proud of ourselves in Londonderry ... We send out goods out all over the world, so we do. We do a great colonial trade – thon's what I like to think of, well. Here in Londonderry we may say we feel we're in the heart of the Empire" (291). Like Nehajković above, the foreman, too, is against the folks who wish to see "the Empire torn to shreds" (292), in this case, against Home Rule.

Again, typical of the discourse, examples that prove to the contrary are overlooked, which is what Hector does with the Bradys, a prosperous Catholic family of farmers, instead focusing on the fact that they acquired the farm through Land Purchase Act, and above all on their lack of gratitude to the English government through support of Unionism: "... and what sort of gratitude do they feel, do you think?" (334), Hector exclaims. Then, when reminded by Pat of the economic consequences of English colonisation of Ireland, namely, of the economic destruction of Ireland through the destructions of its cattle-raising and woollen industry (334), Hector dismisses those as "harking' back to things that happened hundreds of years ago" (334) without realising that when reaching for the picture of the Battle of the Boyne, he is doing the same. Moreover, as a child of western Ireland he is, earlier in the text, attributed a characteristic Hector himself associated with the primitivism of his other, namely, when, as an adult, he returns to the places of his childhood, it is through "his vivid Celtic fancy" (117) that he remembers the past and imagines the future. Thus constructed, Hector is revealed as a type, a young Irish Protestant displaying conflicting forces in the process of creating self-awareness.

On the other hand, even if Norah's mother is sublimated into the image of a nation, and as such is oblivious to politics, stating that "all the politics in the world would make no differ if the potatoes was blighted on us" (141), his wife evolves as a character from a typical female romance characters obeying the rules of courtship in a patriarchal society, to a young woman informing herself about her marital and parental rights, as well as about the political situation and

making informed decisions accordingly, Francis thus stretching the genre of the romance novel to make comments on the social position of women.

Norah begins educating herself by thinking about the sign "To Hell with Pope" and about the drunkard yelling the same, even though Hector patronisingly advises her not to notice "them things" as they are "only foolishness" (271). In conversations with other parishioners she learns about discriminations against Catholics in the workplace (299), and on her way back home from the mass she attentively listens to the old woman giving her the reason for Protestants rejecting the Home Rule: "They have us ground down long enough, but they'd like us to be ground down forever" (268). Finally, she took up the paper Hector left on the table. Even though "the small print ... seemed to run before her eyes, and the long words baffled; nevertheless, she deciphered a line here and there which made her angry" (297). Until she finally "mustered up courage to attack Hector on his return" (297), she took a stand saying it is lies that are being published in the papers.

Even though she hesitates, following Hector's dismissal of herself as a "little woman" who couldn't even read" the newspapers (300), she was not willing to compromise her parental rights. She stood firm about the rights of her child to be brought up Catholic as her brother advised her, and listened when he told her that hiding her religion is "no way for [her] to be goin' on" (330), appealing to Hector's sense of honour, as he promised her freedom to practice her religion before they were married. While she can listen to her brother to be "the best of the good" (331) to her husband, when it comes to her child she does not even listen to her mother, who suggested that she take the child away and have it baptised in a Catholic church, as Norah found out that should she as a wife do such a thing the husband would have the right to take the child out "and the law of the land 'ud support him" (355). She rejects the other of her mother's plans too: that one of baptising the child herself, as she read in the Catechism that it is only valid if done "In danger of death" (354).

All of this makes her plan, albeit concocted with her mother, to run to Connemara so that Patsy can baptise the child there, a well-thought out decision, and formulates Norah as a character outgrowing the type she starts out as, with her Francis stretching the genre of romance to address new concerns by including new themes.

Conclusion

While women are always there, "central to ... constructions and reproductions" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 3) of a nation, their position in the nationalist movement is suddenly emphasised. Namely, since nationalist discourse is typically highly structured by masculine frustrations and desires, women's role in the movement is confined to the domestic sphere; it becomes the locus of constructions and reproductions to which *Irish Homestead's* formulation "Ireland begins at home" clearly testifies. In response to the mounting nationalist discourse

of the day, both Jarnević and Francis formulated their female characters so as to comply with the five ways in which women typically participate in nationalist movements as singled out by Yuval-Davis and Anthias: they are biological reproducers of national collectivities, they are reproducers of the boundaries of national groups, transmitters of culture, signifiers of national difference, and, finally, they are participants in national, political and military struggles.

However, as both Croatian and Irish nineteenth century nationalism is essentially anti-colonial or "eastern nationalism" to appropriate Plamenatz's term, it is the structures of colonial domination that should be taken into account when analysing the texts of Jarnević and Francis, as well as the formulation of female characters in their novels. Thus the choice of genre itself was a direct result of colonialism: Jarnević was forced to reach for the German model, not having the Croatian equivalent, while Francis appropriated the English model. In both cases the choice was facilitated by a foreign education, and the desire to reach wide audiences which were familiar only with the foreign literature, as a result of the spread of colonial influence through the mass media which began to develop in the period. In order to properly address anti-colonialism, however, both writers transgressed the genre of romance in order to formulate women in their role of active participants in political and military struggles. Additional departures from the typical form of the genre, even if they only appear in textual niches, are those where the writers are addressing the concerns of the modern woman regarding identity and self-awareness.

Clearly formulating the domestic position of women as culture carriers as empowering in line with the discourse of the *Domaće ognjište* and *Irish Homestead*, respectively, and stressing the importance of women in the nationalist movement as summarised by Janko Drašković and Douglas Hyde in their essays, both, Jarnević and Francis remained, and still remain, outside the nationalist, and certainly national, canon. Therefore the work on their reinstitution is commendable. In case of Jarnević Andrea Zlatar and Krešimir Nemeč set the path for future criticism, while Irena Lukšić should be congratulated on publishing the *Journal* in its entirety. In case of Francis John Foster and Tom Keegan should be applauded for a new perspective on Francis, Keegan making a valuable point: "It is both surprising and disappointing to see an arguably feminist novelist, who wrote astride the century and facilitated a transition out of the sentimental nineteenth century and into the nationalism and religious fervour of the twentieth, fall so easily out of print" (Keegan 2005: 125). Since the same could be said of Jarnević, it is crucial that the oeuvre of the two writers be reclaimed as that would mean getting "valuable alternative insights and understandings" (Spender 1988: 204) about Croatia and Ireland respectively which have been absent from mainstream literature and culture of the two countries for decades.

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ŽENA, LJUBAVNI ROMAN I ROMANTIČARSKO
DOMOLJUBLJE U *DVA PIRA* (1864) DRAGOJLE JARNEVIĆ I
DARK ROSALEEN (*TAMNA ROSALEEN* 1917) M. E. FRANCIS

I dok su razlozi dvaju autorica za odabir ljubavnog romana te pozicioniranje žanra u hrvatskoj, odnosno anglo-irskoj književnoj tradiciji različiti, povijesni kontekst koji motiva ova dva romana uvelike je sličan. Naime, ilirski preporod u Hrvatskoj 1830-ih godina može se u duhu i društvenoj atmosferi poistovjetiti s irskim nacionalnim preporodom kojima ova dva naroda započinju svoje antikolonijalističke projekte. Pod jakim utjecajem romantičarskog domoljublja svoga vremena i Jarnević i Francis konstruiraju svoje ženske likove primarno kroz njihovo sudjelovanje u nacionalnom preporodu. U okviru te ideologije, bilo koje odstupanje izvan granica iscrtanih uloga vodi u život obilježen bijedom koji je pak modus ispaštanja za transgresiju; tako se ponovo uspostavlja red u svemiru. Jasno naznačujući da se nepravde nanese ženama ne mogu odvojiti od nepravdi nanesenih cijelom hrvatskom, odnosno irskom narodu, ove dvije autorice nadilaze spomenuto tipično prikazivanje žena u vrijeme narodnog preporoda i formuliraju žensku antikolonijalističku naraciju. I na kraju, dok Francis ne napušta žanrovske konvencije ljubavnog romana i prikazuje svoje junakinje na način tipičan za žanr, Jarnević radi korak dalje prilagođavajući žanr kako bi prikazala žensku svijest u nastajanju, čime je zaslužila atribut hrvatske proto-feministice (Andrea Zlatar).

Key words: Jarnević, Francis, women, romance, romantic nationalism

Ključne riječi: Jarnević, Francis, žene, ljubavni romani, romantičarsko domoljublje