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Lost and found in the archives: Hannah Lynch and Dimitrios Vikélas

Dublin, Athens, Paris: literary crossings and collaborations

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ABSTRACT

This essay illuminates a late nineteenth-century literary connection between Ireland and Greece, also revealing hitherto unexplored layers of the vibrant fin-de-siècle salon cultures in Paris and related literary and artistic networks. As a transnational and interdisciplinary collaboration, the essay maps a process of archival discovery in the National Library of Greece, Athens: a significant cache of letters from Hannah Lynch, Irish New Woman, Ladies' Land League activist, author of a truly international and diverse body of travel writing, cultural commentary and fiction, to Dimitrios Vikélas, iconic figure of nineteenth-century Greece. The discovery of Lynch's significant textual and photographic presence in the archive amassed by Vikélas, man of letters and scholar, translator, novelist, philanthropist and founding President of the International Olympic Committee, is significant for several reasons: Lynch's correspondence reveals further details that flesh out the biography of this marginalised writer; the letters also offer insights into the struggles of a "woman of letters" in the late nineteenth-century literary and publishing landscape, documenting where articles are published and sometimes the remuneration; finally, letters in the Vikélas archive from Lynch and those who were part of their shared Paris-centred intellectual networks foreground patronage, collaboration, friendship and underpinning salon culture.

KEYWORDS

Hannah Lynch; Dimitrios Vikélas; fin de siècle; Ireland-Greece connections; Paris salons and networks; archival journeys

Who connects Anna Parnell's Ladies' Land League (1881–1882), the first modern Olympic Games in Athens (1896), and the vibrant literary cultures and networks of fin-de-siècle Paris? The answer is Irish novelist, short story and travel writer Hannah Lynch (1859–1904) and Dimitrios Vikélas (1835–1908), iconic figure of nineteenth-century Greece – scholar, man of letters, translator, novelist, philanthropist and first President of the International Olympic Committee established for the revival of the Olympic Games. Lynch published two novels with Greek settings in 1892: *Rosni Harvey* situated in Ireland and Greece, and *Daughters of Men*, set in Athens and on the island of Tinos. She dedicated this latter novel to Dimitrios Vikélas and, as soon as it was published in London, he translated it into Greek for serial publication from July until December 1892 in the prestigious literary magazine,

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Hestia.¹ It was then printed as a book by Hestia publishing house, with the Greek title *Κόραι της Ελλάδος* (Daughters of Greece).² Eleven years later, her chapter on El Greco from her travel book, *Toledo: The Story of An Old Spanish Capital* (1898), was translated and published in *Panathenaia* – the first Greek art magazine of the twentieth century – in June 1903.³ These literary crossings and connections between Ireland and Greece are explored further in this essay through mapping an archival discovery in the Dimitrios Vikélas archive, held in the National Library of Greece. Attention is paid specifically to a cache of letters from Hannah Lynch and about her to Vikélas that are revelatory in several ways. They provide new biographical details about both writers; the correspondence also offers insights into the struggles of a “woman of letters” in the late nineteenth-century literary and publishing landscape; and finally, letters from Lynch and those who were part of their shared Paris-centred intellectual networks foreground patronage, collaboration, friendship and underpinning salon culture.

Outside Greece the name of Vikélas will ring few bells, but he was and remains an important figure, not only in literature, but also in the social and political affairs of Greece. Born in Syros in 1835 to a family of merchants and traders, he spent his childhood in Odessa, Constantinople and Syros. In 1852, at the age of 17, he left for London to start working for his uncle Basil Melas, marrying Kalliopi Geralopoulou, the daughter of one of the richest Greek merchant families of London in 1866. His wife’s deteriorating mental health necessitated a move to Paris; she remained in a psychiatric institution there for 20 years. During that period in Paris, Vikélas concentrated more on writing – essays, short stories, translating Shakespeare, effectively generating a new readership of the playwright in Greece. In 1879 he published his most acclaimed work, *Loukis Laras*, which was translated in ten languages over the following years. He was very active in literary and political circles and in 1894, at the Paris International Athletics Convention, he was elected President of the International Olympic Committee for the revival of the Olympic Games. After the death of his wife, he returned permanently to Greece committing himself to a variety of social projects including founding the “Society for the Propagation of Useful Books” and a House for the Blind. He was, ultimately, an exemplary “man of letters” and citizen of the world, having travelled widely, lived in numerous major European cities and forged extensive cosmopolitan and international networks of friendships and professional contacts.⁴

In contrast, both inside and outside Ireland and Irish studies, Lynch’s visibility as a significant late nineteenth-century Irish New Woman, travel and short story writer, amongst other things, awaits full recognition. The story of Dublin-born Hannah Lynch’s short literary life is, like many of her female contemporaries writing and publishing at the turn of the twentieth century, a story of brief recognition and then forgetting, of gaps, silences, loss and marginalisation. In 2018 and 2019 two books on Lynch were published, a hundred years after it had been noted in the *Dublin Evening Herald* how little she was spoken of, “a striking instance of a clever writer passing out of public memory in the course of a generation or less”.⁵ The losses from public memory were multiple, including an understanding of the radical politics of Ladies’ Land League, its President Anna Parnell (finally receiving more recognition in 2021), and with this loss Lynch’s own active participation in the movement as London secretary. She also took on the role of sub-editor of *United Ireland* along with writer and Ladies’ Land League member, Rose Kavanagh, when William O’Brien was imprisoned alongside Charles Parnell and other Land League members. In addition, when the paper was proscribed and the stereo plates

needed to be transported to London and Paris, Hannah Lynch took on the task. Like the many women who joined this movement, her feminist and nationalist aspirations (the latter turning to disillusionment) were nurtured and forged here, and in Lynch's case, literary ambitions too. From her earliest short stories and novels, Lynch's writing featured defiant New Woman figures, some modelled on Anna Parnell herself, including the recently recovered and newly published Ladies' Land League novella, *Marjory Maurice*.⁶

Lost quickly from public memory too, was knowledge of Lynch's colourful life and her transnational and multi-genred oeuvre – novels, short story and travel writing, translation, literary criticism and cultural commentary. Her early publications featured in nationalist story papers and newspapers (*The Shamrock* and *The Freeman's Journal*, for example), and by the end of her short life her work had been published in major literary reviews in Edinburgh, London and Paris, including the *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *London Academy* and *La Revue de Paris*. The recurring New Woman figures in her fiction and short fiction are mobile, adventurous and cosmopolitan, mirroring Lynch herself. The geographical range of her fiction was as extensive as Lynch's trans-European travel and travel writing, from across Ireland to London and London suburbia, to the capitals and countryside of France and Spain as well as to the Canary Islands, from Italy to Greece, in particular Athens and the Cyclades. Semi-settled in Paris from the 1890s until her premature death in 1904, Lynch was described in a 1902 article in *Harper's Bazaar* as one of "the remarkable people in Paris" [...] "said to be the most gifted woman Ireland ever produced, and whose strongest characteristic is that she has sacrificed everything else in life to literature."⁷

Transnational crossings: mapping multilingual collaborations, networks, letters lost and found, and archival journeys

In the closing paragraphs of the co-authored critical study on Hannah Lynch's life and writing by Faith Binckes and Kathryn Laing, a story is related of an unexpected and welcome surfacing of a photograph which challenged initial imaginings of Lynch, just as the book project moved towards publication. Completion of the monograph did not mean easy and full conclusions, however. The few letters from and to Hannah Lynch, and about her in the archives of others sourced, gave some insights into her constant border crossings, her numerous addresses as well as difficulties with health and publishing her work. The fullest picture of her writing life and contexts, her Dublin, London and Paris circles, emerged through these and reading her work. But there were blanks, spaces, and "new avenues for exploration".⁸ Pere Gifra Adroher and Jacqueline Hurley opened up several new vistas with their publication *Hannah Lynch and Spain*, providing readers with detailed observations about the Spanish contexts that shaped Lynch's work and samples of this writing.⁹ Hannah Lynch in Greece, however, remained the most significant lacuna – she had travelled there to the island of Tinos in 1885 and made return journeys, mainly to Athens it appeared. She had published two articles based on her sojourn in Tinos.¹⁰ Her vivid responses to and depictions of the landscape of this island in these publications also imbued her two novels with Greek settings and strong feminist characters.¹¹ As noted in Binckes and Laing, these novels, *Rosni Harvey* and *Daughters of Men*, along with several others in her oeuvre, *Jinny Blake*, *Denys d'Auvrillac* and *Clare Monro* for example, "are particularly striking for their cosmopolitan and transnational settings. *Rosni Harvey* and in particular, *Jinny Blake* offer the most concentrated focus and vivid illustration of Lynch's

cosmopolitan portraits and transnational New Woman figures through which issues of national identity and gender roles are debated".¹² Lynch's attention to nationalism and her critique of imperialism in these novels are also evident in the articles, "Greece of Today" and "On the Acropolis", both published in the British press and forged out of sharp political observations sprung from her travels and observations in Greece, and clearly aimed closer to home.¹³ She had met, at some stage, the famous writer, businessman and first president of the International Olympic Committee, Dimitrios Vikélas, and dedicated her Athens and Tinos-set novel, *Daughters of Men*, to him. He translated it into Greek. This much was known and discussed.¹⁴

The tale of the photograph that came to light drew to a close one search, and laid bare aporias that remained. The epilogue to the book concluded with an opening: "We wonder which new territories this study might open up, and what other new discoveries might be made about, and due to, the life and writing of Hannah Lynch" (165). In 2021, a post-publication story of a new transnational, interdisciplinary multilingual collaboration as well as archival recoveries began with an email sent to Kathryn Laing from Greece on February 25th, written by visual artist Iliana Theodoropoulou. In it she outlined her own project on the Ursulines in Greece, and included a range of questions about Hannah Lynch's sojourn on the island of Tinos where she had been a guest at the Ursuline convent in Loutra. Lynch's visit to the island became the source and inspiration for the two articles published in Matthew Russell's *Irish Monthly* (1886), "The Ursulines of Tenos" and "November on a Greek Island".¹⁵ Iliana Theodoropoulou's Ursuline project, investigating Lynch's life and presence in Tinos in 1885, culminated in her talk on Hannah Lynch and her residence in Tinos at an event celebrating the history of the Ursulines in Tinos in August 2021, capturing the attention of a new readership for Lynch's writing over one hundred years later.¹⁶ Curiosity piqued by the presence of an Irish woman writer on an island that held little attraction for the many travellers to Greece in the late nineteenth century, and not a little captivated by this elusive and forgotten Irish writer who paid so much attention to Athenian settings and Tinos landscapes in her work, Iliana continued to pursue an unexpected shift in her profession from art installations to literary detective work.

Returning to a series of questions that remained unresolved, she began asking more, and excavating further the life and writing of Hannah Lynch in Greece. How was she connected with Dimitrios Vikélas and why did she dedicate her book to him? What more was there to know about Hannah Lynch's sojourn in Tinos and why did she travel to Greece – what were her motivations and connections? While it is not yet possible to answer these questions definitively, several reasons can be outlined. As an aspiring and ambitious young writer, like many of her Irish literary contemporaries, Hannah Lynch had crossed from Dublin to London in 1884 in search of more publishing opportunities and a way to make a living as a writer. Like so many other women writers in her position, single, unsupported and focused on a literary career, Lynch had held governess positions around Ireland prior to her London crossing, so her journey to the then remote island of Tinos and to the Ursuline convent in the even more remote village of Loutra, may have been to take up a position as a teacher of English.¹⁷ Correspondence from Tinos with her Irish friend and mentor Father Thomas Dawson offers further clues. In a letter penned in 1886, she discusses the progress of her Greek language studies and her not inconsiderable ambition to model herself on the fifteenth-century platonic scholar Poliziano in Florence, by initiating the study of Plato in Dublin. She also tells him of her plans to

study in Athens for a year.¹⁸ In the meanwhile, Lynch had already started to turn her extraordinary experiences into copy, seeking publication and necessary financial rewards. Soon after her arrival on Tinos she had written to Dawson about a friend of his who might provide her with the necessary recommendation letters to prominent Athenians and especially to the famous archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann: “[. . .] but if your friend would furnish me with one (introduction) to Schliemann or any other Athens Celebrity it would be a great help to me as I shall write letters for Freeman”.¹⁹ It was this sentence that was particularly striking for Iliana in her quest for answers. Who was that friend of Father Dawson in Athens who could make those connections possible? A Greek person? An officer from a foreign legation or an archaeologist from the British, American or French School? The idea that there was a Greek man, a public person, Dimitrios Vikélas, an Athenian celebrity himself, who could facilitate her acquaintance with Schliemann, to whom she had dedicated her book *Daughters of Men*, became compelling for Iliana. Was he Father Dawson’s friend, who subsequently became her friend? These questions triggered a search and discovery of a book about Vikélas’s personal archive and his correspondence, published by the editing house that he himself had founded – “Society for the propagation of useful books”. In this book, the author Charalambos Konstantellias explores the archive of Dimitrios Vikélas, now in the National Library of Greece, with a focus on Greek political and cultural issues.²⁰ According to his book, Hannah Lynch is present in the archive as a main correspondent, with 73 letters and her sister Nannie with three. Armed with this knowledge of the dearth of archival material available and constrained by how very few of Lynch’s letters had been previously recovered, this discovery was an unexpected stroke of luck.²¹ A call to the publishing house revealed that Vikélas’s nephew, Alexandros Oikonomou, had written a biography of his uncle in 1953 where he had dedicated a short chapter to Hannah Lynch.²² And indeed, in this exemplary biography Oikonomou describes his first encounter with Hannah, her physical appearance, her character, her life in Paris, the Greek translation of her book, and in conclusion he includes a brief but tender obituary. Following revelatory telephone discussions with Mr. Konstantellias and, due to covid restrictions, a long delayed visit to the Dimitrios Vikélas archive at the Manuscripts and Special Collections Department of the National Library of Greece, another surprise awaited: a further 20 letters to Alexandros Oikonomou and a second photograph!

This story of forgetting and recovery, of nineteenth-century networks and correspondences, and the forging of new twenty-first century networks in pandemic times, became then a story of an extraordinary discovery of the largest cache of Hannah Lynch letters to date. These letters and the new photograph flesh out further the portrait of Lynch her contemporaries had left and which earlier excavations had glimpsed. In addition, the significance of this correspondence, opening up new vistas and avenues for scholarship relating to the recipient of these letters, Dimitrios Vikélas, and his position in the larger world of late-nineteenth-century letters as well Parisian social and literary networks, cannot be underestimated.

Letters in the Vikélas archive, National Library of Greece, and tracing Hannah Lynch²³

Dimitrios Vikélas died in July 1908, bequeathing his entire personal archive to his sister Aikaterini Oikonomou. She later bequeathed it to her son – his nephew – Alexandros

Oikonomou who used the archive extensively in order to write his trilogy *Three Men* (the biographies of his father Aristidis, his uncle Dimitrios Vikélas and his brother-in-law, former Greek Prime Minister Petros Protopapadakis).²⁴ Being fully aware of the importance of this archive for Greek history and cultural heritage, he offered it to the National Library of Greece in 1960. This voluminous archive consists of 173 folders (with subfolders) and it remains to be fully catalogued. The majority of the folders contain letters addressed to Dimitrios Vikélas, but they also include his own letters to some family members and to his mother Smaragda. Apart from the letters, the archive includes manuscripts, family documents, diaries, journals, newspaper clippings, and documentation of the Olympic Games. The letters number around 12,200, from Greek and foreign correspondents. The majority of the foreign letters are in French and English, but also in Spanish, Italian and German. The countless correspondents from around the world (including writers, Hellenists, scholars, philhellenes, politicians, archaeologists and bishops) illustrate his capacity for languages, his extensive social networks and talents for friendship as well as intercultural understanding, and these are all reflected in this astonishing archive.²⁵ In fact, a trawl through the catalogue held in the National Library Archive reveals immediately that Vikélas was often the first contact in Greece for prospective travellers with literary and archaeological interests coming from London and the United States. The list of correspondents, a veritable “Who’s Who” of late nineteenth-century intellectuals as well as literary and publishing networks, include eminent Cambridge classicist Jane Ellen Harrison, Frances Low, London journalist and founder of the Writers’ Club (introduced to Vikélas by Hannah Lynch), American poet Louise Chandler Moulton, American artist Charles Clifford Dyer, Louis Dyer American classicist and his brother-in-law, publisher George Austin Macmillan.

Threaded through the archive, multiple references to and conversations about Hannah Lynch can be traced.²⁶ Letters between Vikélas and family members reveal, for example, that during her first sojourn in Greece, from 1885 to 1887, Hannah Lynch had met the Balanos family, and worked as a private teacher of their daughter Smaragda and possibly their young son Aristidis.²⁷ Their mother, Mrs Eleni Balanou, was Dimitrios Vikélas’s sister. It is surmisable then that this was the route for an introduction of the young fledgling writer to Vikélas. Exact details are sketchy, but Lynch alludes to meeting him in Paris in 1890 several times in her letters.²⁸ A close friendship was born between them (which lasted until her death in 1904), and a camaraderie also developed with his nephew, Alexandros Oikonomou, who was living with his uncle in Paris in the 1890s. He remembers her there, painting a mini portrait of her: a determined young Irish woman, a daydreamer, with very pale skin and inquisitive blue eyes, full of humour, eccentricity, genius, naivety.²⁹ Vikélas was also captivated when he first met Hannah Lynch, writing to his mother in the summer of 1890 about how much he respected her, admired her ambitious plans as a writer, and how he planned to introduce her to everyone he knew in order to help her survive in Paris, by giving English lessons and lectures.³⁰

Folder φ879 includes Lynch’s letters and postcards to Vikélas from 1896 until the end of 1903. The majority of her letters (written in English) were sent from 60 Avenue de Breteuil, the Paris address where she had moved at the beginning of 1897 and lived until her death. A few letters were sent from Dampierre and from Barcelona. At least half of them are undated, but they were subsequently approximately dated by Vikélas or his nephew, Oikonomou. Most of the letters Lynch sent to Vikélas during this period were while he

lived in Athens, with a few exceptions when they were both staying in Paris. In her letters, Lynch discusses her health, her extreme poverty, and her writings. These include references to articles she is publishing and in which journals, to her most controversial novel, *Autobiography of a Child*, and also to her last, unfinished and now lost, novel.³¹ She also describes her intense and active social life since they shared an extended circle of friends in Paris, about whom she gives news. These letters are revelatory in numerous ways, unfolding new aspects of her life and work, sketching a self-portrait, revealing aspects of her character and personality, and confirming other sides of her life that were already assumed but remained unverified. In addition, there are further revelations in the archive about her fragile health and a serious operation she underwent the last days of October 1896 in Paris, previous to the final, disastrous surgery in 1904. For example, in autumn 1896 when Lynch's health broke down again, Vikélas's connections and financial contribution were crucial to her operation by recommending the highly regarded Dr. Leon Lereboullet, and from that date Vikélas took care of expenses for all her health problems.³² The letters also provide a partial glimpse of a complex relationship, at once familiar and even familial; most of her letters to Vikélas in this collection begin without any formal address, as if she were in mid-conversation, and they often end as abruptly. At the same time, they reveal a more passionate, intense, but ultimately platonic, connection in the past. Towards the end of her life and of the correspondence, Lynch's letters become angry and confrontational, voicing both frustration and a sense of betrayal, but they also demonstrate that it remained a profoundly deep and all-important friendship for her.³³

Vikélas's financial support did not begin and end with medical bills. He assisted her financially in other ways too, especially when Lynch had difficulties with income from her writing – remuneration from journals was sometimes slow and publishing possibilities often intermittent. Effectively he became her literary patron and supporter, a role established from their earliest acquaintance and signalled in his letters to his mother.³⁴ He had noted and admired from his first encounters with Hannah her determination to be an independent “woman of letters”³⁵: “She has courage and passion” and she wants “to earn her bread by writing” (10 June 1890); “What a person. 3 novels accepted and published in London. She has the ambition to live by her pen and she will find her way”. “She says all the time what she will do when rich” (17 June 1890). In these letters he recognised immediately the challenges of such an endeavour, that “while her writing is of great quality, that she will surely be famous in England”, “she has need of my friendship” (4 July 1890).³⁶ In an 1891 letter he mentions the publication of Lynch's *George Meredith*, one of the earliest works of criticism on his oeuvre, noting that it has been praised, “But this success does not bring enough money ...”. In light of this, he recommends her wherever he can to his friends in Paris, and everyone has included her in their circle and loved her.³⁷

Read alongside Vikélas's commentaries to his mother about Lynch's successes and financial difficulties, one of the most striking features of Lynch's letters to Vikélas is the detailed and vivid account of her earnings from publications, and sometimes from her supplementary teaching and lectures, illustrating the struggle for her to live by her pen alone.³⁸ It is an account that chimes with the experiences, traceable through the archives and often incorporated into their fiction of many other late nineteenth-century writers, in particular women.³⁹ Many of her letters include a record of money earned, and more regularly a deficit in her income, often thanking Vikélas and accepting offers of financial

help. A few examples offer a vivid insight into her earnings and some of the challenges she faced placing her writing and receiving remuneration. In a letter dated February 1896 she records triumphantly that she has earned for the first series “590 francs and that is £29 all but a few shillings”.⁴⁰ In June 1896 she describes a meeting with Dent, her new publisher: “He talks of getting me to write a book on modern French literature for him, also one or two books on cities – Tours, perhaps Toledo or Cordova. These will be commissions of course, for which I shall be paid.”⁴¹ In the same letter she admits she is in financial straits. In a postcard sent to Vikélas in 1898 (dated Easter Sunday), Lynch asks him what he thinks about the proofs for her book on Toledo and announces the possibility of further work with Dent, her publisher: “That will be a good thing for me as last month all I earned was £3. Just fancy! And this the month of my lessons or contributions”.⁴² She goes on to relate that Dent has promised an advance on her book and that she has borrowed money from Mme Lebret, one of the many women in Vikélas’s circle who offered financial support when income was scarce. On 25 February 1898 she enclosed a copy of her “revolutionary tale”, recently published in *Girl’s Realm*, noting that: “I was paid £5.5 for it. Do you think that good pay? It is 131.25 Fr”.⁴³ This letter is a treasure trove of details and revelations about her latest publications, describing early responses to her controversial *Autobiography of a Child* and payment received. She also records in the same letter that “I still continue with my Academy letter and had an article in *Literature* the other day”.⁴⁴

What emerges most clearly from these letters then is the significance of Hannah Lynch’s friendship with Dimitrios Vikélas in her personal life and for her literary career.⁴⁵ Both writers shared their mutual love for literature and travelling and they supported each other. It was for a period a collaborative literary partnership – Vikélas read proofs of her books and she reviewed his translated work.⁴⁶ In Paris, as he had pledged in letters to his mother, he introduced her to his wide range of acquaintances and friends, helping her to build up contacts to support her writing and therefore income. In fact, the letters from Lynch to Vikélas in the Athens archive, and from many of the considerable number of his female correspondents, offer a fascinating insight into an informal network of Paris salons and salonnieres, in which Lynch participated. They also illustrate how Vikélas was the lynchpin in this mainly female-centred intellectual and literary culture. For Lynch’s letters and references to her among the numerous letters of others, mainly female correspondents, constitute a distinctive thread in the multilingual, cosmopolitan and international warp and weave of the correspondents in Vikélas’s archive, where more famous names leap off the pages of the catalogue among those whose achievements, connections and networks like Lynch’s have been lost or forgotten. Her whereabouts, projects, recent publications and, strikingly, the overwhelmingly repeated moniker, “la pauvre Miss Lynch,” can be traced across multiple letters mainly written in French by a cluster of European correspondents married into or absorbed into the vibrant Parisian salon culture of the period.

A snapshot gives a flavour of the riches of this archive and the extraordinary Paris contacts and connections Vikélas offered Lynch. For example, he mentions in an early letter to his mother (10 June 1890) that he will introduce Miss Lynch to Juliette Adam (1836–1936), journalist, writer, feminist, founder of the influential journal, *La Nouvelle Revue* in 1879, who also presided over one of the most sought after salons in Paris.⁴⁷ While there is no evidence in the letters that Lynch met Adam, and unlike Vikélas, her work did

not appear in *La Nouvelle Revue*,⁴⁸ other important contacts for Lynch including the medievalist Gaston Paris and feminist Arvède Barine, also frequented Adam's salons.⁴⁹ Belgian sisters Marie Clerc and Adèle Bohomoletz feature among the most fascinating of Vikélas's correspondents in the archive, and they became significant contacts for Hannah Lynch whose constantly precarious finances reliant on earnings from article and book publications, needed to supplement her income, thus necessitating connections and seeking patronage in fin-de-siècle Paris. Marie Clerc (1840–1915) and her husband, engineer Camille Clerc (1828–1882), for example, were patrons of the composer Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924) and hosts of sought after Paris soirées.⁵⁰ She features in Hannah Lynch's carefully cultivated networks that also included French feminist Arvède Barine (Louise-Cécile Vincens) and the English poet and essayist Mary F. Robinson who had moved to Paris after marrying first, French Orientalist James Darmesteter, and then pioneering microbiologist, Emile Duclaux.⁵¹ What also becomes clear in the letters between Marie Clerc and Vikélas is that she, like Vikélas, provided financial support for Lynch, especially for medical treatment during Lynch's final days. As important for Lynch was Marie Clerc's sister, Adèle Bohomoletz (settled in Paris after her marriage), who was a significant intellectual in her own right, having translated Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (but remaining anonymous when first published by Hachette). Frequenters of her Paris salon included Turgenev, Tchaikovsky and Fauré.⁵² In a letter written to Vikélas in 1890, Bohomoletz reports that she has met Hannah Lynch and is in the process of trying to get her work as an English correspondent in St Petersburg.⁵³ Bohomoletz's patronage becomes evident in Lynch's letters to Vikélas, several of them giving an account of Bohomoletz's Paris salon where she delivered talks on George Meredith, on Rudyard Kipling (this lecture was later published in *La Revue Bleue*), and on Olive Schreiner.⁵⁴

Lynch's residence in Paris, which became more permanent in the late 1890s, access to the vibrant Parisian circles that Vikélas had helped to facilitate, along with the publication of her regular columns and commentary on the literary scene in France in *The Academy*, ensured, albeit briefly, a vital visibility, even notoriety in Parisian culture.⁵⁵ In "Lettres à Valmont," a regular column published in *L'Écho de Paris* under the pen name the Marquise de Merteuil, French symbolist Marcel Schwob observed in March 1903 that "C'est à Paris que les chercheurs d'infini trouvent leur refuge." Among them, he notes the "enfants terribles" accommodated by the maternal city, "terribles et charmants, comme Miss Barney qui adore à la fois les dieux de la Grèce et le Dieu inconnu d'Anarchie, ou Miss Hannah Lynch, qui déconcerta fort M. Bergeret, le mois passé, en lui parlant de ses livres avec une franchise un peu irlandaise."⁵⁶ Her candour and reputation as "un enfant terrible" in the world of letters, literary reviews and cultural commentary were not confined, however, to her assessments of French writers such as M. Bergeret, aka Anatole France, nor the columns penned in 1903 by Marcel Schwob (like Lynch a fervent admirer of George Meredith and Robert Louis Stevenson). Lynch's critical account of Irish society in her 1885 novel *Through Troubled Waters* earned her a scolding from *United Ireland* editor, William O'Brien, who accused her of pandering to an English readership. And in 1888 she stirred up hilarity and offence for her satirical observations, published in the *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, of W. B. Yeats and AE (George) Russell, amongst other frequenters of Katharine Tynan's newly flourishing Dublin literary salon. These writers and the earliest stirrings of a cultural renaissance have of course since been immortalised in the narratives of the Irish Literary Revival.⁵⁷

Photographs in the Vikélas Archive, tracing Hannah Lynch and a concluding discovery

In the archive folders, a second photograph of Lynch is placed on top of the stash of letters addressed to Dimitrios Vikélas. Second to be discovered, because it is chronologically previous to the first that surfaced in 2018 in the family archive and included in both critical works on Lynch. She writes to Vikélas in June 1901 from Barcelona with her “franchise un peu irlandaise”- “Nannie found that the likeness your Greek photographer made of me in Paris some years ago so atrocious that she had paid for a dozen of [?] ones taken here by the best photographer of Spain - Napoleon” (Figure 1).⁵⁸



Figure 1. Hannah Lynch, Napoleon photographic studio, Barcelona (June 1901). Inscribed on reverse: “this photo is of aunt Hannah – spent life writing in Paris.” Family Collection.

This letter gives us information about both photographs and dates the “first” one in June 1901, and the “second,” “some years ago.” Nevertheless, she had given it to Frances Low who included it with the publication of her article in January 1898, so it is clear that the second photograph was taken prior to 1898.⁵⁹ This earlier, but “second” to be recovered, photograph was taken in Paris in the photographic studio of Solon Vathis (Figures 2).⁶⁰ Solon Vathis, a Greek photographer started his own studio in Paris around 1880. He was the royal photographer of George the 1st, King of Greece and his reputation was such that many prominent Greek politicians travelled to Paris to be photographed by him. Vikélas was acquainted with Vathis, he had also been photographed in his studio and could be considered one of his “élite clientèle.”



Figure 2. Miss Hannah Lynch, Vathis photographic studio, Paris (1895–1897?). National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879.

This discovery and the extraordinary cache of letters in the Vikélas archive in Athens undoubtedly fills many gaps in Hannah Lynch's life. However, unveiling the silence is not always rewarding. Nannie Lynch, Hannah's older sister (also an active member of the Ladies' Land League in the 1880s), wrote to Dimitrios Vikélas soon after her sister's death, telling him that she has destroyed all her personal correspondence.⁶¹ So now a gap is replaced with another one: the knowledge that the letters that Hannah Lynch had received and were in her Paris apartment are gone forever. In light of all this, her Greek photograph that is published here acquires a new significance. It is a studio portrait without a staged background, depicting her looking not at the viewer but at the side. As a writer it was necessary for her for to be recognised and published. It is not a personal moment in a private or public space. The void, the emptiness around her detaches her from any possible context. With this photograph she created a life, an identity, a proof of existence, and in this way has archived herself. Her eyes are not meeting with the photographic lens, she is looking directly at the future, her future, directly at us.

Postscript

Hannah Lynch's arrival in the Cyclades in 1885, first at Ermoupoli, Syros, a major shipping port and crossroads from West to East, and then the island of Tinos, coincided with a cholera epidemic and quarantines imposed on ships arriving from affected regions. It was a situation reflected in a brief conversation on board a ship bound from Liverpool via Malta to Syros in her Ireland and Greece-set 1892 novel,

Rosni Harvey, where “A nervous headache is one thing under ordinary circumstances; quite another when it runs the chance of putting a vessel into fifteen days quarantine”.⁶² Over one hundred years later, in 2021, conversations started around Hannah Lynch in Greece and the international, interdisciplinary and multilingual collaboration initiated, to some extent mirroring similar crossings at the fin de siècle, took place in a time of global pandemic, isolation and restrictions.⁶³ Despite these constraints, dialogue and a broader field of research were enabled by technology – emails, whatsapp and telephone calls, digitised and searchable catalogues, articles and newspapers. Finally, access both literally and linguistically to the treasures of the Vikélas archive, already identified by Charalambos Konstantellias as an “inexhaustible source of information about his life and work and also his times”, brought further illuminations.⁶⁴ Tracing the presence of Hannah Lynch, Irish New Woman, Ladies’ Land League activist, author of a truly international and diverse body of travel writing, cultural commentary and fiction, through her own letters to Vikélas in English, and through the letters of others to him in Greek, French and English, held in an archive in Athens, surfaced hitherto unexplored layers of vibrant fin-de-siècle literary and artistic networks as well as salon cultures in Paris. The discovery of Lynch’s significant textual and photographic presence in the correspondence of an exemplary, cosmopolitan Greek “man of letters” foregrounding patronage, collaboration, friendship and acts of translation, in addition to her Greece-inflected publications that include travel writing, political commentary and fiction, invites further attention from these multiple angles. In addition, the potential of future studies of Lynch’s oeuvre within the narratives of diverse geographical, historical, political and cultural affinities between Ireland and Greece already mapped out by scholars, particularly in the specific contexts of nineteenth-century women writers and travel writing as well as early twentieth-century modernism, is palpable.⁶⁵

Notes

1. *Κόραι της Ελλάδος*, Μυθιστορία Hannah Lynch, περιοδικό Έστία, τόμος 34, Ιούλιος - Δεκέμβριος 1892 [Daughters of Greece, Novel by Hannah Lynch, *Hestia Magazine*, volume 34, July – December 1892]. Her article, “Greece of Today,” published in *The Westminster Review* (vol. 139, January 1893) was reproduced as a summary in *Hestia Magazine*, vol 35, issue 9, 1893.
 “Beginning in 1876, and for almost twenty years, *Hestia* was published in Athens every Sunday in 3000 issues. It was associated with important writers and it opened its pages to the younger generation of the 1880s, people like Palamas, Karkavitsas, and Xenopoulos.” Kalokyris, “Modern Greek Literary Journals: A Sketch,” 41.
2. Hannah Lynch “Κόραι της Ελλάδος,” κατά το Αγγλικό υπό Δ.Β., Έκδόσεις Έστίας, Αθήνα, 1892. *Hestia*, established in 1885, is the oldest Greek publishing house and it continues to be active and successful.
<https://www.greeknewsagenda.gr/interviews/reading-greece/7322-reading-greece-eva-karaitidi-on-the-history-of-hestia-editions-and-the-greek-publishing-landscape>
3. *Panathenaia* (1901–1913). The editor, Kimon Michailidis, translated Lynch’s chapter. *Panathenaia* was a significant literary magazine, publishing translations of Dostoevsky, Gogol and Hamsun as well as works by contemporary Greek writers including novelist Emmanuel Roidis and poet and playwright Angelos Sikelianos (Kalokyris, 41). Lynch’s response to and assessment of El Greco’s work continues to be cited by art historians and is another interesting

narrative thread that deserves further attention. For example, Hadjinicolaou, (Professor Emeritus Art History), “Inequalities in the Work of El Greco,” 175–212.

4. Information about Vikélas here is drawn from M. L. Smith’s fascinating and detailed account of his influential life and work. Significantly, Smith notes that “If Vikélas is relatively unknown today, it is not through lack of evidence. On the contrary, he left a more complete picture of his life than most of his contemporaries, in his memoirs, diaries and notebooks”. “The Exemplary Life of Dimitrios Vikélas (1835–1908)”, 9. Vikélas’s cosmopolitan identity is also discussed in Moutafidou, *The Cosmopolitan Businessman*. The complexities of defining cosmopolitan identity and cosmopolitanism in the nineteenth century have received considerable critical attention. In his introduction, Delahunty suggests that: “In the broadest sense possible, cosmopolitanism is about the extension of the moral and political horizons of people, societies, organizations and institutions. It implies an attitude of openness as opposed to closure”. *Routledge International Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*: 2. For an in-depth study of “the contested nature of fin-de-siècle literary cosmopolitanism”, contexts in which Vikélas and Lynch might also be discussed, see Evangelista, *Literary Cosmopolitanism in the English Fin de Siècle*, 28.
5. Cited in Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*, 177.
6. Laing, *Hannah Lynch’s Irish Girl Rebels*.
7. Katharine De Forest, “Recent Happenings in Paris,” 813.
8. Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*, 162.
9. Gifra-Adroher and Hurtle, *Hannah Lynch and Spain*.
10. Respectively: “The Ursulines of Tenos,” *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 14, May 1886; and “November in a Greek Island,” *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 14, July 1886.
11. Lynch, *Rosni Harvey and Lynch, Daughters of Men*.
12. Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*, 102–103. Lynch also published a short story set on the island of Chios: “A Story of Chios,” *Macmillan’s Magazine*, vol. 59, January 1889. Reproduced in *The Living Age* (1897–1941): vol. 180, 26 January 1889.
13. “Greece of Today” in *The Westminster Review*, vol. 139, January 1893; “On the Acropolis,” *The Academy*, vol. 62, 14 June 1902. Reproduced in *The Living Age*: 9 August 1902. See for further consideration of the “implied correlations between Greece and Ireland” in these articles and a more detailed discussion of Lynch’s politicised travel writing in Chapter 5 in Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*, 112–136.
14. For detailed considerations of these publications, see Binckes and Laing.
15. In one of her regular letters sent from Tinos to Father Thomas Dawson O.M.I, an enduring friend and supporter, Lynch mentions other articles sent to the *Irish Monthly* that either went astray or were not accepted (see on her friendship with Dawson and correspondence Binckes and Laing).
16. Subsequently, Iliana Theodoropoulou’s introduction to Lynch’s stay in the convent and her translation of Lynch’s “The Ursulines of Tenos” into Greek, was published in 2021: Ιλιάννα Θεοδωροπούλου, “Οι Ουρσουλίνες της Τήνου, Hannah Lynch” [“The Ursulines of Tenos, Hannah Lynch”], 141–151. See also her blogs: “With Hannah Lynch and the Ursulines in Tinos,” 4 March 2022, <https://irishwomenswritingnetwork.com/with-hannah-lynch-and-the-ursulines-in-tinos-a-story-of-remarkable-women/> “With Hannah Lynch in Tinos,” 13 March 2023, <https://irishwomenswritingnetwork.com/with-hannah-lynch-in-tinos/>
17. Lynch was not completely unique undertaking a solo journey to Greece at this time. As Kolokotroni and Mitsi have noted, “The nineteenth century saw women travelling to Greece alone for the first time, and publishing accounts which enjoyed great popularity and the British public’s interest in Greece.” *Women Writing Greece: Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel*, 11. There is a diverse range of scholarship that has focused on women who travelled to Greece during this period, as wives, scholars, daughters of diplomats or solo travellers exploring Greece either for pleasure or financial reward, and their travel writing and fiction. See, for example, Kolokotroni and Efterpi, eds, *In the Country of the Moon*; Mahn, *British Women’s Travel to Greece, 1840–1914*.

18. Letters from Hannah Lynch to Father Thomas Dawson are held in Special Collections, Leeds University Library.
19. Lynch, letter to Thomas Dawson, 3 October 1885, cited in Binckes and Laing, 17. *The Freeman's Journal*, a significant nationalist paper with a high circulation during the 1880s promoted and published Lynch's earliest writing (Binckes and Laing, 31).
20. Charalambos Konstantellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας, Άτυπος πρεσβευτής των εθνικών θεμάτων και των ελληνικών γραμμάτων*, (Σύλλογος προς διάδοσιν ωφέλιμων βιβλίων, Αθήνα 2018) [Dimitrios Vikélas, Unofficial ambassador of the Greek Nation, Culture and Literature, Society for the propagation of useful books, Athens 2018].
21. Smaller collections of Lynch letters are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Leeds University Library, the National Library, Madrid and in the New York Public Library. There are surely more, awaiting discovery.
22. Οικονομου, *Τρεις άνθρωποι, Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν του ελληνικού λαού 1780–1935* [Three men: a contribution to the history of the Greek people, 1780– 1935].
23. We would like to thank the archivists in Special Collections, Evi Kapoli, Angeliki Kokkini, Michalis Kokolakis, George Stavratīs, Christina Tzatsou and Ourania Papadopoulou for their generous help, knowledge and support for this project.
24. Οικονομου, *Τρεις άνθρωποι* [Three men].
25. Correspondents include: Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890) German archaeologist, discovered Troy and Mycenae; Theodore Reinach (1860–1928) French archaeologist, papyrologist, statesman; Malwida von Meysenbug (1816–1903) German writer, first woman nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature; Gabriel Monod (1844–1912) French historian, founder of the *Revue Historique*; Clarisse Coignet (1823–1918) French moral philosopher and historian; Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) German scholar, founder of Byzantine studies; Jose Echegaray (1832–1916) Spanish statesman and playwright, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1904; Alfred Croiset (1845–1923) French classical philologist, scholar at the Sorbonne; Antonio Rubio y Lluch (1856–1937) Spanish historian, Hellenist and medievalist; Eugène d' Eichtal (1844–1936) French economist, sociologist and poet.
26. Iliana Theodoropoulou has painstakingly worked through and dated these letters, and is in the process of creating a detailed catalogue and transcription of letters from Hannah Lynch to Vikélas.
27. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Letter from Hannah Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas, 11.6.1901.
28. For example, in a letter dated 1 February 1896, Lynch alludes to meeting Vikélas in Paris “six years ago.” Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Letter from Hannah Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas, 1.2 1896.
29. Οικονομου, 1953, 382. Translated by Iliana Theodoropoulou. Alexandros features in Lynch's travel piece, “A Tramp Through the Forest of Fontainebleau,” published in *Good Words*, 41, (December 1900) and *The Living Age* (1897–1941), 26, no. 8 (September 1900).
30. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 857 and 859, Dimitrios Vikélas, Letters to his mother Smaragda Vikelas, 28.7.1890 and 2/15.6.1891.
31. Serialised and published anonymously in *Blackwood's Magazine* between October 1898 and April 1899 alongside Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, before being published as a book under her name in 1899, Lynch's autobiographical novel targeted the Catholic church, the condition of Ireland under British rule, the inequalities and injustices for women, and fraught mother-daughter relations (*Autobiography of a Child*). For further discussion of this novel, see Binckes and Laing, “Irish Autobiographical fiction and Hannah Lynch's *Autobiography of a Child*,” and Chapter 6 in *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*.
32. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 941, Letter from Leon Lereboullet to Dimitrios Vikélas, 26.10.1896.
33. The closeness of their friendship is strikingly acknowledged in correspondence following her death, her sister Nannie Lynch writing to Vikélas, for example: “As she seemed to tell you everything – if you are aware of any right or claim she may have in any of her works you would oblige me by telling . . .” (φ879 26 January 1904). As further indication of their close

- friendship, Vikélas's archive includes telegrams and letters from members of their shared literary circle notifying him of her death and commiserating, as well as an invitation to the funeral, which he did not attend as he was in Athens.
34. Patronage was still crucial for many writers, artists and musicians in fin-de-siècle Paris. The subject of Vikélas's role, and others in his circle, as literary patrons and mentors deserve further investigation in the contexts of recent scholarship. See, for example, Van den Braber, "Reciprocal interactions and complex negotiations".
 35. Linda Peterson notes that the emergence of the modern "woman of letters" coincided with "the burgeoning of print culture and the opening of new genres for women writers: the essay, the literary review, the periodical column, the biographical portrait and historical sketch, the travelogue, and the serialized tale." (*Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 4). Lynch published work across almost all these genres in periodicals, in addition to novels and short fiction.
 36. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 799. This letter from Dimitrios Vikélas to his mother Smaragda Vikélas written in July 1891 was copied into a notebook by his nephew, Alexandros Oikonomou. Quotations are taken from these notes since the letters are now missing.
 37. Vikélas Archive, φ. 814. Again, this letter from Dimitrios Vikélas to his mother Smaragda Vikélas written in June 1891 was copied into a notebook kept in preparation of the book on Vikélas by Alexandros Oikonomou.
 38. This difficulty was compounded by Lynch's own inability to live within her means – a subject of many of those who corresponded with Vikélas about her.
 39. Charlotte Riddell's *A Struggle for Fame* (1883) is one such account. Mapping the range of periodicals identified in Lynch's letters, the details of remuneration she received and hoped to receive, book publications that failed to sell, and the constant list of deficits further illustrates the difficulties for women writers at the fin de siècle, identified in Linda Peterson's discussion of the successes and failures of writers such as Mary Cholmondeley and the impact of "new publishing trends and market pressures that made it difficult for late Victorian women of letters to sustain their careers" (*Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 9).
 40. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879.
 41. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, 5 June 1896.
 42. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, 1898.
 43. "A Girl Revolutionist", *The Girl's Realm*, vol. 1, February 1889, annotated and reprinted in Laing, *Hannah Lynch's Irish Girl Rebels*, 185–196, this story is modelled on Lynch's experiences as an active member of the Ladies' Land League.
 44. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Vikélas Archive. Letter from Hannah Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas 25 February 1899. *Literature*, edited by H. D. Traill is a relatively obscure and little-explored nineteenth-century publication and Lynch's reference to her publications here and in a previous letter (26 September 1898) reveal a hitherto unknown publishing opportunity for her. She published four articles, one a feature of the prestigious weekly "Among My Books" column. Other contributors to Traill's literary magazine included Leslie Stephen, W. B. Yeats, Henry James, Katharine Tynan, Vernon Lee and Emily Lawless. For further information see Kijinski, "Respectable reading in the late nineties."
 45. Her friendship with Alexandros Oikonomou is also revelatory, her letters to him offering a glimpse of an affectionate but sometimes quarrelsome fond nephew-aunt relationship. His own letters and his biography reflect frustration and irritation, as well as deep affection for her.
 46. For example, she reviews the illustrated edition of the French translation of his short stories, *Les Nouvelles Grecques*, in her regular "Paris Letter" in *The Academy*, 6 November 1897.

47. See Martin-Fugier, *Les Salons de la IIIe République* and Hilgar, "Juliette Adam et La 'Nouvelle Revue.'" Wilant Camps offers a fascinating account of Paris salon culture signalling the possibility of discovering further Vikélas networks in "A closed world."
48. Vikélas' review of her Athens-based novel, *Daughters of Men* was published in *La Nouvelle Revue* (tome 77, Juillet – Août, 1892, Paris pp. 442–443), however, and her novels were included in publication lists.
49. Barine was among the many "femmes des lettres" that Adam cultivated (Fugier, 81). On Gaston Paris, Arvède Barine and Hannah Lynch, see Binckes and Laing, "A Forgotten Franco-Irish Literary Network."
50. Details are drawn from https://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/index.php?title=Ad%C3%A8le_Bohomoletz&oldid=57833.
51. Lynch's first contact with Mary Robinson seems to have been through her sister, Mabel Robinson whose interest in Ireland saw her involved briefly with the Ladies' Land League. The letters in the Vikélas archive reveal that her friendship with Mary Robinson was strengthened when they both moved to Paris. See Binckes and Laing, 2011.
52. For further details of her mainly unacknowledged translation work and her friendship with Tchaikovsky, see https://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/index.php?title=Ad%C3%A8le_Bohomoletz&oldid=57833.
53. Bohomoletz to DB, 10.8.1890, φ 891, "J'ai taché de travailler pour Miss Lynch à Petersburg. Je voudrais lui obtenir une correspondance anglaise dans une revue russe".
54. "On Monday I repeat at Mme Bohomoletz my lecture on Mrs Ward and Olive Schreiner as Mme Bohomoletz and Mme Selignac were absent." Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Letter from Hannah Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas 26 April 1896 (Dated by Iliana Theodoropoulou based on evidence from other letters). Most importantly, these letters flesh out further the incomplete and contradictory portrait of Lynch in Paris captured in Binckes and Laing, that already gave "a good indication of the networking and social labour that went on behind the more public face of her writing" (2019, 75).
55. For scholarship on networks and network theory as well as focused discussions of late-nineteenth-century female-centred literary networks in Dublin, London and Paris, see, for example, Ní Bheacháin and Mitchell, "Alice Stopford Green and Vernon Lee" and Vadillo's pioneering studies, "New Women Poets and the Culture of the *Salon* at the *Fin de Siècle*," *Women Poets and Urban Aestheticism*; "Cosmopolitan Aestheticism." For a study of Lynch's other Paris patrons, including Mary F. Robinson, see Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)* and "A Forgotten Franco-Irish Literary Network."
56. Schwob, "Lettres à Valmont," 1.
57. For further details see Binckes and Laing, *Hannah Lynch (1859–1904)*, 35–38.
58. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Letter from Hannah Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas, June 1900.
59. Low, "Hannah Lynch: An Exquisite Essayist," 26.
60. <https://mlp-blo-g-spot.blogspot.com/2016/04/vathisbros.html/>
61. National Library of Greece, Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Department, Vikélas Archive, φ. 879, Letter from Nannie Lynch to Dimitrios Vikélas, 26 January 1904.
62. Lynch, *Rosni Harvey*, 223.
63. For new perspectives on the collaborations and networks of a range of Irish women writers at the turn-of-the twentieth century, see the themed Special Issue of *English Studies* and the introductory essay by Laing, Mooney, Ní Bheacháin, Pilz, Standlee and Stevens. "Connecting Voices," 1–21.
64. Konstantellias, 239, translated by Iliana Theodoropoulou.
65. See, for example, Kruczkowska, "The Edges of Europe;" Kolocotroni and Mitsi, *Women Writing Greece*; and Luce, Morris, and Souyoudzoglou-Haywood, *The Lure of Greece*.

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