

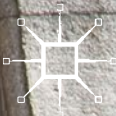
IRELAND IN AN IMPERIAL WORLD

CITIZENSHIP, OPPORTUNISM,
AND SUBVERSION

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Timothy G. McMahon • Michael de Nie • Paul Townend
Editors

Ireland in an Imperial World

Citizenship, Opportunism, and Subversion

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We would like to dedicate *Ireland in an Imperial World* to the memory of two friends of this project, Keith Jeffery and David Downs. We wish that you could have seen it completed. RIP.

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Introduction

*Timothy G. McMahon, Michael de Nie,
and Paul A. Townend*

Historians of nineteenth and twentieth-century Ireland have, for the past two decades, been asking a question that has become central to the study of the period: What was the relationship of Ireland to empire? Understandably, scholars have focused primarily on the relationship between Ireland and the British Empire, within which Ireland served as both laboratory and lab partner.¹ Not only did English and Scottish settlers plant Ireland during the early modern period, but their descendants and, indeed, the descendants of those they displaced built the ‘second’ British Empire after 1800, wrestling with its implications for themselves and the peoples they conquered and managed. Drawing

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insights from colleagues in literary criticism, sociology, and British history, these studies have opened four particularly fruitful lines of inquiry, including tracking settlement patterns and careering paths; mapping networks of people, goods, and ideas as they moved across the globe; analysing the efforts of Irish Christians to create a ‘spiritual empire’; and monitoring the development and influence of Irish opposition, militant and otherwise, to British imperial expansion.² Little wonder, then, that the editors of a special issue of the journal *Éire-Ireland* concluded in 2007 that ‘Ireland and Empire is now one of the most vibrant fields of inquiry in Irish studies’.³

The editors of the present work, however, believe that two long-standing historiographical trends make it imperative to bring together a volume explicitly designed to engage themes related to Irish imperial cultures. First, despite growing institutional interest in the study of Ireland and empire and the continuous appearance of monographs from major academic presses and essays in leading journals such as *Past and Present* on the topic, most historians of the British Empire have almost entirely ignored Ireland. Not knowing quite how it fits into the British story, they choose to leave it out.⁴ Second, leading historians of Ireland focus attention on political events or manifestations of political sentiment in ways that are overwhelmingly Hiberno-centric or that highlight the Anglo-Irish relationship without incorporating insights into empire scholarship. And when they have raised questions about Ireland’s relationship to the Empire, as Matthew Kelly has argued, they have generated more heat about the concerns of present-day scholars than light about the actual nature of the relationships being studied.⁵

Bringing a fuller range of the imperial and Irish historiographical streams into dialogue strikes us, therefore, as essential because imperial experiences were formative in the development of Irish and, for that matter, United Kingdom history in the modern period. Most familiarly, as part of the imperial state headquartered in London, Irish men and women helped to build and manage colonies around the globe. But, as Barry Crosbie has emphasized, Irish participants in that enterprise developed their own distinctive institutions through direct personal and collective interactions with that wider British world.⁶ These ‘British’ and ‘Irish’ imperial cultures in turn became intertwined, albeit often destructively so, in ways that shaped the political dynamics of the United Kingdom in the period under review (c.1800–1960). This was especially true in the years after the Canada Act of 1867 and leading up to the Great War

when the question of granting Home Rule for Ireland led to wide-ranging discussions—spurred by fear as much as by intellectual curiosity—about the implications of nationalism, unionism, or federation for future imperial cooperation.⁷ Many invested in the intensifying imperial enterprise across the British Isles sought to strengthen or salvage the union between Britain and Ireland by emphasizing the mutuality of interest and opportunity afforded by imperialism. At the same time, tensions and fault lines emerged and intensified between what were arguably becoming, at least in political terms, increasingly incompatible and certainly potentially divergent imperial cultures.⁸

We contend that debates in the realm of high politics emerged as the outgrowths of on-going daily encounters with empire that occurred up and down the social scale. How could it have been otherwise? Families contemplated global possibilities for their own and their children's lives. Those in the poorest districts of the West and South of Ireland were utterly dependent upon the money brought home by returning seasonal migrants (such as the 'tattie-hokers' who left Achill Island for Scotland each summer) or sent in 'American' letters from their emigrated children, because it provided the financial margin for survival. As Kevin Kenny has pointed out, however, 'in addition to the 5 million Irish who went to the United States between 1820 and 1920, at least 1.5 million went to Britain and another 1 million migrated to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand'.⁹ And when one focuses not on the settled population but on the contributions of soldiers, colonial officers, or missionaries, the Irish were over-represented relative to their portion of the United Kingdom population. To cite one important example: in 1830, 'when Ireland's share of the United Kingdom population was just under one-third, 42 percent of British Army soldiers were Irish-born'. In India, the figures were even starker. On the eve of the Indian rebellion in 1857, fully half of the East India Company's soldiers and upwards of 40 percent of regular British troops were Irish.¹⁰

Unsurprisingly, then, empire suffused Irish society by the mid-nineteenth century. The tea people drank, the sugar with which they sweetened it, the tobacco they smoked, the very timbers they used to build homes and businesses, all came from abroad, mostly from imperial outposts so often administered and defended by Irish-born officials and soldiers, many of whom returned to Ireland after their periods of service abroad had ended, transformed by their experiences.¹¹ Even what were understood as traditional Irish customs were infused with overseas connections. To cite

just one mundane example, consider the Samhain/Hallowe'en tradition of baking charms into barmbrack, such that the charm one found in a slice of the yeasty, fruity bread predicted the finder's future. (The ultimate charm to find would be a ring, indicating an early marriage.)¹² The word barmbrack itself derived from the Irish *bairín breac*, roughly translated as 'speckled loaf', but the speckling came from the blend of dried fruits (raisins, sultanas, and currants) and spices (such as cinnamon, ginger, and allspice)—none of which were native to Ireland.¹³ Here the point is that what was 'traditionally Irish' was a hybrid product of empire, made by Irish hands and hearts with materials from home *and* abroad.

Two other fundamental points emerge from the preceding comments. The first, reflected throughout the volume, is that the press played a vital role in shaping people's impressions of empire. Scholars have long recognized that the press was essential to the development of Irish nationalism and the rise of the Parnellites in particular. More recently, they have also examined the central role of the press as the mediator of Irish imperial knowledge and central forum for commentary and debate on Irish participation in, support of, and/or resistance to the British and other empires.¹⁴ As Victorians gleaned most of their knowledge of their overseas possessions from newspapers and other periodicals, the press wielded considerable, perhaps unparalleled, authority in shaping popular understandings of the Empire and its peoples. Empire, imperial identities, and their political import were contested concepts for Victorians on both sides of the Irish Sea as much as they are among present-day scholars. The primary arena for these contests was the popular press, which actively constructed the modern Irish senses of national and imperial belonging. Also, as Paul Townend and Úna Ní Bhroiméil demonstrate in this volume, Irish-born foreign correspondents and editors, such as J. J. O'Kelly and John Finerty, made frequent and deeply important contributions to the Irish Party's imperial ideology, tactics, and organization in Ireland and the wider Irish world.

Secondly, Irish men and women engaged numerous imperia simultaneously, and they had no single response to that rich diversity, often seeing no contradiction between benefiting from empire while despising or rejecting it in part or in whole. For example, the expansion of the British Empire in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries provided scope for another empire to assert itself, that is a specifically (and often subversively) Catholic 'spiritual empire'.¹⁵ As Colin Barr has argued here and elsewhere, a Hiberno-Roman Church grew, and indeed could only have grown,

within the wider British world, and particularly in the Antipodes, shaped by members of Cardinal Paul Cullen's inner circle of family and former aides.¹⁶ Contemporaneously, however, Irish Protestants also took up mission work with great fervour, holding bazaars and rallies to raise awareness of the vital part that those at home might play in saving the non-Christian peoples of Africa and Asia.¹⁷ Further complicating matters, lay (and clerical) Irish also moved to, exchanged with, and sometimes returned from corners of the world beyond the formal scope of British control. Most prominently, these destinations included the USA and Latin American countries, but China and Japan—while exotic in comparison—were also sites of overseas contact.¹⁸ Such locales presented other points of reference for the Irish, as well as platforms from which to subvert or to comment on the very idea of empire. In turn, as Kenneth Shonk will discuss below, Ireland became a symbol for the peoples of locales such as Korea of how to overcome another's imperial grasp.

This collection therefore highlights the broad contours of Ireland's many imperial interactions, shaped as they were by a sense of both the island's distinct relationships with the wider 'British world' and by the particularities of Ireland's global presence beyond the settler colonies. The unifying idea across the chapters is that the Irish relationship to empire generally and the British Empire specifically affected both Irish identification with the Union and Irish identity itself. There was no single answer to the question of how the Irish and the rest of the peoples of the British Isles were 'imperial', but the very interdependence of the external and internal cultures of this era ought to be explored in order to better understand them both. In this spirit, we asked our contributors—all of whom are actively engaged in on-going projects at the forefront of the Ireland and empire field—to consider the ways in which contact with empire shaped Ireland domestically and also how the Irish related to imperial networks, boundaries, and systems of power. It is notable that several took up the challenge issued already from within British imperial history: to consider how biographies help us to understand the complexities that often underlay Irish imperial experience, ambition, and opposition. While we make no claim to comprehensiveness, we intend the collection to contribute to our overall grasp of these phenomena.¹⁹

The book is divided into three thematic segments, the first of which is citizenship. Particularly in the nineteenth century, Irish men and women participated in imperial politics with gusto, making explicit connections between events and issues overseas and their demands for political and

social reforms within the United Kingdom. At the same time, imperial authorities commonly made comparisons to Ireland when analysing challenges in the wider Empire.²⁰ Many of these officials, including the Sixth Earl of Mayo, who served as both Chief Secretary of Ireland and Viceroy and Governor General of India, drew on their personal experiences in Ireland, and such elites are at the heart of Stephanie Barczewski's examination of Irish country houses and the people who built and resided in them. There is, of course, a rich historiography of this subject that emphasizes the importance of landed estates across Britain as conveyors, markers, and performance sites of imperial power and status, however ephemeral that status proved to be in the twentieth century.²¹ In their Irish context, on the one hand, country houses were manifestations of Ireland's status as a quasi-colonial state within the United Kingdom, for they were not indigenous productions as they were in England, but rather the homes and power bases of an elite whose ethnic and cultural roots often lay elsewhere. On the other hand, as venues for the display of imperial goods and horticulture, these houses and their grounds reflected the specific history of Irish elite participation in the British Empire. Barczewski contends that those who built Irish country houses were much less likely than their land-holding English and Scottish counterparts to build their homes through wealth accrued via imperial service, suggesting that the status of Irish landed elites was less connected to on-going imperialism, however rooted it was in an earlier era of conquest and plantation.

Mark Doyle then uses the story of George Henry Thompson, a black man arrested for riot in Belfast in 1872, as a starting point to explore the relatively untapped potential of the historical study of non-white colonial subjects in Ireland's long nineteenth century.²² The essay brings together a plethora of scattered references to non-Europeans present on the island and proposes some avenues for future investigations into perceptions of racial difference in the Irish past. In many ways, as Doyle acknowledges, such encounters were inevitable in ocean port communities, but Thompson's story adds a provocative twist. Thompson claimed to be a leader of the 'sons of [King] William' battling against Catholics during the riot. The story underscores both his profession of belonging among Belfast Protestants and the standoffish manner with which Irish-born residents of the city, Protestant and Catholic alike, greeted that declaration. Was he, could he, be viewed as Irish? In conjunction with Doyle's other materials, Thompson's story hints at some of the challenges and promises of historical research that asks how Ireland's engagement with

the outside world shaped racial attitudes at home, and it is a timely reflection on present-day citizenship questions as well.

In the following chapter Sean Farrell explores Charles Gavan Duffy's crucial contributions to the process of Australian federation, itself an important mode of belonging within the Empire. Most famous as a leader of the Young Ireland movement, Duffy's long career in the Antipodes has been typically overlooked by historians of Ireland, while other scholars of the Empire have consistently downplayed the importance of his influence on Australian confederation. Using a wide array of source material, Farrell argues that Duffy's stance on Australian federation exemplified the hybrid attitudes of many mid-Victorian Irish nationalists toward the British Empire, combining an almost reflexive anti-imperialism with a commitment to the hegemonic tenets of British Liberalism (in this case, the benefits of free trade and the rule of law). Considering the global phenomenon of which he was an officer, Duffy could thus argue for the virtue of reforming the Empire from within while opposing imperialism as an evil.

During Duffy's most productive years in colonial affairs, another Irishman became Viceroy and Governor General of India, and he had more faith in imperial expansion than did the Victorian premier. Richard Southwell Bourke, 6th Earl of Mayo, Timothy G. McMahon reveals, hoped to build loyalty among his subjects through imperial spectacles that supplemented his use of coercion. He had shown himself adept at the latter when, as Chief Secretary of Ireland, he had responsibility for suppressing the Fenian Rising of 1867, but in India he set out to transform the Raj through educational and agricultural reform, frequent *durbars* with local princes, and managing the first visit to India of a member of Queen Victoria's family, when H. R. H. Prince Alfred Ernest Albert (the Duke of Edinburgh) toured the Raj in 1870. Two years later, Mayo's assassination touched off another series of public spectacles commemorating his life and death. On one level, the massive funerals in Calcutta and Dublin and the various memorials built in his honour enabled family, friends, and imperial advocates to project his legacy as knitting together an authentically hierarchical and multiracial world empire. But McMahon's close reading suggests that ambivalence and subtle protests registered alongside such hegemonic claims in Ireland and India, and they gained greater currency as anti-imperial messages became more widely disseminated in the twentieth century. Indeed, the story of the earl's posthumous apotheosis says as much about the divergent responses to imperial culture as it does

about the potential for grand display to create a shared heroic narrative of empire-building.

If Mayo had sought to tie Ireland and India together in a great world empire, Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre's chapter highlights an ironic way in which such a link manifested in the imperial metropole, utilizing voting rights in an attempt to challenge the Empire itself. Regan-Lefebvre focuses on the prominent role of Irish Home Rule rhetoric in the London electoral campaigns of Indian nationalists, Dadabhai Naoroji in particular, which intersected with the lobbying and political associations of elite Irish politicians. While most London Irish struggled simply to sustain themselves, the city presented opportunities for the politically savvy both as the seat of the United Kingdom government and as a large urban canvas for political action. Regan-Lefebvre brings together both elements of Irish London life through her discussion of the campaigns of South Asian candidates who appealed to Irish voters when running for parliamentary office. The key bridge builder was T. P. O'Connor, whose career as a journalist and Irish MP for Liverpool was augmented by his participation in London club life. His varied activities positioned him to present Irish claims through an imperialised rhetoric when addressing London audiences, and to connect in fruitful ways with non-Irish figures, including Naoroji, who in turn drew on Irish Home Rule to bring domestic resonance to seemingly far-flung imperial concerns.

Behind each of the cases above lay opportunism, that is, taking advantage of the situations presented by circumstance, in this case, Ireland's position at the nexus of the British Empire, the wider Diaspora, and other imperial networks. Whether it was through employment, mission work, military service, or policing, Irish men and women utilized imperial opportunities to achieve success and garner respectability often unattainable at home. The next three chapters in this collection highlight this particular feature of the Irish imperial experience for distinct groups.

Perhaps no body of Irish men has received more attention for having played a role in empire building than Irish soldiers, who, as noted above, made up a disproportionately large segment of the British and Indian armies. Throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, some contemporaries lauded their efforts—even in elite Catholic publications such as *The Clongownian*, while others campaigned against their accepting the 'Queen's shilling'.²³ Moreover, as a burgeoning literature is making evident, those tensions boiled over during the Irish War of Independence when veterans of the Great War returned to an

island in a far different condition to the one they had left.²⁴ Michael de Nie highlights the long fuse of this tension through an examination of the major themes in Irish newspaper commentary on imperial soldiering during the Egyptian and Sudanese crises of 1882–85. In their reporting, Conservative, Liberal, moderate Nationalist, and advanced Nationalist journalists each mobilized their own interpretations of loyalty, nation, and empire in order to answer the question of what it meant to be Irish in the Union and in a global, multinational empire. The soldiers were thus proxies for many of the imperial anxieties on both sides of the evolving Home Rule debate. In essence, if the decision to join the army represented a personal opportunity for each recruit, their collective actions offered each group of newspapers the chance to emphasize different aspects of the soldiers' service and identity in order to privilege their own editorial vision of the future of the Empire and the Union.

Colin Barr and Rose Luminiello then survey the unique and largely unknown but intriguing contribution of St Brigid's Missionary College to Ireland's spiritual empire. The 2,000 women trained and dispatched abroad by St Brigid's between 1883 and its closure in 1950 supplied the unpaid labour that was the backbone of the thousands of schools, hospitals, asylums, refuges, and orphanages that sprang up around the Catholic world in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Their chapter describes the College's origins, influences, development, and place in Ireland's spiritual empire and gives some idea of the experience of those who passed through its doors. Like the young priests who emerged from the Irish College in Rome or its many imitators around the world, St Brigid's aspirants were inculcated in Cardinal Paul Cullen's Hiberno-Roman Catholicism at the most important point of their religious formation. Unlike them, however, many of these aspirants came from fairly humble backgrounds. Further, as aspirants, they were not yet aligned with a particular order of religious women. St. Brigid's girls, therefore, had some say in selecting where they would ultimately serve, what order they would join, and what type of work they would pursue. Thus, while they carried the Cullenite vision to every corner of Greater Ireland and beyond, their path forward was at least partly of their own choosing.

Michael Silvestri's chapter explores yet another type of imperial opportunity open to the Irish in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: policing. With examples drawn principally from the British Caribbean, India, and Southeast Asia, he evaluates the role of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) as a model for indigenous forces, and as a

launch point for Irishmen pursuing careers in policing the Empire. As he reveals, these activities demonstrate Ireland's role within the Union as a subimperial centre that was a source of both ideas and personnel. The lives that these Irish policemen created in colonial locales such as Port of Spain in Trinidad, Calcutta, and Shanghai prominently emphasized their service to the Empire *and* their identities as Irishmen. Further, because the RIC Depot served as a training site for officers of several imperial police forces, the Empire 'came home' to Ireland in ways that echo Doyle's observations about non-European migrants of an earlier generation.

A third theme that emerges, perhaps unsurprisingly, from these explorations of the centrality of empire to Irish culture is subversion, which took many forms—from formal organizations working to split the Empire to more quotidian acts of resistance. Indeed, concern about the Irish rejection of the Empire led the United Kingdom state to develop a variety of approaches combatting these challenges, among them the creation of new administrative language and the use of executive detention. That concern grew especially intense at particular moments, including the Land War period of the late-1870s and early-1880s, which agitated both Tories and Liberals.²⁵ Most famously, the transnational Fenian movement created a genuine threat to stability in Ireland and elsewhere that is reflected in several of the present chapters, though it is also worth recalling that Fenianism was never monolithic in its ideas or methods.²⁶ Significantly, those inclined to subversion took the opportunity afforded by the relative ease of travel within the global Empire to analyse its effects, to attack its justifications, and to undermine its power in Ireland and elsewhere, contributing mightily to British anxiety, but also to the protean resilience of militant Irish nationalism.

For instance, the shadow of Fenianism reached the Antipodes in the later 1860s when the Duke of Edinburgh was shot in Australia by a man professing to be a Fenian. The Duke recovered and, as we have seen, travelled to India in 1870, but by then, as Jill C. Bender shows here, another Fenian scare had arisen among the Maori in New Zealand. Bender's exploration of the official response to this perceived threat provides considerable insight into the relationship between Britain and its settler colonies. The Maoris' apparent familiarity with the Fenians, a term they translated as 'Piniana', created fears of a radical 'counter-empire' in the minds of colonial administrators, and they expressed their concerns to London at a time when the imperial centre was considering withdrawing defence

forces. The perceived threat, therefore, served as a lever to resist metropolitan retrenchment. Fenianism, thus, not only has much to tell us about Ireland, but it also has much to reveal about the centre–periphery relationship within the Empire.

Paul Townend’s essay then investigates the remarkable career of J. J. O’Kelly, for a time a prominent US journalist and certainly one of the most overlooked transatlantic Irish nationalists of the late nineteenth century. As Townend demonstrates, O’Kelly’s colourful travels, work as a war correspondent, and close contact with rival republican and imperial systems of the day gave him authoritative perspective on, and first-hand experience of, the limits and weaknesses of the British Empire. His experiences and obsessions make sense when they are understood as the product of the conscious rejection of imperial subjectivity. With his childhood friend John Devoy, O’Kelly determined an ironic truth: that as the Empire expanded, British control of Ireland became potentially more vulnerable, and independence, not only for Ireland but for other colonies, grew more feasible. For O’Kelly, only the conscious and skilled overlay of the previously doomed parochial project of Irish independence onto the broader global project of rejecting imperialism could give the cause relevance and leverage the resources required for its success. Ireland’s national destiny, in that sense, was fundamentally dependent on its relationship to the outside world. In the light of this previously under-researched time of his life, O’Kelly’s subsequent career as a devoted Parnellite Home Ruler can be properly contextualized as flowing from his cosmopolitan experiences on the cutting edge of both journalism and globalized resistance to empire. His time in the USA, particularly reporting on the Indian wars, brought him into close contact with that nation’s own struggles with its imperial urges, an area of tension for Irish-Americans as well, as explored also in Úna Ní Bhroiméil’s chapter.

Donal Lowry and Donal P. McCracken have argued that the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) provided anti-imperialists with an issue around which to rally at a time when local government reform had also made county and rural district councils responsive to new electoral pressures.²⁷ Concurrently, the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars threatened to make the USA a more active imperial power on the world stage, a prospect which may have been welcomed by Rudyard Kipling, but which elicited a far different response from radical Irish nationalists resident in the USA, who saw the two South African and Philippine conflicts as linked. Úna Ní Bhroiméil presents a case study of that latter viewpoint as expressed in the

leading articles of the *Chicago Citizen*. Founded by Galway-born John Finerty, this stalwart anti-imperial voice was representative of the discourse in the Irish-American community of the great Midwestern capital at the turn of the twentieth century. Finerty's career matched O'Kelly's for its colour and long-term effect, including a spell with the Union Army during the American Civil War, newspaper work covering the USA's campaigns against the Sioux, a term in Congress, and membership in both the Clan na Gael and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. His Anglophobia led to his support for Fenian forays in still another sphere of the Empire, Canada, in the 1860s; his active encouragement of dynamiting campaigns in Britain in the 1880s; and indeed his recruitment of Irish-Americans to fight alongside the Boers in the Cape.²⁸ In his paper's criticisms of the USA's overseas expansionism, Finerty cultivated a concept of national exceptionalism—that the special mission of the USA was to serve as a republican and anti-imperial beacon to the world—which encompassed support for Irish independence within the context of US citizenship. Ireland would be modelled on the American republic, he argued, but only if the republic maintained its revered ideals. The espousal of anti-imperialist rhetoric thus helped to define a particular kind of hyphenated citizenship.

Of course, the relationship of Ireland to the rest of the Empire/Commonwealth changed irrevocably in the 1920s, with partition and the creation of the Irish Free State and (later) Republic. Kenneth L. Shonk, Jr. examines how leaders of anti-colonial movements elsewhere came to view the Irish state in a new light as a result of that transformative process, so that it became for them less the home of colonial suppression and more of a model for successful decolonization. Shonk contends that Ireland served as a space—both in the physical and in the abstract—in which decolonization was negotiated, justified, and imagined, so that the events leading to the formation of the Republic were symbolic and practical touchstones for those engaged in acts of decolonization. Utilizing the perspective offered by global history, he traces how Ireland was seen from without as having a distinctive place in the narrative of the twentieth-century world. Ironically, at the very time that the Irish state was striving to integrate into some semblance of Europeanness, those outside of Europe viewed it as a partner in a cadre of young nations working toward independence. If London served as their point of departure, then Ireland served as their point of entry into the community of the newly free.

These chapters thus present a myriad of ways in which the issues of citizenship, opportunism, and subversion manifested in the wider British

and Irish worlds. When taken together, they lead us to offer two principal conclusions.

First, we contend that a greater appreciation of empire is essential for enriching our understanding of the development of Irish society at home, where some Irish men and women were its active consumers and propagators, while others were among its most cogent critics, and still others fulfilled both roles at different moments. Few represented this potentially conflicted position better than did William H. K. Redmond, brother of the Home Rule leader, whose support for agrarian radicalism landed him in jail on three occasions and whose vocal opposition to imperial campaigns in the Sudan and South Africa led to his expulsion from the House of Commons in 1899. Having come from a family with a rich tradition of soldiering, he also held a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Wexford Militia of the Royal Irish Regiment in 1879 (and died famously on the Western front in the Great War); meanwhile, his global travels raising money on behalf of Home Rule also gave him a deep appreciation for the prospects Empire provided to the Irish for success, and introduced him to his future wife, an Irish-Australian.²⁹ Indeed, understanding what we usually consider to be ‘domestic’ culture and politics (such as the emergence and perpetuation of constitutional and revolutionary nationalism) is utterly impossible without considering the interlocking webs of ideas, goods, people, and money moving through the imperial world.

Second, just as that stratified and contentious domestic society was a product of the imperial world, so too did its people build and challenge that world. Such a claim may sound overblown, but consider the essays in the present collection not as split into thematic categories as above and realize, for instance, that Duffy’s call for Australian federation, the reign of Mayo in India, the Fenian fear in New Zealand, and the case of George Henry Thompson, all overlapped chronologically. Similarly, Finerty in Chicago spelled out his anti-imperial ideas at the same time that St Brigid’s aspirants and RIC men were leaving to take up careers in the far reaches of the globe, educating, ministering, and policing. In other words, the debates about the Empire and the actions taken either in favour of or opposing it came not in some pre-packaged analytical bubble, but as part of the world worked out dialogically by ordinary Irish men and women, a fact recognized by those anti-colonial nationalists at the close of our collection who sought inspiration in Shonk’s ‘shadow metropole’. Until we recognize and unpack that inherently messy reality, our view of Ireland and of the imperial world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

remains incomplete. It is our hope that putting these stories together will encourage further mapping of the dynamic interchanges that shaped that world, so that we better comprehend modern Ireland and the diversity of British imperial culture, including its complex and often contradictory Hibernian influences.

NOTES

1. The literature is expanding considerably and includes monographs, biographies, essay collections, and journal articles. Among the most important overviews of key themes, see Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004); Keith Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996); and Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2000). Scholars have noted particular connections between the Irish and Indian imperial experiences. Among the notable works are Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds.), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Dublin: Folens, 1997); Tadhg Foley and Maureen O'Connor (eds.), *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006); Michael Silvestri, *Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). A specific subset of the literature on Ireland and India discusses connections between nationalist figures from the mid-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. For example, see Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–1964* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2008); and Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the mid-Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Also noteworthy is the special edition of the journal *Éire-Ireland* 42: 1–2 (Spring/Summer 2007), ed. by Michael de Nie and Joe Cleary, especially Cleary's article, 'Amongst Empires: A Short History of Ireland and Empire Studies in International Context': 11–157.
2. For instance, on settlement and 'careering', see Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987); and several of the contributions to Oonagh

- Walsh (ed.), *Ireland Abroad: Politics and Professions in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003); several essays in David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careerism in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006). On networking, see Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012). On mission work, useful overviews include Edmund M. Hogan, *The Irish Missionary Movement: A Historical Survey, 1830–1980* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan; Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990); and Jack Hodgins, *Sister Island: A History of the CMS in Ireland, 1814–1994* (Dunmurry: CMS Ireland, 1994). On opposition to imperial aggression, see Paul A. Townend, ‘Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis, 1878–1880’, *Past and Present* no. 194 (February 2007): 139–174; Michael de Nie, ‘“Speed the Mahdi!” The Irish Press and Empire during the Sudan Conflict of 1883–1885’, *Journal of British Studies* 51:4 (Oct. 2012): 883–909; and Donal R. McCracken, *Forgotten Protest: Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2003).
3. ‘Editors’ Introduction’, *Éire-Ireland* 42: 1–2 (Spring/Summer 2007): 5. Cf., Jill C. Bender, ‘Ireland and Empire’, in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2016); and Steven Howe, ‘Colonized and Colonizers: Ireland and the British Empire’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), 67.
 4. For instance, see Tony Ballantyne, ‘The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and its Historiography’, *Historical Journal* 53:2 (June 2010): 429–452; Durba Ghosh, ‘AHR Forum: Another Set of Imperial Turns’, *American Historical Review* 117:3 (June 2012): 772–793; Dane Kennedy, ‘The Imperial History Wars’, *Journal of British Studies* 54:1 (January 2015): 5–22. Tellingly, although both Ghosh and Kennedy refer to the criticism leveled at the *Oxford History of the British Empire* for having overlooked key themes in its five volumes, leading to the subsequent series of Companion Volumes, Kennedy’s list of ‘other subjects that had received little attention in the original series’ did not include

Kenny's contribution to the series, *Ireland and the British Empire*, which appeared in 2004. Also, only one of the more than 100 volumes that make up the distinguished Manchester University Press 'Studies in Imperialism' series is devoted to Ireland and empire (edited by Keith Jeffery). There are, of course, exceptions to the overall characterization of British Empire scholarship, including most notably Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000). There is also a burgeoning scholarship claiming the creation of an 'Irish world' through migration. Cf. Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics, and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008); and Cian McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

5. Matthew Kelly, 'Irish Nationalist Opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s', *Past and Present* 204 (August 2009): 127–154.
6. Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, passim. Numerous scholars have advocated for recognition of the distinctive role of the settler colonies in the creation of a 'British world'. For example, see Ged Martin, *Past Futures: The Impossible Necessity of History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). For a wide-ranging overview of the emerging field of settler community studies and the 'British world', see Stephen Howe, 'British Worlds, Settler Worlds, World Systems, and Killing Fields', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40:4 (November 2012): 691–725. The most important claim that a 'settler revolution' occurred is undoubtedly by James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: the Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009). Fergus Campbell has recently emphasized the ways in which Irish elite culture developed differently due in part to Ireland's relationship to the British imperial system; see *The Irish Establishment 1879–1914* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), esp. 306–7. For specific instances of Irish imperial career opportunity within the 'British world', see the contribution by Zoe Laidlaw and that of Philip Howell and David Lambert in Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives across the British Empire*.

7. For a recent discussion of an Irish Catholic Unionist's efforts to reconcile these different impulses, see Timothy G. McMahon, 'Revolution of Silence: The Case of Jenico Preston, 15th Viscount Gormanston (1879–1925)', *New Hibernia Review* 18:3 (Autumn 2014): 15–30.
8. Paul A. Townend, *The Road to Home Rule* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), esp. 'Conclusion'.
9. Kevin Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Kevin Kenny (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2004), 98.
10. Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', 104–105, citing Peter Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792–1922: Suborned or Subordinate?' *Journal of Social History* xvii (Fall 1983). See also Thomas Bartlett, 'The Irish Soldier in India, 1750–1947', in *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts*, ed. by Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (Dublin, 1997).
11. Thus, one early-twentieth century commentator discussed the central place of the 'American letter' to the survival of families on so-called 'uneconomic holdings' in Connacht and also discussed the central place of tea and tobacco in such homes. Citing evidence from the Congested Districts Board, Paul-Dubois claimed that the family budget of one such family included nearly as much in annual spending on tobacco (£1 6s) as on rent (£1 10s) and that strong tea was ubiquitous even in the most poverty-stricken homes. See L. Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, trans. T. M. Kettle (Dublin: Maunsel and Company, Ltd., 1908), 301–305. On 'tattie-hoking', see Brian Coughlan, *Achill Island tattie-hokers in Scotland and the Kirkintilloch tragedy, 1937* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006). For Irish soldiers in the Raj, see Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers'; and Bartlett, 'The Irish Soldier'. For administrators, see S. B. Cook, 'The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855–1919', *Journal of Social History* xx (Spring 1987): 508–522. On timber imports, see Susan Galavan, 'Building Victorian Dublin: Meade & Son and the Expansion of the City', in *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ciaran O'Neill (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 53. According to Galavan, there were eight sawmills operating in Dublin in 1862 to process the Canadian and Baltic lumber landed at the North Quay

- wall, where ‘a timber wharf was being extended on a continuous basis to cope with the increasing loads of lumber ...’
12. Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland: Irish Calendar Customs* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1972), 218–219. The barmbrack tradition served as a centerpiece of Joyce’s story ‘Clay’, about a spinster whose lack of marriage prospects makes her the butt of a joke at a Hallowe’en party. See James Joyce, *Dubliners*, ed. by Margot Norris (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2006), 82–89.
 13. For a simple recipe for barmbrack, see <http://www.rte.ie/life-style/food/recipes/2013/0311/3528-irish-barmbrack/>, accessed on 11 October 2014.
 14. See, for example Jill Bender, ‘Mutiny or freedom fight? The 1857 Indian Mutiny and the Irish press’, in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. by Simon Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 92–108; Patrick Maume, ‘The Irish Independent and empire, 1891–1919’, in Potter, *Newspapers and Empire*, 124–142; Ian Sheehy, ‘The view from Fleet Street’: Irish nationalist journalists in London and their attitudes toward empire, 1892–1898’, in Potter, *Newspapers and Empire*, 143–158; Donal Lowry, ‘Nationalist and unionist responses to the British empire in the age of the South African War, 1899–1902’, in Potter, *Newspapers and Empire*, 159–176; Úna Ní Bhroiméil, ‘The South African War, empire and the Irish World, 1899–1902’, in Potter, *Newspapers and Empire*, 195–216; Jennifer Regan, ‘“We could be of service to other suffering people”: Representations of India in the Irish Nationalist Press, c.1857–1887’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41:1 (Spring 2008): 61–77; Jill Bender, ‘The Irish ‘Sepoy’ Press: Irish Nationalism and anti-British agitation during the 1857 Indian Rebellion’, in *Ireland and the Irish Antipodes: One World or Worlds Apart?* ed. by Brad and Kathryn Patterson (Sydney, 2010), 241–251; Michael de Nie, ‘“Speed the Mahdi!” The Irish Press and Empire during the Sudan Conflict of 1883–1885’, *Journal of British Studies*, 51:4 (October 2012): 883–909; and Paul Townend, ‘Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis, 1878–1880’, *Past and Present* 194, no. 1 (February 2007): 139–74.

15. See, for instance, Oliver P. Rafferty's essay on 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire' in which he called this dynamic an 'entente cordial' in his *Violence, Politics and Catholicism in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2016), 69.
16. Although Barr focuses primarily on the placement of bishops in the British Antipodes, the Catholic clerical workforce (especially nuns, diocesan clergy, and religious brothers) grew geometrically in that part of the Empire after 1850. Cf. Colin Barr, "'Imperium in imperio": Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century', *English Historical Review* 123:502 (June 2008); Hogan, *Irish Missionary Movement*, 21; O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, 105. For broader comments on the interconnections between Catholicism, Ireland, and the British Empire (including the important role of Catholic chaplains in the Army), see Oliver P. Rafferty, *Violence, Politics, and Catholicism in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), especially Chaps. 2, 7 and 8.
17. Timothy G. McMahon, 'A New Role for Irish Anglicans in the Later Nineteenth Century: the HCMS and Imperial Opportunity', in *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ciaran O'Neill (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).
18. For example, see Christopher Shepard, 'Irish Journalists in the Intellectual Diaspora: Edward Alexander Morphy and Henry David O'Shea in the Far East', *New Hibernia Review* 14:3 (Autumn 2010): 75–90. For reference to two significant Irishmen with presence in China, see James Pope-Hennessy, *Verandah: Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies, 1867–1889* (London: Century Publishing, 1984), especially Book 6; Robert Hart, *Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals, 1854–1863*, ed. by Katherine F. Bruner, John K. Fairbank, and Richard J. Smith (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, 1986); and Robert Hart, *The I.G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart, Chinese Maritime Customs, 1868–1907*, ed. by John King Fairbank, Katherine Frost Bruner, and Elizabeth MacLeod Matheson, with an introduction by L. K. Little (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1975).
19. The biographical turn in imperial studies has produced numerous excellent works, including monographs and essay collections. For instance, see Victoria Manthorpe, *Children of the Empire: the*

- Victorain Haggards* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007); and Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire*.
20. For example, see S. B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993).
 21. For the British context, see Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale UP, 1978); Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1997); Gervase Jackson-Stops, *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989); David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale UP, 1990); David Littlejohn, *The Fate of the English Country House* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1997); F. M. L. Thompson, 'Presidential Addresses: English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century, i–iv', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series (1990–1993), vol. 40, 6th series, vols. 1–3; Giles Worsley, 'Beyond the Powerhouse: Understanding the Country House in the Twenty-first Century', *Historical Research* 78:201 (2005): 423–435; and Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700–1930* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2014). For the Irish context, see especially the works of Bence-Jones, Dooley, and Purdue cited in Barczewski's essay in this volume.
 22. For an important qualification to this statement in the early twentieth century, see Conor Mulvagh, *Irish Days, Indian Memories: V.V. Giri and Indian Law Students at University College Dublin, 1913–1916* (Sallins, Co. Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2016).
 23. See McMahon, 'Irish Jesuit Education and Imperial Ideals', in *Irish Classrooms and the British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*, ed. by David Dickson, Justyna Pyz, and Christopher Shepard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 118–123; Terence Denman, "'The Red Livery of Shame': The Campaign against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899–1914', *Irish Historical Studies* xxix: 114 (Nov. 1994): 208–233.

24. Among the most important works in print to date are Paul Taylor, *Heroes or Traitors?: Experiences of Southern Irish Soldiers Returning from the Great War, 1919–1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2015); Jason R. Myers, *The Great War and Memory in Irish Culture, 1918–2010* (Bethesda, MD: Munsel and Co., 2010); and Jane Leonard, ‘Survivors’, in *Our War: Ireland and the Great War*, ed. by John Horne (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2008).
25. For instance, the term ‘outrage’ as applied to agrarian crime originated in the 1830s. See Jay Richard Roszman, “‘Outrage’ & ‘Justice’: Irish Agrarian Violence and British Governing Policy During the Age of Reform, 1835–1841’ (Carnegie Mellon University: Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 2015). On executive detention and its roots in the 1880s, see A. W. Simpson, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention Without Trial in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992). On party concerns, see Townend, *Road to Home Rule*, especially Chaps. 3 and 4.
26. Several outstanding overviews of the Fenian movement highlight its international dimensions, as well as its infighting. For example, see Fearghal McGarry and James McConnell (eds.), *The Black Hand of Republicanism: Fenianism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009); Gillian O’Brien, *Blood Runs Green: The Murder that Transfixed Gilded Age Chicago* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Owen McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood, from the Land League to Sinn Féin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); León Ó Broin, *Revolutionary Underground: The Story of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, 1858–1924* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976).
27. Donal Lowry, ‘Introduction’, in *The South African War Reappraised*, ed. by Donal Lowry (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000); Lowry, ‘Nationalist and unionist responses’; and McCracken, *Forgotten Protest*.
28. O’Brien, *Blood Runs Green*, 127–129 and 136–137 and passim; Owen McGee, ‘Finerty, John Frederick’, in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, ed. by James McGuire and James Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), at <http://0-dib.cambridge.org.libus.csd.mu.edu/quicksearch.do>, accessed on 6 June 2016.

29. See Terence Denman, *A Lonely Grave: The Life and Death of William Redmond* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995).

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PART I

Citizenship

Country Houses and the Distinctiveness of the Irish Imperial Experience

Stephanie Barczewski

In Irish literature, when country houses are considered in the context of the British Empire, they have typically been interpreted as symbols of Ireland's role as a subject colony that was ruled by an alien elite. The 'Big House' is seen as the progenitor of the economic oppression of the Irish peasantry and as the headquarters of British efforts to impose their culture on Ireland.¹ This view, though often rendered in complex and elegant form, runs through literary treatments of Irish country houses, from Maria Edgeworth in the eighteenth century to Anthony Trollope in the nineteenth to Elizabeth Bowen in the twentieth. Irish historians, meanwhile, have tended to focus on the social and economic role of landed estates in Irish domestic context, with a particular emphasis on landlord-tenant relations and the 'land question'.² What has been less the subject of either literary depiction or scholarly examination, however, is the role of Irish country houses as the embodiments of Irish participation in empire overseas.

The complex relationship between Irish country houses and empire is encapsulated by Myrtle Grove, a house in the walled town of Youghal on

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the coast of County Cork (Fig. 2.1). In 1586, as part of the English government's plan to establish a series of plantations in Munster, the recently knighted Sir Walter Raleigh received a seignory, or grant, of 42,000 acres of fertile farmland and forest along the River Blackwater. Soon, around 200 settlers were working in a number of entrepreneurial ventures, including exporting timber to the Canaries and Madeira for the making of wine-barrel staves, hop growing, and the mining and smelting of iron ore. Raleigh represented the vanguard of a wave of English colonisers who came to Ireland in the decades around 1600, looking to establish plantations that would secure their personal fortunes and consolidate England's grip on the island. In the late 1580s, he built Myrtle Grove; his possession of his grant was so secure that he felt no need to fortify it, an unusual decision for an English landowner in Ireland in this period.

Three centuries later, Myrtle Grove became the home of the Limerick-born Sir Henry Arthur Blake, whose long career in colonial service included five governorships—the Bahamas, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Hong Kong, and Ceylon—between 1884 and 1907. From a family of Protestant gentry, Blake began life as a lowly sub-inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary,

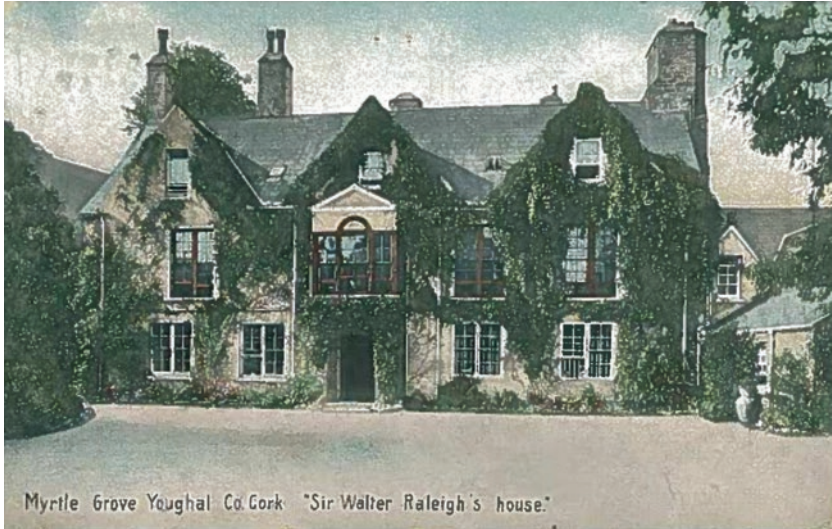


Fig. 2.1 An early twentieth-century postcard image of Myrtle Grove. Image credit: Linenhall Library

but his good looks helped him catch the eye of Edith Bernal Osborne, daughter of the prominent Liberal politician Ralph Bernal Osborne and heiress to Bernal Osborne's vast estate at Newtown Anner in County Tipperary. In 1874, she eloped with Blake. Although the furious Bernal Osbornes immediately disinherited Edith, Blake benefited enormously from her influential connections. Her younger sister Grace was the second wife of the Duke of St Albans, who secured for his new brother-in-law an appointment as one of five special magistrates responsible for overseeing the enforcement of the Coercion Act of 1882. The Act, which included in its provisions the suspension of habeas corpus as part of an effort to curb Irish nationalist activity, was extremely unpopular, and Blake's zealous enforcement of it won him few friends. When an open grave was dug in front of his house as a warning, he decided that it was time to emigrate. In 1884, he became Governor of the Bahamas, the beginning of a colonial proconsular career that lasted for a quarter-century.

It was not, however, a career that always went smoothly. In 1888, Blake's appointment to the governorship of Queensland met with stiff opposition from the colony's large Irish population, who were aware of his anti-nationalist activities in Ireland. The *Brisbane Courier* declared that 'the only proof, if proof it may be called, of his ability as an administrator was that to which a large section of the law-abiding inhabitants of Queensland object: his success in the application in Ireland of the Coercion Act of 1882'.³ Irish Nationalist MPs at Westminster also objected to Blake's appointment; when the government of Queensland's telegram explaining the reasons for their objection was read in the House of Commons on 16 November 1888, 'the Parnellite members cheered loudly'.⁴ In the end, Blake was made Governor of Jamaica instead (Fig. 2.2).

After further stints as Governor of Hong Kong and Ceylon, Blake retired to Myrtle Grove in 1907. He had acquired the house in 1894 for £1500 from the family of Sir John Pope-Hennessy, another Irish colonial administrator who served as Governor of Labuan (in Malaysia), Sierra Leone, the Windward Islands, Hong Kong and Mauritius. Blake died in 1918, leaving Myrtle Grove to his widow Edith. Her son, the journalist Patrick Cockburn, describes in his autobiography how the house was filled with objects acquired during Blake's imperial career, including 'Chinese tables inlaid with mother-of-pearl, chairs with delicate scenes from the imperial court in Peking and vases with Chinese ladies standing gossiping by their tea houses'. The main staircase was lined with Edith Blake's water-colours of plants and butterflies, done during her time in the Bahamas and

Fig. 2.2 Henry Arthur Blake as Governor of Hong Kong, c. 1900. Image credit: public domain



Jamaica, thus creating ‘the illusion that one was walking upstairs through a Caribbean paradise’. Cockburn also recalls the incongruous presence in Myrtle Grove’s walled garden of:

a pair of large cast-iron gates with two Chinese characters, each a foot high, attached to the thick bars. Round and black, the bars look like muscular snakes swallowing each other’s tails. The gates appear wholly exotic amid the dahlias, roses and valerian, and they hang in a gateway cut in Youghal’s ancient town wall. But they are not the only such gates in the world. An identical pair hang on the other side of the globe in a high brick wall, built to protect its people from bandits and pirates, surrounding the village of Kat Shing Wai on the Chinese mainland opposite the island of Hong Kong.⁵

The gates were a relic of Sir Henry Blake’s governorship of Hong Kong. In 1898, the news that the British had signed a 99-year lease adding the ‘New Territories’, encompassing Lantau Island and the land to the north, to the existing colony on Hong Kong Island had provoked an

armed rebellion by the local Tang clan. One of Blake's first actions as governor was to crush this rebellion, at the expense of 165 Chinese lives. After the Tangs' surrender, Blake forced the rebels to lay the gates of their stronghold at Kat Shing Wai before him as a sign of their submission to British authority. In 1918, the elders of the town submitted to the British government a formal request for the gates' return. Seven years later, Edith agreed to have them sent back, but the story did not quite end there:

A year later, shortly before she died, [Edith Blake] received a testy phone call from Cork customs saying they had received a crate, so heavy that it had broken their crane, addressed to a 'Miss Blake, Ireland.' They asked her to collect it. When opened it was found to contain a perfect full-size copy of the Kat Shing Wai gates dispatched by the grateful elders of the Tang clan.⁶

Myrtle Grove thus reveals how Ireland was both a target of and active partner in British imperialism. The remainder of this chapter will examine the ways in which Irish country houses reflect the complexities of Ireland's engagement with the British Empire. On the one hand, country houses were the homes and power bases of an elite whose ethnic and cultural roots, like Raleigh's, lay elsewhere. What have been less frequently the subject of scholarly examination, however, are the houses that were acquired by Irishmen who returned from imperial careers. The houses in this latter category remind us that Irish people were engaged in empire just as were people from England, Scotland, and Wales. At the same time, though, the relatively small number of such houses helps us to comprehend the distinctive qualities of the Irish imperial experience.

Another house that reveals Ireland's complex imperial history is Coole Park in County Galway. Coole's story is better begun at the end. The house's last occupant was Lady Augusta Gregory, a leading force behind the Gaelic Revival, first through the collection and publication of folk material from the Aran Islands and later via her patronage of the Abbey Theatre. In the early twentieth century, Coole Park became a retreat for many of the leading lights of Irish literature, including George Bernard Shaw, J. M. Synge, Douglas Hyde, Sean O'Casey, and, especially, William Butler Yeats, all of whom visited regularly. Coole's Irish nationalist pedigree was thus impeccable; as Yeats told Lady Gregory, 'There is no house in Ireland with so fine a record'.⁷ Even so, Coole's fate was ultimately determined by the vicissitudes of republican sentiment.

According to the terms of Lady Gregory's late husband Sir William Gregory's will, the house passed to their only child Robert when he turned 21 in 1902, though Lady Gregory was permitted to continue living there for the remainder of her life. But when Robert, a pilot in the Royal Flying Corps, was killed on a test flight in Italy in 1916, the house came to be owned by his widow, who sold it to the Irish Forestry Commission in 1927. Only three months after Lady Gregory's death, Coole's contents were auctioned, and the house was left to rot. In 1941, it was determined to be in danger of collapse, and it was demolished by the Irish government as it sought to erase the 'Big House' from the Irish landscape (Fig. 2.3).

There is an alternative version of Coole's history, however. In an earlier age, it was an Irish example of a 'nabob house', as it had been purchased in 1768 by Robert Gregory, a native of Galway who had amassed a fortune in the service of the East India Company.⁸ Nor did the Gregory family's imperial connections end there: Sir William Gregory, Lady Gregory's husband, served as Governor of Ceylon from 1872–77. These links with



Fig. 2.3 The foundations of Coole Park, all that remains of the house today. Image credit: the author

the Empire left their mark upon Coole. In her memoir of the house, published in 1931, Lady Gregory wrote of how Sir William, ‘with a heart for the East’, had filled the library with ‘Sinhalese [sic] poems, and such works as *Harivansa* and *Raghervansa*, and *Gosha* and the *Ramayura*, from his beloved Ceylon’.⁹ In his autobiography, Yeats, too, observed reflections of Coole’s imperial heritage:

Moghul or Persian paintings had been brought from the Far East by a Gregory chairman of the East India Company, great earthenware ewers and basins, great silver bowls, by Lady Gregory’s husband, a famous Governor of Ceylon who had married in old age ... In the hall, or at one’s right hand as one ascended the stairs, hung Persian helmets, Indian shields, Indian swords in elaborate sheaths, stuffed birds from various parts of the world.¹⁰

Simultaneously a venue for the display of an Irish cultural nationalism that some historians would term anti-colonial, a representation of the ‘Big House’ as an alien intruder in the Irish landscape, and an economic embodiment of the profits of empire, Coole Park reflects the multifaceted imperial history of Irish country houses.

Coole was far from alone as an Irish house with a direct connection to imperial endeavour. By the eighteenth century, there were Irishmen involved in the colonisation, administration and defence of every part of the Empire, and a number of them built, purchased or embellished country houses with the profits they amassed. This phenomenon, of course, was not unique to Ireland: focusing on the period from 1700–1930, my research has identified 1,111 country houses in Britain and Ireland whose purchase or construction was funded from imperial sources. Chart 2.1 shows, however, that they were not evenly distributed by nation. These figures provide insight into the uniqueness of the Irish imperial experience among the four nations of the British Isles. England had by far the largest percentage of houses, but this was in proportion to its average share of the total United Kingdom population over the entire period, which ranged from a low of 55 per cent in 1800 to a high of 75 per cent in 1930. Scotland’s 25 per cent, meanwhile, is disproportionately large, at least twice the proportion of Scotland’s population within the United Kingdom during the period under examination, reflecting the enthusiastic participation of the Scots in imperial endeavour. The Welsh proportion of 4 per cent looks small, but as Wales never made up more than 5 per cent of the United Kingdom’s population between 1700 and 1930, it was not

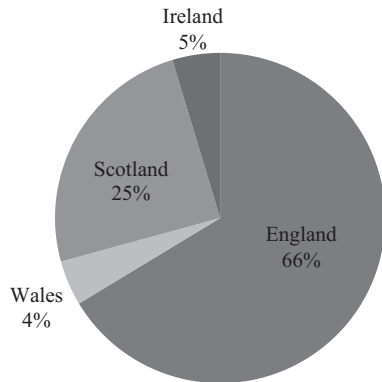


Chart 2.1 Landed estate purchases funded by the Empire by Nation, 1700–1930

significantly under-represented. Ireland, however, *is* under-represented. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, Ireland comprised between a quarter and a third of the United Kingdom's population. That percentage had fallen to 22 per cent by 1900, but Ireland's share of estate purchases was still disproportionately low.

It could be argued that using the relative population sizes of the four nations is misleading, and that what really matters is the percentage of imperial purchases among the total number of landed estates in each one. Using this method, however, also reveals a large disparity between the number of imperial purchases in Ireland and that in other parts of the United Kingdom. There were approximately 2,000 country houses in Ireland in total, but only 47 individual estates (2.4 per cent, or one in 42) passed through the hands of men who made their money in the Empire at some point in the eighteenth, nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries (see Table 2.A1 of Appendix). In his study of the aristocracy in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, David Cannadine estimates that there were about 7,000 families who could be counted as comprising the landed elite in Britain (i.e. England, Scotland and Wales), defined by the ownership of a minimum of a thousand acres.¹¹ I have identified 1,062 landed estates in Britain that were purchased or built from imperial proceeds between 1700 and 1930, which means that 15.2 per cent, or one in six, were purchased from imperial proceeds at some point in this span. Ireland thus had only about 16 per cent of the number of purchases that it should have had, if we use Britain as the baseline. What is most striking here is a comparison of Ireland to Scotland. For the proportion of Scottish

estates purchased from imperial proceeds to be as low as Ireland's, there would have to be over 10,000 landed estates in Scotland, or 3,000 more than there were in all of Britain.

A third way to measure the impact of landed-estate purchases from imperial proceeds on the different parts of the United Kingdom is by geographical density, as neither of the above methods takes into account the relative physical sizes of the four nations. In Britain as a whole (not counting Ireland), there was one purchase per 83 square miles over the entire period from 1700–1930. In England, there was one per 67 square miles; in Scotland one per 110 square miles; and in Wales one per 163 square miles. But in Ireland, there was only one purchase per 673 square miles. Measured in this way, Ireland had about 12 per cent of the number of purchases that it should have had, once again using Britain as the baseline. This lack of geographical density is largely because Ireland did not have nodes of concentration of estate purchases around imperial entrepôts, as did England (London, Bristol and Liverpool) and Scotland (Glasgow). My data shows heavy concentrations around these entrepôts, with the densities of purchases above one per 20 square miles in some of the counties surrounding them. In Ireland, however, the county with the highest density was Meath, which had one purchase only every 226 square miles.

No matter what the measurement, the figures are thus remarkably consistent: Ireland had not only a small total number of landed-estate purchases from imperial proceeds (47), but also a small relative number in comparison to other parts of the United Kingdom, no matter which yardstick is used as a basis of comparison. There are a number of reasons why this was the case. Throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, Ireland's ability to trade freely with the American colonies, the West Indies and India was hindered by a variety of regulations, regulations that were less constraining to the Welsh and, after 1707, the Scots. In addition, prior to 1800, Irish landowners were considerably more prosperous than their Scottish counterparts, diminishing the need for them to seek gainful employment for their younger sons via the empire, as Scottish landowners aggressively did. Finally, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Scotland had been integrated into the Union in part via the widespread participation of Scots in imperial commerce, administration and military service. By century's end, over half of the East India Company's employees were Scottish, and Scots were over-represented among the ranks of West Indian planters and army officers as well.¹² The Act of Union

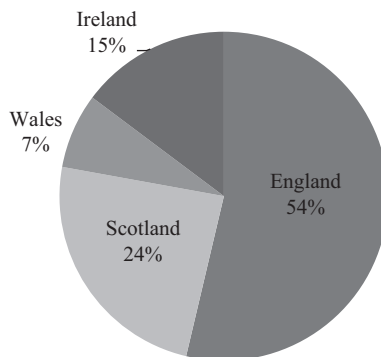


Chart 2.2 Purchase of landed estates by military officers who served in the Empire, 1700–1930

with Ireland, however, came too late for a similar process of integration into imperial service and economic activity to take place there. My landed-estate data shows that the greatest concentration of purchases from imperial proceeds took place from 1760–1800, suggesting that this was the period in which individual fortunes could most easily be made. The Scots were thus positioned to take advantage of imperial opportunities, while for the Irish the ‘imperial moment’ had largely passed by the time they joined the Union. After 1800, the profitability of Irish estates began to diminish, a decline that would accelerate after the Famine. Thus, Irish landowners now had a greater incentive to seek out imperial opportunities, but by that point they were too late to get in on the ground floor of imperial commerce and administration as the Scots had done.

Looking at the data more closely reveals other insights. When Irishmen did pursue careers in the Empire, by far their preferred pathway was via the military; the number of Irish nabobs or West Indian planters was very small. By the 1840s, close to half of both the British Army’s soldiers and the East India Company’s European troops were Irish.¹³ As Chart 2.2 shows, between 1700 and 1930, 152 landed estates were acquired by military officers who spent a significant portion of their careers in the Empire. Ireland’s 22 estates represent 14.5 per cent of the total, or nearly one in six purchases, a much larger Irish proportion than in any other category of imperial career. Of the 35 purchases of landed estates by Irish officers between 1750 and 1930, however, 19 (54.3 per cent) were outside of Ireland, with one in Wales, one in Scotland and the rest in England (see Table 2.A2 of Appendix). In comparison, only six of the 52 estates (11.5 per cent) acquired by English officers were outside of England

(three in Wales, three in Ireland); two of eight (25 per cent) by Welsh officers (both in England); and 14 of 48 (29.2 per cent) by Scottish officers (13 in England, one in Wales). The same was true of Irish naval officers who served in the Empire for much of their careers (see Table 2.A3 of Appendix). Nine of the total of 107 estates (8.4 per cent) that were purchased by naval officers between 1700 and 1930 were acquired by Irishmen. Only two of these, however, were in Ireland, while six were in England and one in Scotland. This trend accelerated after 1800, when Irish estates came to be seen as unprofitable and politically problematic, and they were thus not attractive to aspirants to genteel status. Irishmen eager for secure wealth and social advancement looked elsewhere, to estates in England and Scotland. The primary lure of land for men returning from the Empire was that it represented financial security and social prestige; for much of the period in question, Irish estates provided none of the former and less of the latter than estates in other parts of the British Isles.

Prior to 1800, as we have previously seen, the Irish elite had less incentive to pursue imperial opportunities for themselves or their sons because their estates were generally profitable, particularly in comparison to Scotland. After 1800, however, declining profits drove some landowners to seek imperial employment as a means of alleviating their financial difficulties. All over the British Isles in the nineteenth century, members of the landowning elite were forced by declining land values and rising expenditures to seek income from colonial governorships, as Table 2.A4 of Appendix shows. The fact that eight of the 25 total estates that are listed (30.8 per cent) were in Ireland suggests that upper-class indebtedness was a larger problem there, and in Scotland (36 per cent), than it was in England or Wales. In addition, the average date of the first posting to the Empire for members of the Irish elite was 1845, as opposed to 1862 for Scotland and 1881 for England, suggesting that the financial troubles of the landed classes began earlier there.

An example of how indebtedness drove Irish aristocrats to seek imperial service is provided by the Earls of Belmore, whose seat at Castle Coole in County Fermanagh was built between 1789 and 1797 at the immense cost of £54,000 (Fig. 2.4).¹⁴ The 1st Earl conceived of building such a great house in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the independence of the Irish Parliament in Dublin was increasing. He intended Castle Coole as a power base that would ensure his family's lasting influence in Irish politics. But when the Act of Union was passed in 1800, the seat of political power shifted overnight to Westminster. The 1st Earl



Fig. 2.4 Castle Coole, County Fermanagh. Image credit: National Trust Images/Arnhel de Serra

died two years later, and his son and successor found himself stranded on the margins of the British political world and £150,000 in debt. He sought political office via the influence of his friend Lord Castlereagh, but Castlereagh's suicide in 1822 dampened his prospects. It was not until 1828, when his long-time ally the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, that an opportunity finally came his way. Wellington recommended Belmore for the governorship of Jamaica, a post that came with a salary of £6,000 a year. He arrived on the island at an inauspicious moment, as mounting pressure from abolitionists had caused the planter community to tighten their grip on their slaves. In 1831, the escalating tension boiled over, leading to the outbreak of the worst slave revolt in Jamaica's history.¹⁵ Belmore handled it adroitly, bringing the situation under control quickly but intervening to prevent excessive retaliation by the planters. Nonetheless, he was harshly criticised by the new Colonial Secretary, Viscount Goderich, a long-standing enemy, for supposedly tolerating ill-treatment of the slaves. Belmore was recalled; he departed with mixed feelings of indignation and relief.

Upon his death in 1841, the 2nd Earl bequeathed his heir a debt of £200,000. The 3rd Earl died at the age of 43, and so the 4th Earl was only 10 when he inherited Castle Coole. The estate was put in the hands of trustees, who determined that the only solution to the mountain of debt was to place it under the protection of the Chancery Court, the equivalent of a declaration of bankruptcy.¹⁶ Over the next decade, most of the surrounding land was sold off. After the 4th Earl came of age in 1856, he was able—by pursuing a policy of strict economy—to lower his annual expenditures to £2,500, less than 5 per cent of what his grandfather had spent. But he still needed additional income to pay off the massive debt, and thus he sought a proconsular post. In 1867, he became Governor of New South Wales, which came with a salary of £7,000.¹⁷ It proved a challenging post: The colony's parliament was so rambunctious that the members were prone to attacking each other with fists and horsewhips. Only five months after the governor's arrival, the Belmores entertained the queen's second son with a picnic during his Australian stop in a round-the-world voyage. During this event, Prince Alfred was shot, though not fatally, by a Fenian assassin. Nonetheless, Belmore proved a popular and successful governor, but the heat of the Australian climate adversely affected his wife Honoria's health, and he asked to be relieved of his duties in 1871.

This chapter has shown that the relationship between Irish country houses and the British Empire was distinctive. There were far fewer landed-estate purchases from imperial proceeds in Ireland than in any other part of the United Kingdom. The Irish were represented in greater proportion among the ranks of military officers who purchased landed estates, but the fact that many of them chose to settle in England or in other parts of the United Kingdom suggests that Irish estates were not attractive as investments after 1800, and provides one explanation for the low number of Irish estates that were purchased from imperial wealth. A number of Irish landowners, meanwhile, were forced to seek colonial proconsular positions in the nineteenth century due to the increasing indebtedness of their estates. Country houses thus help us to see that Ireland's history of engagement with the British Empire was multifaceted, and influenced by the unique contours of Irish history in key ways.

Landed-estate purchases, of course, do not tell us everything that we need to know about imperial economics, but the data at least begins to suggest that the inflow of colonial profits travelled along different conduits, and perhaps fewer of them, for Irish people than for other inhabitants of the United Kingdom. It is conventional to argue that the Union

with Ireland disintegrated because of the failure to assimilate the Catholic majority into it and because of its more coercive nature when compared to Wales or Scotland. Neither of these points is open to question: Both Catholicism and a heavy-handed administrative and legal system massively complicated Ireland's place in the Union. But perhaps it was not so much that these things prevented the development of a Unionist and imperial identity and more that the lack of such an identity, which failed to become appealing via a perception of economic advantage, made it impossible for the obstacles that they represented to be overcome. This is not to suggest that adherence to the Union depended upon a simplistic economics of loyalism, but it was true nonetheless that the perception of some degree of economic benefit was an essential precondition for it. As John Brewer has written, allegiance to the Union 'depended not just on the ideological construction of a cultural identity but upon the political gravy-train and upon the distribution of economic spoils'.¹⁸ The Empire was a primary conduit through which those 'economic spoils' were perceived to flow. If they did not flow to Ireland in the same amount, or if they flowed through different channels, channels that may have been affected by religious or other factors, then a clearer picture of why the Union failed in Ireland can begin to emerge.

Throughout the early modern and modern periods, numerous Irish people participated in British imperial activities in a variety of roles and contexts. The argument here is in no way meant to diminish their significance, or to suggest that scholars, including those in this volume, have erred in emphasising their contributions. But although the participation of the Irish in the nineteenth-century Empire was widespread and doubtless benefited many individual Irish people, the overall economic impact of empire in Ireland may not have been sufficient to lay the foundation for a lasting Union there. Though the widespread participation of Irish people in the Empire is no longer in doubt, we now need to work towards an understanding of the precise contours of the Irish imperial experience. In so doing, we will come to a better understanding of Ireland's place within, and without, the Union.

APPENDIX

Table 2.A1 Irish estates purchased from imperial wealth, 1700–1930¹⁹

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Category</i>
Aghada Hall	Cork	Sir Joseph Thackwell	1853	Army Officer
Ardglass Castle	Down	Charles James Fitzgerald	1790	Naval Officer
Bailieborough Castle	Cavan	Sir William Young	1813	Army Officer (EIC)
Ballyfair	Kildare	Michael George Prendergast	1808	Nabob
Bansha Castle	Tipperary	Sir William Francis Butler	c.1905	Army Officer
Blenheim Lodge	Wexford	Pierce Sweetman	1810	Merchant
Brook Lodge	Cork	Thomas Dennehy	1892	Army Officer
Caledon	Tyrone	James Alexander	1776	Nabob
Carricknaveagh	Cork	John MacKay MacDonald	c.1800	Planter
Castle Daly	Galway	Peter Daly	1829	Planter
Cherrymount	Waterford	Sir Joseph Thackwell	1852	Army Officer
Cherrymount	Waterford	John Holroyd	1872	Army Officer
Coole Park	Galway	Robert Gregory	1766	Nabob
Dangan	Kilkenny	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Dangan Hall	Meath	Thomas Burrowes	1793	Army Officer (EIC)
Doe Castle	Donegal	George Vaughan Hart	1797	Army Officer
Drewstown House	Meath	Joseph McVeagh	c.1785	Nabob
Drumnasole	Antrim	Francis Turnley	1808	Nabob
Dundarave	Antrim	Sir William Dunkin	c.1785	Nabob
Dundarave	Antrim	Francis Workman Macnaghten	1800	Nabob
Dunmore	Galway	George Shee	1791	Nabob
St Edmundsbury	Dublin	William Moran	c.1870	Merchant
Edswale	Clare	Sir Roger Sheaffe	c.1813	Army Officer
Grennan	Kilkenny	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Healthfield	Wexford	Pierce Sweetman	1802	Merchant
St Helens	Dublin	Hugh Gough, 1st Viscount Gough	c.1865	Army Officer
Innislonagh	Tipperary	Sir Charles Gough	1895	Army Officer
Janeville	Waterford	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Jerpoint	Kilkenny	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Johnstown	Meath	Francis Forde	c.1762	Army Officer (EIC)
Killursa	Galway	Robert John Lattey	1853	Merchant
Kilmurry House	Kilkenny	Henry Butler	1876	Army Officer

(continued)

Table 2.A1 (continued)

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Category</i>
Larchfield	Down	Daniel Mussenden	1750	Merchant
Lisduff	Galway	Denis Kelly	c.1740	Planter
Lota	Cork	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Magheramorne	Antrim	Charles McGarel	1842	Planter
Mount Pleasant	Down	Alexander Stewart	1744	Nabob
Moyne	Galway	John Kelly	1802	Planter
Newtown	Dublin	John Adlerson	c.1760	Army Officer
Newtown	Galway	John Kelly	1802	Planter
Plassey	Clare	Sir Robert Clive	1760	Nabob
Rathkenny House	Cavan	John Clements	c.1825	Naval Officer (EIC)
Rostellan Castle	Cork	Joshua Wise	c.1870	Merchant
Seacourt House	Down	Sir Samuel Cleland Davidson	1895	Merchant
Shaen Castle	Queen's	Sir Eyre Coote	c.1765	Army Officer (EIC)
Shandon	Waterford	William Greene	c.1785	Army Officer (EIC)
Thornfield	Limerick	Sir Richard Bourke	c.1840	Army Officer

Table 2.A2 Landed estates purchased by Irish military officers who served in the Empire, 1760–1900

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Imperial service</i>
Aston House	Oxfordshire	John Caillaud	Brig-General (EIC)	1769	India
Bansha Castle	Tipperary	Sir William Francis Butler	Lt-General	c.1905	Canada, S. Africa, Sudan, Egypt
Barnesville Park	Gloucestershire	Sir Henry Cosby	Lt-General (EIC)	1797	India
Beachlands	Isle of Wight	Sir Alexander Caldwell	Lt-General (EIC)	1821	India
Bedgebury Park	Kent	William Carr Beresford	General	c.1825	W. Indies, Egypt, Cape of Good Hope
Belmont House	Kent	George Harris	General	1801	India
Beresford	Staffordshire	William Carr Beresford	General	1824	W. Indies, Egypt, Cape of Good Hope
Brook Lodge	Cork	Thomas Dennehy	Maj-General	1892	India
Burley Batten	Hampshire	John Carnac	Brig-General (EIC)	1776	India
Burley Mills	Hampshire	John Carnac	Brig-General (EIC)	1776	India
Cams Hall	Hampshire	John Carnac	Brig-General (EIC)	1770	India
Coworth House	Berkshire	George Bingham Arbuthnot	Maj-General (EIC)	1836	India
Dangan Dangan Hall	Kilkenny Meath	William Greene Thomas Burrowes	Major (EIC) Colonel (EIC)	c.1785 1793	India India
Doe Castle	Donegal	George Vaughan Hart	Lt-General	1797	America, W. Indies, Cape Colony, India

(continued)

Table 2.A2 (continued)

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Imperial service</i>
Egmont	Berkshire	Sir Trevor Chute	Maj-General	c.1870	India, New Zealand, Australia
Grennan	Kilkenny	William Greene	Major (EIC)	c.1785	India
Helston House	Monmouthshire	Sir Robert Brownrigg	General	c.1820	Ceylon
Highfield Park	Hampshire	Sir Lowry Cole	General	c.1833	W. Indies, Malta, Cape Colony
Ibstone House	Oxfordshire	Sir Thomas Harte Franks	Maj-General	c.1860	India
Innislonagh	Tipperary	Sir Charles Gough	General	1895	India
Janeville	Waterford	William Greene	Major (EIC)	c.1785	India
Jerpoint	Kilkenny	William Greene	Major (EIC)	c.1785	India
Johnstown	Meath	Francis Forde	Lt-Colonel (EIC)	c.1762	India
Kilmurry House	Kilkenny	Henry Butler	Major	1876	S Africa
Lota	Cork	William Greene	Major (EIC)	c.1785	India
Newtown	Dublin	John Adlercron	Lt-General	c.1760	India
Park Hill	Yorkshire	Anthony St Leger	Maj-General	1765	W. Indies
Shaen Castle	Queen's	Sir Eyre Coote	Lt-General	c.1765	Minorca, India
Shandon	Waterford	William Greene	Major (EIC)	c.1785	India
St Helens	Dublin	Hugh Gough, 1st Viscount Gough	Field Marshal	c.1865	Cape Colony, W. Indies, China, India
The Sycamores	Hampshire	Sir Thomas McMahon	General	c.1885	India
Thornfield	Limerick	Sir Richard Bourke	General	c.1840	S. America, Cape Colony, Australia
Trumland House	Orkney	Sir Frederick William Traill-Burroughs	Lt-General	1876	India

Table 2.A2 (continued)

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Imperial service</i>
West Park	Hampshire	Sir Eyre Coote	Lt-General	1764	Minorca, India
Westhorpe House	Buckinghamshire	Sir George Nugent	Field Marshal	1808	Gibraltar, America, W. Indies, India

Table 2.A3 Landed estates purchased by Irish naval officers who served in the Empire, 1760–1900

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Imperial service</i>
Ardglass Castle	Down	Charles James Fitzgerald	Rear Admiral	1790	W. Indies, America
Arthurstone	Perthshire	William Rattray	Captain (EIC)	1787	India
Badgemore House	Oxfordshire	Richard James Meade, 4th Earl of Clanwilliam	Admiral	c.1900	China, Canada, W. Indies
Bassingbourne Hall	Essex	Sir Peter Parker	Admiral	c.1800	W. Indies, America
Hazeleigh	Essex	James Irwin	Captain (EIC)	c.1750	India
Rathkenny House	Cavan	John Clements	Captain (EIC)	c.1825	India
Rhode Hill	Dorset	Sir John Talbot	Admiral	c.1815	W. Indies, Canada
Woodbine Hill	Devon	Sir Thomas Graves	Admiral	c.1790	W. Africa, America, W. Indies
Yew House	Hertfordshire	Donat Henchy O'Brien	Rear Admiral	c.1821	S. America

Table 2.A4 Proconsular positions taken by the British and Irish elite to preserve indebted estates, 1800–1940

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Proconsular position(s)</i>	<i>Date of first posting</i>
Bowood House	Wiltshire	5th Marquess of Lansdowne	Gov.-Gen. Canada, Viceroy India	1883
Brahan Castle	Ross-shire	1st Baron Seaforth	Gov. Barbados	1800
Brook Hall	Derry	Sir George Fitzgerald Hill	Gov. St Vincent, Trinidad	1830
Broomhall	Fife	8th Earl of Elgin	Gov. Jamaica, Gov.-Gen. Canada, Viceroy India	1842
Caledon House	Tyrone	2nd Earl of Caledon	Gov. Cape of Good Hope	1806
Castle Coole	Fermanagh	3rd Earl of Belmore	Gov. Jamaica	1828
Castle Coole	Fermanagh	4th Earl of Belmore	Gov. New South Wales	1867
Chatsworth	Derbyshire	9th Duke of Devonshire	Gov.-Gen. Canada	1916
Clandeboyne House	Down	1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava	Gov.-Gen. Canada, Viceroy India	1872
Clandon Park	Surrey	4th Earl of Onslow	Gov. New Zealand	1889
Gormanston Castle	Meath	14th Viscount Gormanston	Gov. Leeward Islands, British Guiana, Tasmania	1885
Hopetoun House	Midlothian	1st Marquess of Linlithgow	Gov. Victoria, Gov.-Gen. Australia	1899
Hopetoun House	Midlothian	2nd Marquess of Linlithgow	Viceroy of India	1936
Kelburn Castle	Ayrshire	7th Earl of Glasgow	Gov. New Zealand	1892
Kilkerran	Ayrshire	Sir James Fergusson	Gov. South Australia, New Zealand, Bombay	1869
Lambton Hall	Durham	1st Earl of Durham	Gov. Lower Canada	1838
Loudon Castle	Ayrshire	2nd Earl of Moira	Gov.-Gen. India	1812

Table 2.A4 (continued)

<i>Estate</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Proconsular position(s)</i>	<i>Date of first posting</i>
Markethill	Armagh	2nd Earl of Gosford	Gov. Lower Canada	1835
Minto House	Roxburghshire	1st Earl of Minto	Gov.-Gen. India	1806
Minto House	Roxburghshire	4th Earl of Minto	Gov.-Gen. Canada, Viceroy India	1898
Mulgrave Castle	Yorkshire	2nd Marquess of Normanby	Gov. Nova Scotia, Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria	1858
Sizergh Castle	Cumberland	Sir Gerald Strickland	Gov. Leeward Islands, Tasmania, Western Australia, New South Wales	1902
Stowe	Buckinghamshire	3rd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos	Gov. Madras	1875
Westport House	Mayo	2nd Marquess of Sligo	Gov. Jamaica	1834
Wycombe Abbey	Lincolnshire	1st Marquess of Lincolnshire	Gov. New South Wales	1885

NOTES

1. Malcolm Kelsall, *Literary Representations of the Irish Country House: Civilisation and Savagery under the Union* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 7.
2. The historiography of the Irish land question is too vast to summarise here. For a recent synthesis that provides a good sense of the current state of the field, see Fergus Campbell and Tony Varley (eds.), *Land Questions in Modern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013). On the country house, estates in general and the land question, see especially Mark Bence-Jones, *Twilight of the Ascendancy* (London: Constable, 1987); idem., *Life in the Irish Country House* (London: Constable, 1996); Terence Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: A Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2001); idem., *'The Land for the People': The Land Question in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2004); idem., 'National Patrimony and Political Perceptions of the Irish Country House in Post-independence Ireland' in *Ireland's Polemical Past: Views of Irish History in Honour of R. V. Comerford*, ed. by Terence Dooley (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2010), 192–212; Terence Dooley and Christopher Ridgway (eds.), *The Irish Country House: Its Past, Present, and Future* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011); and Olwen Purdue, *The Big House in the North of Ireland: Land, Power, and Social Elites, 1878–1960* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2009).
3. 'Wednesday, November 14, 1888', *Brisbane Courier*, 14 November 1888, 1.
4. 'The Appointment of Colonial Governors', *The Queenslander*, 24 November 1888, 1.
5. Patrick Cockburn, *The Broken Boy* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), 83 and 91.
6. Cockburn, *Broken Boy*, 85.
7. Mark Bence-Jones, *Life in an Irish Country House* (London: Constable, 1996), 88.
8. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/gregory-robert-1729-1810> (Last accessed 23 March 2015).
9. Lady Gregory, *Coole* (Dublin: Cuala Press, 1931), 4–5.

10. W. B. Yeats, 'Dramatis Personae', in *The Collected Works of W. B. Yeats III: Autobiographies*, ed. by William H. O'Donnell and Douglas N. Archibald (New York: Scribner, 1999), 292–293.
11. David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1990), 9.
12. Douglas Hamilton writes: 'To a people with education and aspiration, but relatively few domestic opportunities, empire appeared to be a panacea. For their English counterparts, patronage systems created more chances at home and this fostered a greater reluctance among them to take a chance on an imperial career. This should not be overplayed: the Empire was not short of English adventurers; but empire was more important to a greater proportion of Scots'. Douglas Hamilton, 'The Empire in Scotland', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. by T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 434–435.
13. See Peter Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792–1922: Suborned or Subordinate', *Journal of Social History* 17 (1983), 31–64.
14. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belmore Papers, D3007/D/2/11/2. Permission to quote from the Belmore papers in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland graciously granted by the Right Hon. Earl of Belmore and the Deputy Keeper of Records.
15. This was not the family's first venture into the Empire. The 1st Earl's illegitimate son John joined the East India Company's army as a cadet in 1803 and died in Cawnpore two years later.
16. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belmore Papers, D3007/B/1/1.
17. Peter Marson, *Belmore: The Lowry-Corrays of Castle Coole 1646–1913* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2007), 223.
18. John Brewer, 'The Eighteenth-Century British State: Contexts and Issues', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. by Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge, 1999), 68.
19. The information in these appendices is compiled from local and national archives, dozens of works of local history on country houses, the *Victoria County Histories*, Pevsner, the *Dictionary of National Biography* and numerous other sources. I have done my best to provide accurate data, but country-house records can be surprisingly evasive regarding even basic matters such as the year of

construction. I hope that this list will serve as a starting point to advance what is rapidly becoming a very rich scholarly discussion about the relationship between country houses and the British Empire, in Ireland and elsewhere.

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Those the Empire Washed Ashore: Uncovering Ireland's Multiracial Past

Mark Doyle

On the Twelfth of July 2004, I watched two young men standing on Belfast's Lisburn Road during the return march of an Orange parade. One appeared to be South Asian, the other African. They were decked out in the commercial paraphernalia of Ulster loyalism—white scarves and caps with red crosses and red hands, cheap plastic Union Jacks, the flotsam and jetsam of every Twelfth celebration—and they seemed to be having a good time, laughing and cheering as the weary Orangemen wobbled by. I wondered if they were celebrating in earnest or just scoffing good-humouredly at the whole thing. Did they have any idea what this was about? Could they? I had similar thoughts about the bemused South Asian family I saw standing across the street, huddled within arm's length of a policeman. What did they think was happening here? It was quite clear what some of the Orangemen thought of them: I witnessed more than a few expressions of shock, not all of them politely phrased, as the loyal sons of Ulster spotted these unexpected brown faces. Was there room, I wondered, for such diversity in the 'new' Northern Ireland?

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At that time, I believed that scenes of this sort would have been impossible even a few decades earlier. The conventional wisdom in Ireland, among both scholars and the public, is that prior to the Celtic Tiger era of the 1990s, or at any rate prior to the Second World War, everybody living in Ireland, north and south, was white. Many Irish people are dimly aware that other European communities have long existed on the island, and there are a few scholarly studies of these communities, but non-white immigrants are typically considered to be a very recent presence.¹ For most of modern history Ireland has been a place that people fled; why on earth would someone have crossed half the globe to settle there?

In the years since that day on the Lisburn Road I have come to question this notion, and in this chapter I would like to challenge other scholars to do the same. My initial postulate is this: As a central component of the British Empire, with at least three major ports (Dublin, Belfast, and Cork), Ireland in the long nineteenth century should have attracted the same sorts of non-white imperial subjects who washed up in other parts of the British Isles. Seamen, soldiers, servants, travellers, and entertainers came from across the Empire (and beyond) to live and work all over Britain; why should Ireland have been any different? If we look closely at court proceedings, convict lists, newspaper advertisements, and similar sources we should find numerous traces of non-white residents of Ireland during this period, although learning anything concrete about their experiences will be exceedingly difficult.

In what follows I will first suggest some ways historians might go about conducting such research, drawing mostly on work that has been done on African and Asian communities in Britain. Second, I will use the story of George Henry Thompson, a black man arrested for riot in Belfast in 1872, to illustrate some of the promises and difficulties involved in this sort of research. Like that multicultural crowd on the Lisburn Road in 2004, Thompson's story raises fascinating questions not only about how outsiders have understood Ireland's sectarian traditions, but also about how Ireland's sectarian communities have treated the outsiders in their midst. But gaining a new perspective on Irish sectarianism is just one potential benefit of this type of research. In the concluding section of this chapter I will identify other avenues of investigation, which, if pursued with care, have the potential to forge a new kind of Irish history that can redefine what it meant—and means—to be Irish.

HUNTING FOR CLUES

So how can we locate Africans and Asians in imperial Ireland? The first thing is to establish what we do know. In what is still the only systematic study of non-Europeans in eighteenth-century Ireland, W. S. Hart has uncovered a surprisingly robust black presence by examining newspaper advertisements for black servants and slaves, notices of runaway slaves, and other news items. Hart estimates that between 1750 and 1800 some 2,000–3,000 black people lived in Ireland, roughly the same number as lived in France (which had four times Ireland's population); and that Dublin probably had, after London, the largest black population in the British Isles.² If this is true, then it is something that needs to be much more widely explored. Taking a cue from Hart, Philip McEvansoneya has written recently about a black servant depicted in a 1771 painting by Angelica Kauffman of the Anglo-Irish Ely family.³ It is unclear whether this figure represented a real person, but it is clear that many Irish families owned slaves in the West Indies, and some brought them to Ireland to serve their families.⁴ The Earl of Granard had a black servant who was recognised as a freeholder and allowed to vote in the 1783 general election, and a black servant named Mr Cudjoe, who worked for Lord Halifax (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1761–63), became one of Ireland's state trumpeters.⁵ As in Britain, employing black domestic servants, enslaved or free, seems to have been a sign of wealth and status among the Irish elite.⁶ Some of these servants may have left the island at their first opportunity, but it would not be surprising if a few of them stayed.

One eighteenth-century imperial immigrant about whom we do have quite a bit of information is Dean Mahomed, the subject of a recent biography by Michael Fisher.⁷ Mahomed was a Bengali Muslim soldier in the East India Company's army who came to Cork in 1784 as the protégé of Godfrey Evan Baker, an Anglo-Irish officer in India. Baker died shortly after his return to Ireland, but Mahomed stayed on for more than a decade, apparently supported by the family of Baker's wife and the extended Baker clan. He married an Irishwoman named Jane Daly and lived a respectable and apparently comfortable life in Cork city. He certainly had friends in high places: in 1793 he raised subscriptions from the local gentry and other wealthy members of Cork society to publish a memoir of his life, which appeared the following year. In 1807 Mahomed and his wife left Cork for London, where he opened one of England's first Indian restaurants.

As in Britain, most non-white residents of Ireland in the late-1700s probably were either slaves or free domestic servants, although there were undoubtedly sailors and soldiers from Africa and Asia as well.⁸ Because servants were normally attached to wealthy families, a small number of them, like Dean Mahomed, have left documentary traces. Once we enter the nineteenth century, however, the trail begins to grow cold. Every once in a while a prominent non-white resident rises above the surface, but this is quite rare. One prominent figure was William Allen, an African-American Classics professor who was hounded out of New York after marrying one of his white students; he went first to London and then moved to Dublin in 1856. He and his wife had three children in Ireland, and he also wrote an autobiography there before returning to London four years later.⁹ Hardly anything is known about individuals at the other end of the social spectrum from Allen, but there are tantalising clues here and there. In an article examining black people transported from the United Kingdom to Australia in the early-nineteenth century, Ian Duffield mentions seven people of African descent who were tried and convicted in Ireland: one seafarer and two domestic servants in Dublin, three domestic servants in Cork, and one domestic servant in Limerick. Moreover, three black people among Duffield's sample of 201 convicts gave their birthplace as Ireland. These figures come from the 1830s, and of course they represent only those blacks who were convicted of crimes and sent to Australia, but they are suggestive nonetheless.

Indeed, one of the best places to find non-white residents in Ireland may be the criminal records. Unlike census records and parish registers, which did not systematically record a person's race, criminal records (e.g. court records, prison registers, probate records, and newspaper notices) often provide information about race or colour along with occupational and residential details. These sources cannot provide a representative sample of the non-white community in Ireland, but they could give us a sense of the social status and geographic dispersal of immigrants, as well as their gender balance, which, as in Britain, was probably overwhelmingly male.¹⁰ Other sources that have been exploited by British historians include: paintings and photographs; private records of schools, colleges, and churches; and the reports and diaries of domestic missionaries.¹¹ These sources remain largely untapped in Ireland. There is also a small but fascinating British literature on the communities of South Asian seafarers, known as lascars, who lived in considerable numbers in most British ports in the late nineteenth century. By 1901, according to one historian,

lascars comprised some 24 percent of the British merchant service; in that year over 12,000 lascars entered Glasgow alone.¹² Did any of these men make the short journey from Glasgow to Belfast? Perhaps the records of Belfast charitable organisations that catered to seafarers or the employment records of major Irish shipping firms contain some clues.

Another lesson we can learn from our British colleagues is that we should not confine our search to the major cities and towns. Most work on Britain has focused on London, where the largest immigrant communities lived, and there are also important studies of Liverpool, Cardiff, and Glasgow. However, as David Killingray has noted, ‘provisional evidence indicates that black people were to be found all over the country, in small towns and rural villages, from the Shetlands to Cornwall’.¹³ Joseph Salter, a domestic missionary who spent decades evangelising London’s lascars, found Asian communities right across Britain, from western England to Aberdeen, whence they would travel seeking work, alms or simply recreation.¹⁴ There is no reason to suppose Ireland was any different. Indeed, in his article on black servants in the eighteenth century, Hart found that ‘there were few parts of Ireland in which black people were not present: from Malin Head to Kinsale, and from Galway to Dublin’.¹⁵ Most were concentrated in Dublin, but there were also sizable clusters in Belfast, Cork, Kinsale, and Waterford.

So far, I have been speaking of non-white ‘residents’ of Ireland, but there is another category of people about whom we know slightly more. These are the African, Asian and African-American people who visited Ireland for a short time—usually quite prominent people who spoke, performed, or simply acted as tourists in the country. Many black anti-slavery campaigners included Ireland in speaking tours of Britain. Oludah Equiano, the former slave whose autobiography electrified British abolitionists in the late-eighteenth century, spent over eight months in Ireland in 1791 and 1792 and sold 1,900 copies of his book there.¹⁶ Another former slave and abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, spent several enjoyable months in Ireland in 1845 and 1846, visiting such notables as Father Theobald Mathew and Daniel O’Connell and addressing crowds in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Belfast.¹⁷ From the latter city he wrote to William Lloyd Garrison of ‘the entire absence of everything that looked like prejudice against me, on account of the color of my skin’.¹⁸ Other black abolitionists, such as the American former slave and clergyman Samuel Ringgold Ward, had similarly positive things to say about their Irish hosts.¹⁹

Along with abolitionist lectures, minstrel shows also drew large and enthusiastic crowds in Ireland. Douglas Riach has identified some 15 minstrel shows that appeared in Dublin prior to the American Civil War.²⁰ Like minstrel shows everywhere, the Irish variety depicted African Americans simultaneously as figures of fun and objects of pathos. The *Freeman's Journal* review of an 1853 performance by the 'Southern Troupe of Sable Harmonists' was typical. Advising its readers not to miss the show, which was one of the few to feature actual black performers, the writer expressed his delight at the fact that 'a practical company of real niggers with genuine woolly heads and skins of sable that could not be washed white could be imported from the rice and cotton fields of America to exemplify not what the "bondaged darkies were like, but what they really were"'.²¹ Black performers of other sorts also drew large crowds. Ira Aldridge, the African-American Shakespearean actor famous for playing both black and white roles, toured Ireland for six successful years in the 1830s.²²

It is difficult to know how to interpret the enthusiasm such performers generated. As I will demonstrate shortly, the warm welcome that Irish audiences accorded black American performers did not bespeak an absence of racism among the Irish population generally. Indeed, the popular appeal of these performers derived in large part from their exotic difference. The popularity of 'tribal' performances (featuring performers who may or may not have been 'authentic' African tribesmen) and theatrical invocations of the Orient (e.g. Isaac Bickerstaff's play *The Sultan; or, a peep behind the curtains*, which played in Cork at the turn of the nineteenth century) suggests that something more was going on among Irish audiences than mere sympathy for enslaved Africans or oppressed Asian women.²³

There were, finally, plenty of non-Europeans who toured Ireland for their own enjoyment and edification. One early traveller was Mirza Abu Taleb, an Indian poet and scholar who visited Dublin and Cork (where he happened to meet Dean Mahomed) in 1799 in the course of a world tour. He was greatly impressed with the Irish, whom he felt were much more civilised than the English made them out to be. Upon his return to India he wrote a Persian-language memoir that praised the Irish for their 'bravery and determination, hospitality, and prodigality, freedom of speech and open-heartedness', although he did note a deficiency of 'prudence and sound judgment' among them.²⁴ In her study of Indian travellers in Britain, Antoinette Burton notes that some Indian students studying at English universities would take holidays in Ireland, although she says

nothing about their impressions of their time there.²⁵ It does appear likely that, as more and more Indians and Africans travelled to Britain from the 1880s, some of these colonial tourists would have stopped over in Ireland, but what the Irish thought of them and what they thought of the Irish are largely unknown. Mulvagh's recent account of Indian law students resident in Dublin during the Great War and Easter Rising is an important first step toward correcting this lacuna, offering suggestive hints about the cross-pollination of radical nationalist and loyalist ties among this small but articulate South Asian community.²⁶

KING BILLY'S AFRICAN SON

One thing about which the scattered sources agree is that there was a fair amount of racial tolerance in imperial Ireland. 'One cannot but be struck', wrote Hart, 'in reading eighteenth-century Irish newspapers, by the rarity of anything approaching an overt expression of racial prejudice'.²⁷ What is true of one era is not necessarily true of another, however. One question to which Irish historians might direct their attention is how Irish racial attitudes have evolved over time. Did Irish attitudes follow the same trajectory as in England, where, as Douglas Lorimer and others have shown, an earlier, soft-edged ethnocentrism gave way to an aggressive, pseudo-scientific racism from about the 1860s; and, if so, what were the mechanisms of that change?²⁸ The strange story of George Henry Thompson, a black man arrested for riot in Belfast in 1872, provides an opportunity to explore these questions.

The Belfast riots of 1872 were typical of the sectarian riots that plagued that city in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Like many others, they were sparked by a parading dispute: The Party Processions Acts, which banned sectarian marches, had just been repealed, and, although the Orangemen's marches had passed off peacefully in July, a nationalist (and mostly Catholic) parade in August was not so fortunate. Skirmishes between working-class Protestants and Catholics on 15 August, the day of the procession, evolved over the next few days into full-blown battles between rival factions. It had been eight years since the last major riot in Belfast, and in that time new neighbourhoods had developed along the Falls and Shankill roads, which were not yet fully segregated by religion. Catholics tended to live along the Falls, and Protestants tended to live along the Shankill, but these areas were far from homogenous, and many people from different faiths still lived and worked alongside each other.

One of the objectives of extremists during the riots, then, was to force outsiders in their midst to flee to their 'own' neighbourhoods. Sometimes this entailed a note slid under the door or a whispered warning from a neighbour, but sometimes it involved what in Belfast was known as a 'wrecking': a home invasion by an armed gang who would break furniture, tear clothing, and threaten (and sometimes harm) the inhabitants.

It was during one such episode that George Henry Thompson was arrested. On 18 August, at the height of the riots, Thompson was part of a Protestant crowd engaged in threatening and wrecking Catholic homes along Crimea Street, off the Shankill Road. He was arrested in September and tried at the Belfast Police Court, where it was determined that he should be held over for trial at the spring Assizes. One of the key witnesses against him was Margaret Donegan (or Donaghy), who alleged that he had broken into her house at the head of a mob. She told the court that she was unsure that the man who invaded her home was Thompson, but the man in the dock certainly looked like him. To be sure that they had the right man, the presiding magistrate asked if the man who invaded her home was 'a sweep or a man of colour'. Donegan said that he may have been a sweep, 'but I am almost sure it was a black man'.²⁹

At Thompson's Assize trial the following March, Constable Andrew Doherty said that he saw Thompson shouting and cheering while waving a stick above his head. He also saw him enter several houses along the street, and shortly thereafter the inhabitants fled. Sub-Constable Gilbert Hasley corroborated Doherty's story, adding that he saw Thompson sitting atop the shoulders of another man and shouting 'Come on ye sons of William' to a crowd of about 2,000 rowdies armed with bludgeons. Detective Joshua Crosswell saw Thompson in a stone-throwing mob that was chasing a man down Townsend Street, some distance away from Crimea Street. When the man fled into a house, Thompson tried to kick down the door; when Crosswell tried to stop him, Thompson hit the detective on the shoulder, incurring a charge of assault upon a police officer in addition to the charges of riot, unlawful assembly, and common assault, for which he was also booked.³⁰

A bystander named William Henry provided a slightly different picture. He said that he saw Thompson in a mob, 'but he appeared to be led on by the mob, who were making fun of him. Other members of the mob seemed to be more violent than he was'. To Henry, it seemed as if the mob was making 'a cat's-paw of him, and were urging him on. They called him "Sambo" and "Snowball", and applied other bantering epithets'.³¹ If this

is true, it gives the story a different flavour: Instead of (or in addition to) being a mob leader, Thompson may have been an object of ridicule for the white Protestants in the crowd.

Unfortunately, no available source gives Thompson's side of the story. He spoke only twice at his Assizes trial. The first time was when the Deputy Clerk of the Crown asked if he was ready for his trial. Thompson replied, 'I don't mind at all. Is the trial ready for me?' This spirited response drew laughter in the courtroom, and it hints at a defiant personality, which is consistent with the testimony against him (he pleaded not guilty). His second utterance was more pathetic: Asked by the clerk if he had any witnesses to call after the Crown witnesses had testified, Thompson said, 'I have, but they are not here'.³² The jury found him guilty, and in early April he was sentenced to two years' hard labour, the most severe sentence available for the offences of which he had been convicted.³³

I have found only one Belfast newspaper that offered any substantial commentary on Thompson's case. The *Daily Examiner*, which became the *Ulster Examiner and Northern Star* in 1873, was the organ of the Catholic Church in Belfast. It had spent the week of the riots raging against the 'Orange rabble' and excusing Catholic violence as acts of self-defence, and it had little sympathy for the likes of Thompson. In two editorial leaders, one published after his Police Court trial and the other following his appearance at the Assizes, the *Examiner* mercilessly ridiculed Thompson both for his supposed sympathy with the Protestant mob and for the colour of his skin. The first leader, whose headline referred to Thompson as an Ethiopian (a generic term for any African), made free and inventive use of existing discourses about Africa to attack Thompson:

How this waif from 'Afric's sunny fountains' got himself promoted to the important post of Commander-in-Chief of a mob of the 'Sons of William' ... or how he picked up the phraseology in which he fired the flagging zeal of his tatterdemalion following it is difficult to guess. Yet there he was, black and glossy, like another Othello, braving dangers and encountering perils from paving stones and brick-bats to gain by their recital, on a future occasion, the warm affections of some Desdemona.

Readers would easily have grasped the Othello references, and they would probably also have recognised 'Afric's sunny fountains' from a popular missionary hymn of the time, which urged Christians to deliver 'the heathen' and other lost souls 'from error's chain'.³⁴ After twice mocking

Thompson as a ‘political nigger’, the writer then deftly twisted the old slogan of the anti-slavery campaign (‘Am I not a man and a brother?’) in a way that simultaneously ridiculed both Thompson and the brethren of the Orange Order:

It is, doubtless, all very good to suggest to one the truism that Mr. George Henry Thompson is a ‘man and a brudder’, but the increase of such ‘brud-dern’ is not desirable at the present moment, if the gentlemen can find no more befitting or profitable employment than leading on mobs even more degraded than themselves.

The author then struck an anthropological pose, before returning to the missionary hymn:

Black men are interesting subjects of study when they appear as keepers of elephants, or as lion-tamers, in menageries, or even as cooks on board American liners; but this interest suffers considerable abatement when we are called upon to regard them as leaders in party politics. What the complexion of the mob must have been that followed on the war trail of this amiable specimen of the race that ‘calls us to deliver their land from error’s chain’, it was easy to infer from that of their exalted leader, as he stood in the dock like a representation of Innocence modeled in black sugar.

The writer continued in this vein for some time, deriding Thompson as a ‘child of nature’, a ‘black potentate’ leading a mob of ‘white coolies’ and a ‘blackamoor’, before finally suggesting that he left a devilish whiff of sulphur in his wake.³⁵

The second leader, published at the time of Thompson’s Assizes trial, adopted a similar tone and was probably written by the same person. It recommended that Thompson enrol as a ‘Sir Knight of the Black Perceptory’, alluding to the Protestant loyalist organisation of that name, and then, somewhat incongruously, compared him to the Modoc people, a Native American group then fighting settlers in Oregon and California:

George Henry did not put on his paint and feathers, and go out upon the war trail without meaning business. Captain Jack, with his handful of Modoc warriors in their stronghold of the Lava Beds, is not more in earnest in the blood-letting line than was the Ethiopian Orangeman with his two thousand faithful followers in the lanes and alleys abutting on the Shankill Road.

The writer spent several lines gloating that the ‘two thousand braves’ who had held Thompson up as an idol during the riots had now abandoned him, and he ended by affecting pity for the poor ‘Ethiopian Orangeman’ who had mightily tried to smite Popery in defence of the Constitution. ‘Happy Constitution! happy civil and religious liberty! that in the hour of trial can always reckon upon the strong arms and willing hearts of fighting niggers like George Henry Thompson’.³⁶

In Dublin, the nationalist newspaper *The Nation* picked up these reports and joined in the fun. On learning that this ‘Ethiopian’ had been leading a crowd of Protestants with cries of ‘Come on, Sons of William’, it asked facetiously, ‘Was William III a negro?’ and averred that ‘If the sons of William are “gentlemen of colour” in the sixth generation, the parent hero must have been a deep black indeed’.³⁷ In July 1873, nearly a year after the riots, *The Nation* imagined Thompson entertaining the Orangemen during their annual marches with a song set to the tune of ‘Camptown Races’, a popular minstrel tune. It went, in part:

De sons ob William sing dis song –
 Doo-dah! doo-dah!
 De sons ob William might strong,
 Doo-dah, doo-dah, dah!
 We’s gwine to booze all night,
 We’s gwine to booze all day,
 We must uphold our ancient right
 An’ dat’s just what I say.

King William was a fine ole boss,
 Doo-dah! doo-dah!
 We lubs himself, and lubs his hoss –
 Doo-dah, doo-dah, dah!
 We’ll toast dem bof all night,
 We’ll tost dem bof all day,
 Till William’s sons hab all got tight,
 For dat’s our good ole way!³⁸

Thompson, of course, would have been in prison at this time, and so quite unable to entertain the marching Orangemen in the manner suggested.

Who was George Henry Thompson, really? Did he live in Belfast? What brought him to Crimea Street on 18 August 1872, and did he really seek

to defend the legacy of King William III? Who were the people following him, mocking him, or egging him on? Sadly, it seems, no evidence survives that can answer these questions. The relevant court records, from the Belfast Police Court and the Antrim Assizes, are lost, as are the prison records. These might have provided details about Thompson's places of birth and residence, his occupation, and other interesting details. Belfast street directories contain listings for several George Thompsons, but there is nothing to suggest which one, if any, was the man in question. The only local newspaper to have taken much interest in Thompson's case, the *Examiner*, did provide transcripts of his two trials but said nothing about his background. We might infer, based on his indubitably English name, that he came from the West Indies or North America rather than Africa itself, but it is possible that his was an Anglicised name adopted upon leaving Africa or, indeed, that he was baptised George Henry in one of the British coastal colonies of West Africa. It is also possible that he was born in Ireland, like the three black convicts whom Duffield discovered in Australia, or indeed that he came over from Britain. He might have come to Belfast as a sailor or a soldier, or he might have worked as a domestic servant for a wealthy Belfast family. He might have been a petty artisan, as blacks in Britain sometimes were, or he might have been a factory worker. He might have drifted over from Glasgow or one of the other shipping centres along the Clyde, or he might have come from Dublin or Liverpool looking for work. We simply cannot know.

These are the challenges of searching for ordinary (which is to say, not famous or prominent) racial minorities in nineteenth-century Ireland. So many of the official sources that we might use for a systematic search have been lost (many in the Four Courts fire of 1922), and the remaining evidence is so scattered and impressionistic, that our methods must necessarily be somewhat haphazard. It was in the course of researching the 1872 Belfast riots for another project that I stumbled upon Thompson, although I later recalled that Andrew Boyd had mentioned him in his book about Belfast riots as well.³⁹ In a similar manner, I also happened upon an even more mysterious trace while researching the Belfast riots of 1864. At a trial of some rioters, a policeman reported seeing a 'dark-complexioned man' drop to his knees to fire upon a group of Catholic workers. 'I recollect going up beside the black fellow', the policeman said, 'and saying he was a murdering rascal, and bidding him get up off his knees'.⁴⁰ Was this 'black fellow' George Henry Thompson? Once again, we will probably never know.

Even if these scraps of evidence do not tell us much about a specific individual, however, they do tell us several important things about nineteenth-century Belfast, and about Ireland generally. They remind us that there *were* racial minorities in Victorian Ireland, and that they, like everybody else, occasionally got swept up in the larger historical forces that buffeted the island. The attitudes of the *Examiner* and the *Nation* toward Thompson tell us that racism was certainly not absent from Ireland, despite what other sources might suggest, and they also tell us how the language of abolitionists and missionaries could be repurposed for less exalted ends, as indeed could the songs of the minstrel shows. At the same time, the testimony of William Henry at Thompson's Assizes trial, if accurate, tells us that racist taunting was not simply the sport of nationalist newspaper editors; the working-class Protestants who made a 'cat's-paw' of Thompson, calling him 'Sambo' and 'Snowball', also knew that game. Does all this suggest a shift in Irish racial attitudes after the 1840s, when Frederick Douglass was so impressed with Irish colour blindness, and from the 1790s, when Dean Mahomed and his Irish wife were accepted by the cream of Cork society? I suspect the reality is more complex. The year after the 1872 Belfast riots, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, an African-American choral group from Tennessee, drew friendly and enthusiastic crowds to their performances in Belfast and Londonderry, a reception not unlike that accorded black visitors in earlier decades.⁴¹ Perhaps Thompson attracted such venom because he had violated an invisible rule of non-white behaviour in Ireland. As long as Africans and Asians came to Ireland as visitors, confining themselves to music halls and the lecture circuit, or at most attaching themselves to elite society as exotic but non-threatening foreigners, they seem to have been accepted. But should they step outside those boundaries—should they, as Thompson did, move from the margins to the centre of (particularly plebeian) Irish society—they could have a much harder time of it. Such, anyway, is one way to make sense of Thompson's story.

TOWARD A 'BLACK' HISTORY OF IRELAND

In the introduction to her book on blacks in eighteenth-century London, Gretchen Gerzina described walking into a London bookshop and asking for a paperback copy of Peter Fryer's *Staying Power*, one of the seminal books on the history of blacks in Britain. The saleswoman gave her

a stern look and said, ‘Madam there *were* no black people in England before 1945’.⁴² It is not hard to imagine a similar scene in Ireland today, except that there is no book on the subject—no Irish equivalent to *Staying Power*—about which to enquire. Despite the difficulties and inevitable shortcomings of this sort of research, I have tried to suggest here some of the entry points that scholars of Ireland might take to uncover the island’s multiracial past. Parish registers, census-takers’ diaries, Poor Law records, and court and prison records are imperfect and, in Ireland, scarce resources, but they are probably the best places to begin a systematic search for non-white residents of the country. The records of organisations tied to maritime commerce—trade unions, shipping companies, seamen’s missions, etc.—also offer promising avenues of research. Local newspapers are the best sources of anecdotal information about the experiences of racial minorities and their reception by Irish society; to leaf through hundreds of newspaper pages looking for stray references to Asians or Africans is undoubtedly a tedious, labour-intensive activity, but it could also be immensely rewarding. Moreover, searches of this sort are now immeasurably easier since the advent of digitised, keyword-searchable collections of newspapers and other documents.⁴³ On the other hand, perhaps it is not so much a matter of setting out deliberately to find non-white people in the sources as of being on the alert for them while we pursue other sorts of research; this, after all, is how I found George Henry Thompson.

There are many questions that we might ask as we begin trying to uncover these hidden histories. Did Irish racial attitudes differ substantially from British attitudes? What were the sexual dimensions of African and Asian immigration to Ireland? British sources often speak of the attraction of white women to non-white visitors: Was this discourse also evident in Ireland? How did Irish participation in the expansion of the British Empire help shape racial attitudes toward the Africans and Asians in their midst? How might Irish traditions of nationalism and Anglophobia have inflected these attitudes? Was there a connection between Irish attitudes toward blacks within Ireland and their frequently antagonistic relationships with blacks in North America? All of these are important questions, and several scholars have begun probing at their edges, but much more needs to be done.⁴⁴

This is no trivial subject: the study of racial minorities in Irish history has the power to fundamentally alter our understanding of the nation’s past. Gerzina eloquently explained how her study of black life in eighteenth-century London led her to see that city through new eyes:

... once the lens through which we view the eighteenth century is refocused, the London of Johnson, Reynolds, Hogarth and Pope—that elegant, feisty, intellectual and earthy place of neo-classicism and city chaos—becomes occupied by a parallel world of Africans and their descendants working and living alongside the English. They answer their doors, run their errands, carry their purchases, wear their livery, appear in their lawcourts, play their music, drink in their taverns, write in their newspapers, appear in their novels, poems and plays, sit for their portraits, appear in their caricatures and marry their servants. They also have private lives and baptize their own children, attend schools, bury their dead. They are everywhere in the pictures we have all seen and the pages we have turned. They were as familiar a sight to Shakespeare as they were to Garrick, and almost as familiar to both as they are to Londoners today.⁴⁵

It is time for a similar expansion of the historical imagination in the Ireland of Tone, O’Connell, Yeats, and Pearse. Ireland has long needed a more inclusive national narrative; recognising the island’s historic cosmopolitanism can be an important step toward reshaping that narrative and, indeed, toward redefining what it means to be Irish. After all, if Africans and Asians have been living in Ireland for centuries, then it hardly makes sense to see their latter-day descendants as outsiders whose experiences and perspectives are somehow less authentic than those of the ‘real’ Irish. Their stories are there for the finding; we just need to muster the imagination and resourcefulness to undertake the search.

NOTES

1. Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: a socioeconomic history* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006); Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland: a social history of Jews in modern Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2003); Aoife Bhreatnach, *Becoming Conspicuous: Irish travellers, society and the state* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006); Paul Hainsworth, ed., *Divided Society: ethnic minorities and racism in Northern Ireland* (London: Pluto Press, 1998); Bryan Fanning, *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002); Robbie McVeigh, ‘The Specificity of Irish Racism’, *Race & Class* 33, 4 (April 1992), 31–45.
2. W. A. Hart, ‘Africans in Eighteenth-Century Ireland’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 33 (May 2002), 19–32, 21–22.

3. Philip McEvansoneya, 'The black figure in Angelica Kauffman's earl of Ely family group portrait', *History Ireland* (March/April, 2012), 26–28.
4. On Ireland's heavy involvement with Atlantic slavery, and anti-slavery, see Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612–1865* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); and Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630–1730* (London and Buffalo: McGill-Queen's UP, 1997).
5. Hart, 26; 'Ireland', in *Oxford Companion to Black British History*, ed. by David Dabydeen, John Gilmore, and Cecily Jones (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 228.
6. Hart, 24. Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 72–3.
7. Michael H Fisher, *The First Indian Author in English: Dean Mahomed (1759–1851) in India, Ireland, and England*. (New Delhi: Oxford UP, 1996). A few scattered references to Indians in eighteenth-century Ireland can also be found in newspaper clippings quoted in Narinder Singh Kapur, *The Irish Raj: illustrated stories about Irish in India and Indians in Ireland* (Antrim: Greystone Press, 1997), 50.
8. Hart, 21–4. All of the regimental drummers for the Irish 29th Regiment, for instance, were black.
9. R. J. M. Blackett, 'William G. Allen: The Forgotten Professor', *Civil War History* 26 (March, 1980): 39–52.
10. Historians of the black population in Britain have used such records to good effect. See especially Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780–1830* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), viii.
11. Hart, 23. David Killingray, 'Tracing Peoples of African Origin and Descent in Victorian Kent', in *Black Victorians / Black Victoriana*, ed. by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2003), 51–67; Ruth H. Lindeborg, 'The "Asiatic" and the Boundaries of Victorian Englishness', *Victorian Studies* 37 (Spring 1994): 381–404; Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press, 2002); Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880–1930* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
12. R. G. W. Prescott, 'Lascar seamen on the Clyde', in *Scotland and the Sea*, ed. by T. C. Smout (Edinburgh: Rowman and Littlefield,

- 1992), 199–212, quoted at 200–201. See also Rozina Visram, *Ayabs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700–1947* (London: Pluto Press, 1986); and Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600–1857* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 381–430.
13. Killingray, 51. See also Folarin Shyllon, ‘The Black Presence and Experience in Britain: an analytical overview’, in *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain: from Roman Times to the mid-Twentieth century*, ed. by Jagdish S. Gundara and Ian Duffield (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), 202–224, quoted at 206.
 14. Joseph Salter, *The Asiatic in England: Sketches of Sixteen Years’ Work Among Orientals* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1873), 218–239.
 15. Hart, 21.
 16. Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life before Emancipation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1995), 191.
 17. Rodgers, *Ireland*, 279–289.
 18. Quoted in J. F. Maclear, ‘Thomas Smyth, Frederick Douglass, and the Belfast Antislavery Campaign’, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 80 (Oct. 1979): 286–297, quoted at 288. See also Lee Jenkins, ‘Beyond the Pale: Frederick Douglass in Cork’, *Irish Review* 24 (Autumn, 1999): 80–95; and Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012), 92–106.
 19. Nelson, 87–92; Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: his anti-slavery efforts in the United States, Canada, and England* (London: John Snow, 1855), 360–384. The African-American abolitionist William Wells Brown visited Dublin in 1849 in the course of a five-year tour of the British Isles. The only time he mentioned being treated differently because of his colour was during Queen Victoria’s visit to Dublin, when, ‘[m]y own colour differing from those about me, I ... would find myself eyed by all around’. Quoted in Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English attitudes to the Negro in the mid-nineteenth century* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1978), 50. This might suggest that the people of Dublin were wholly unfamiliar with such a sight, but, as Antoinette Burton has shown, Indian visitors to London in the 1880s and 1890s drew similar kinds of attention, even though

- non-Europeans were a common sight in that city. See Antoinette Burton, 'Making a Spectacle of Empire: Indian Travellers in Fin-de-Siècle London', *History Workshop Journal* (Autumn, 1996), 126–146, quote at 130–131.
20. Douglas Riach, 'Blacks and Blackface on the Irish Stage, 1830–60', *Journal of American Studies* 7 (December 1973), 231–234, quote at 231.
 21. Quoted in Riach, 234.
 22. Bernth Lindfors, *Ira Aldridge: The Vagabond Years, 1833–1852* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011).
 23. Riach, 237; Fisher, *First Indian Author*, 212.
 24. Mirza Abu Talib, *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe, during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*. Trans. Charles Stewart, ed. Daniel O'Quinn (Buffalo, NY: Broadview Editions, 2009 [1810]), 111.
 25. Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the colonial encounter in late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 49–50.
 26. Conor Mulvagh, *Irish Days, Indian Memories: V.V. Giri and Indian Law Students at University College Dublin, 1913–1916* (Sallins, Co. Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2016). Although Giri's connections to radical nationalists form the main thrust of the book, Mulvagh notes scattered references to Indian students performing ambulance work during the Easter Rising (79–80).
 27. Hart, 27.
 28. Lorimer, *op. cit.* For a more recent version of this argument, see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: metropole and colony in the English imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
 29. *Daily Examiner*, 13 September 1872; *Belfast Newsletter*, 13 September 1872.
 30. Report of Antrim Assizes, *Ulster Examiner and Northern Star*, 24 March 1873.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. Report of Antrim Assizes, *Ulster Examiner and Northern Star*, 5 April 1873. The judge said that if there had been any firm evidence that he had forced people from their home, he would have sentenced him to a longer period of penal servitude

34. 'From Greenland's icy mountains,/From India's coral strand,/Where Afric's sunny fountains/Roll down their golden sand,/From many an ancient river,/From many a palmy plain,/They call us to deliver/Their land from error's chain'.
35. *Daily Examiner*, 13 September 1872.
36. *Ulster Examiner and Northern Star*, 24 March 1873.
37. *The Nation*, 21 September 1872.
38. *The Nation*, 20 July 1873.
39. Andrew Boyd, *Holy War in Belfast* (Kerry: Anvil Books, 1969), 96–97.
40. Report of Antrim Assizes, *Banner of Ulster*, 25 March 1865.
41. Riach, 240–241.
42. Gerzina, *Black London*, 3.
43. The most complete collections at the time of writing are the British Newspaper Archive, www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/, and the Irish Newspaper Archives, www.irishnewsarchive.com/.
44. Nelson, *op cit.*, is one recent (and quite impressive) study of the evolution of Irish racial attitudes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, adopting a transatlantic and imperial perspective to understand the construction of the idea of an 'Irish race'. Nelson's focus, however, is principally upon Irish nationalists (and their black nationalist admirers); apart from his discussion of black abolitionists who toured Ireland, he has little to say about racial minorities within Ireland.
45. Gerzina, *Black London*, 2.

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Irish Rebel, Imperial Reformer: Charles Gavan Duffy and Australian Federation

Sean Farrell

Speaking at a June 1871 election meeting in Kyneton, a small town 50 miles northwest of Melbourne, Charles Gavan Duffy made it clear that his support for the federation of the Australian colonies was rooted in his optimism for the continent's future: 'We are lifting an Australian flag, we are promising an Australian policy, we are founding an Australian polity ...'.¹ Earlier that year, Duffy had been asked to lead a coalition government in Victoria, and his speech was designed to introduce the new administration's major policy initiatives. Even his opponents conceded that Duffy's arguments for Australian federation were persuasive, focusing their critique on the populist radicalism of his land policy, and his hyperbolic speaking style.² One of the most famous Irishmen of the era, Duffy had been a prominent politician in the colony since his arrival in Melbourne in 1856, building a reputation as an advocate for land reform, colonial self-government, and Catholic education. The coalition government itself was short-lived, falling in 1872 amidst a clamor of internal dissension and sectarian bitterness. Australian federation would have to wait until 1890, when Duffy's old friend Sir Henry Parkes initiated an

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effort to unite the continent's colonies, launching a decade-long struggle that would finally produce a federal constitution for Australia in 1900. It was Parkes, not Duffy, who would be known as the Father of Australian Federation, a fact that the ambitious Irishman noted with some bitterness in his correspondence with the cagey veteran politician from New South Wales.³

In recent years, imperial historians have downplayed the importance of the longer history of Australian federation. Both the *Oxford History of the British Empire* and its specialized companion volume *Australia's Empire* fail to mention Duffy's support for the idea.⁴ Even historians of the Irish in Australia tend to marginalize Duffy's efforts to achieve Australian federation, focusing their attention on his work on Victorian land reform.⁵ Irish historians also have been reticent to examine the famous Young Ireland leader's Australian career, a fact that reflects a broader difficulty in coming to terms with what Steven Knowlton has termed the 'enigma of Charles Gavan Duffy', whose attractive commitment to non-sectarian Irish nationalism and liberal democratic politics typically is contrasted with his careerism and almost relentless self-fashioning.⁶ Given the recent focus on Irish nationalism and the British Empire,⁷ however, it seems surprising that more attention has not been paid to Duffy's efforts to reform the Empire in Australia.

Chronology is part of the explanation, since the vast majority of the works on Ireland and the British Empire have focused on the tumultuous period from 1880 to 1920. Scholars have illustrated how anti-imperialism became a critical component of Irish nationalist ideology between 1840 and 1875 through the medium of Young Ireland and the experience and legacies of the Irish Famine. In a particularly important article, Matthew Kelly stresses the breadth and complexity of this process, showing how Irish nationalists made a critical distinction between legitimate nations brought under imperial governance and colonized territories. Kelly's work also underlines how nationalist attitudes opposing imperialism were shaped by archipelago-wide critiques.⁸ Given Charles Gavan Duffy's partnership with Thomas Davis, his friendship with Thomas Carlyle, and admiration for Richard Cobden, this longer and more cosmopolitan view of Irish anti-imperialism seems particularly germane as we consider the nature of Duffy's ideas about imperialism, nationalism, and the British Empire.

Joe Cleary has argued that, given the divergent and context-determined nature of Irish responses to the British Empire, the major challenge facing historians is to '... reconstruct how particular Irish figures or political

movements negotiated issues of national identity, race, and empire, and how their thought contributed to the subsequent evolution of Irish nationalist or unionist thinking'.⁹ The emphasis on context seems particularly important here, since Duffy consistently drew a sharp contrast between an Irish nation held down by the restraints placed on its nationality and the promise of a new Australian nation he was working to bring into being within the Victorian Empire. But Duffy's career in the Antipodes is not simply illustrative of the complexity of mid- to late-nineteenth-century Irish nationalism. Duffy's efforts to reform the Empire to allow for Australian and Irish national expression also highlight the often neglected contributions that Irish perspectives brought to imperial development. While others were responsible for securing federal union for Australia in the 1890s, Duffy's commitment to federation played a critical role in keeping the issue firmly in public view throughout the 1860s and early 1870s, an imperial discourse very much shaped by views of the Irish past and present. Critically examining Duffy's support for Australian federation, this chapter shows how he reconciled a potent anti-imperialist inheritance with a life and career lived within the British Empire. In short, it argues that an examination of Charles Gavan Duffy's political career illustrates how he opposed British imperialism, an issue raised in his assertion of a colony's right to remain neutral in times of imperial war, while supporting a reformed liberal British Empire to allow a new Australian nation to realize its great potential.

Charles Gavan Duffy was born in Monaghan in 1816, one of six children born to John and Ann Duffy. Duffy's father was a prosperous shopkeeper, part of a Catholic middle class that provided leadership, resources, and support for Daniel O'Connell's crusade for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s. By his own account, Duffy's time in the contested borderlands of southern Ulster had a formative impact on the talented young man.¹⁰ Duffy made his name in journalism, first as editor of the *Belfast Vindicator*, and then more famously, as the founder, with John Blake Dillon and Thomas Davis, of *The Nation*, the voice of Young Ireland in the 1840s. Writing for and managing *The Nation* allowed Duffy to develop and articulate his nationalist political beliefs, ideas that combined an emotive commitment to an Irish cultural nationalism designed to bridge the sectarian divide with two of Victorian Britain and Ireland's dominant political languages: liberalism and romanticism. The story of Duffy's role with Young Ireland is well known to anyone familiar with nineteenth-century Irish history, not least through his own prolific publications.¹¹ Arrested with several other

major Young Ireland leaders, Duffy was in jail during the 1848 Rising, emerging as one of the more prominent Irish nationalist political figures left standing in the immediate aftermath of the Famine. Capitalizing on this status, Duffy revived *The Nation* and attempted to create a new political party based on a commitment to substantial land reform and the maintenance of political independence from the major British political parties. Duffy's initiative was undermined by his inability to create effective party discipline and by Archbishop Paul Cullen's withdrawal of support from the Irish Independent Party.¹² Frustrated by his failure, Duffy decided to emigrate to Australia, and after saying goodbye to a wide circle of friends and associates that included Thomas Carlyle and William Smith O'Brien, he set sail aboard *The Ocean Chief* in December 1855. Warmly welcomed in both Melbourne and Sydney, Duffy decided to settle in Melbourne, a decision at least partially motivated by his legal and political prospects in the rapidly growing colony of Victoria.¹³

The discovery of the Victorian goldfields and the resultant acceleration of white settlement transformed the continent's imperial and racial geography. This was particularly true in the newly created colony of Victoria, where the non-Aboriginal population surged from 77,000 in 1851 to 540,000 just a decade later. Responding to demographic growth, the political demands of the settler population, and the realities of geographic distance in the mid-Victorian world, the British government reformed Australian colonial governance in the mid-1850s, creating responsible legislative assemblies with significant political authority in each of the colonies. Australian constitutional reforms reflected broader trends in mid-nineteenth-century imperial governance, as British officials allowed colonial politicians substantial control over the administration of white settlement colonies.¹⁴

Victoria's new Legislative Assembly opened in 1855, just as the ambitious Irish nationalist politician arrived in Melbourne. Already famous and armed with invaluable political experience, Charles Gavan Duffy was well placed to succeed in this new political environment, particularly with the solid support of Victoria's rapidly growing Irish emigrant population.¹⁵ Recognizing his opportunity, he quickly chose a political career, writing to Smith O'Brien that 'the new parliament will give me work that is fine to do, help with growth and progress, and make a home, whatever the drawbacks here'¹⁶ Duffy's liberalism was perfectly suited to what John Gascoigne has called the dominant language of early-mid-nineteenth-century European Australian politics: a belief in the possibilities of progress

through the practice of improvement.¹⁷ As Duffy put it in an early letter to G. H. Moore: 'We are making a newer and better America. All is growth and progress and a sense of life that imparts itself to all who are handling public affairs'.¹⁸ This confidence in Australian opportunities was more than political optimism, for there was quite a bit of truth to Duffy's claim that mid-Victorian Australia was a laboratory for experimentation in a more responsive democratic politics.¹⁹ If Duffy was less effusive in his correspondence with Thomas Carlyle, he remained committed to liberal democratic politics throughout his Australian life, a fact admitted by critics like Alfred Deakin, who, while decrying Duffy as brilliant but insincere, described him as a '... liberal by instinct and on reflection ...', someone who '... remained true to his colours to the last'.²⁰

Duffy was equally clear about his commitment to Ireland, declaring that he remained an Irish rebel at heart, a remark that opponents wielded against him for the rest of his political life.²¹ For all the rhetoric, however, Duffy's early career in Melbourne seemed to provide tangible evidence that an Irish nationalist could succeed in Australia where he had failed in Ireland. He never had any difficulty getting elected, and his ambition and talents meant that he played a major role in most of the reforming governments in Victoria from 1857–80. Entering the Assembly in late 1856, Duffy made an immediate impact, helping to pass legislation that abolished the property qualification for the franchise (1857), and championing Australian federation and land reform. Given Duffy's experience as an advocate for Irish tenant rights and the importance he placed on this reputation, it should be no surprise that the land question was central to his early political success.

The question of agrarian reform was one of the most powerful political issues in mid-nineteenth-century Australia. Emigrants may have come to the Victorian goldfields to find their fortunes, but ultimately most diggers wanted to purchase land. By 1855, there was a popular consensus in both New South Wales and Victoria that imperial law needed to be amended to allow for greater access to the land, but there was little agreement on how this was to be achieved. Shortly after his arrival, Duffy vociferously opposed an 1857 initiative supported by William Haines, the first Premier of Victoria, a bill, he argued, that favored large-scale pastoral interests over smallholder farmers, the very class that was the key to the social stability of any future Australian nation. Duffy's idealized vision of rural society played well on the anti-landlord sentiments of emigrants from Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, and his opposition

to government legislation only aided his reputation as a leading advocate for opening up land for the people. Ironically, Duffy's own efforts at land reform illustrated the difficulties of crafting legislation that balanced competing agrarian interests. While the Duffy Act of 1862 was designed to better regulate Victorian land purchase to allow a 'temperate and industrious man' to make a home, it proved to be a failure in practice, as large-scale pastoral interests continued to dominate the region's agrarian economy.²² There is little evidence, however, that this had a significant impact on his electoral appeal, and it seems clear that Duffy's popularity stemmed from his reputation as a radical land reformer with a real commitment to Irish success in Victoria.²³

Charles Gavan Duffy's support for Australian federation was a different matter altogether, for federation was a relatively new idea with little public support when Duffy arrived in Victoria in the late 1850s. In fact, the first significant movement emanated from London in the late 1840s, when colonial reformers pushed for increased colonial self-government as part of their assault on the corruption and inefficiency of aristocratic government. The first serious proposals for Australian federation were compromise efforts advanced by Henry Grey, the 3rd Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary for Lord John Russell's Whig Government. An ambitious and talented administrator, Grey's colonial reforms attempted to balance a commitment to increased colonial self-government with a desire to retain British imperial control and responsibility through the power of patronage.²⁴ Grey believed that the creation of a federal political structure was the only way that the continent's colonies would ever move beyond destabilizing local jealousies and rivalries. The Colonial Secretary's plans, however, generated something of a firestorm in Australia, particularly his ideas about the federal control of land, a sensitive issue for a rapidly growing white settler population. While Grey was able to pass the Australian Colonies Government Act in 1850, giving the colonies the ability to create legislative assemblies, his efforts to create a federal Australia fell apart before Russell's Government resigned in 1852. In the aftermath of Grey's fall, a few Australian politicians continued to work on less ambitious schemes that stressed the technical removal of some of the practical problems that led to and stemmed from colonial rivalries.²⁵

What Duffy added to this largely utilitarian debate was his Irish nationalism, for his commitment to federation was rooted in his belief in the promise of the Australian nation, drawn in sharp contrast to an Irish

nation held back by centuries of English misrule. Responding to what would become a familiar charge, Duffy argued in an April 1857 parliamentary speech that he was still an Irish rebel because there 'laws are trampled under foot ...'. With 'fair play for all in Australia', nationality need not be a divisive issue, as it was in his native land.²⁶ This theme of Australia as a place where sectarian difference could be replaced by a loftier commitment to the new nation was something that Duffy expressed throughout the remainder of his southern life. Returning to Monaghan in the fall of 1865, for example, he talked about the Belfast riots of 1864, arguing that Australia was a place where Protestants and Catholics were learning to live together. If this faith was tempered by repeated crises over Catholic education in the late 1860s and 1870s, Duffy remained largely optimistic about the possibilities of a new Australian nation throughout his life.²⁷

Duffy's efforts to obtain Australian federation were rooted in this belief in national possibilities and as such tested the limits of imperial accommodation. With characteristic ambition, he began this drive almost immediately on arrival, securing a Select Committee on the Federation of the Colonies in the fall of 1857. While the effort involved an impressive array of Victorian politicians, Duffy chaired the committee and wrote the vast majority of the report himself. Not surprisingly, his arguments in support of federation were rooted in the notion that a united Australian nation was both inevitable and welcome, a step that could help the colonies transcend their petty differences and rivalries to unleash the continent's progress and promise. This sentiment was made clear in the report's most famous passage:

Neighbouring states of the second order inevitably become confederates or enemies. By becoming confederates so early in their career, the Australian colonies would, we believe, immensely economise their strength and resources. They would substitute a common national interest for local and conflicting interests, and waste no more time in barren rivalry.²⁸

National unity, however, was more than a matter of minimizing the petty rivalries of competing colonies. The nation was attached to a much higher purpose. Only through the creation of national unity (through federation) could Australia achieve '... the honour and importance which

constitute so essential an element of national prosperity', a notion that clearly echoed the tone and spirit of Duffy's Young Ireland past.²⁹

The report reflected Duffy's commitment to the tenets of Victorian liberalism as much as his nationalist imagination, stressing the efficiencies that federal union would bring to tariff policies, land and naturalization law, immigration, judicial appeal, and postal service.³⁰ Given Duffy's high regard for Bright, Cobden, Gladstone, and Mill, and the tactical advantages to be gained by emphasizing economy, the report's use of the core doctrines and language of political economy should be no surprise. It is critical to note that Victoria was not acting alone in this regard: A similar report was drawn up in New South Wales by Edward Thomson. The New South Wales document was more measured in its approach to federation, focusing on the savings and efficiencies to be gained through a closer union.³¹ Duffy welcomed the Sydney politician's report, later describing it as 'of great value'. On the surface, both reports were well received by the media and many of Australia's political elites. Historians generally have concurred, calling the report 'the political art of Duffy at its finest'.³²

While Charles Gavan Duffy stressed the breadth of support his 1857 report received, the reality was that his proposal was dead on arrival. The Victorian Legislative Assembly accepted both his report and its recommendation for a conference of all the self-governing colonies to consider different plans for Australian federal union. The Haines Government duly forwarded the matter to the other colonial governments but made it clear that its support for Duffy's proposal was nominal at best. The response in South Australia and New South Wales ranged from ambivalence to outright hostility.³³ In the late 1850s, few Australians shared Duffy's nationalist vision of colonial reform, preferring the less ambitious utilitarian approach advanced by Thomson and his allies, an argument strengthened by the reality that British imperial governments already allowed colonial legislatures significant latitude for reform. But even that was a minority view within New South Wales (and increasingly Victoria and Queensland, created as a separate colony in 1859), where progressive politicians wanted to use tariff policies to foster rapid economic development. Opposition to his ideas in Sydney was sharpened by commercial rivalry between the two recently separated self-governing colonies, with many in New South Wales distrusting Duffy's notion that Victoria should lead the process toward federation. While Thomson welcomed the latter's call for an inter-colonial conference, his report was tabled in New South Wales, and by 1860,

despite Duffy's best efforts, it was clear that his vision of Australian federation was no longer on the table. One Brisbane newspaper captured the lethal dynamics of inter-colonial politics that undermined Duffy's early efforts in an 1863 article, calling him 'the great make believe champion of Australian federation', and making it clear that federation would not be in the best interests of a rapidly expanding Queensland economy.³⁴

As a key participant in John O'Shanassy's Victorian governments of the early 1860s, Duffy was well placed to keep the debate over federation alive and he attempted to secure committee reports on the matter in both 1862 and 1863. Both efforts failed to gain traction, however, and Duffy's energies understandably were focused on his active and controversial tenure as Minister of Public Lands and his own deteriorating relationship with his Irish ally and sometime rival O'Shanassy. Frustrated by his inability to match ambition with achievement, and fearful for his own always precarious health, Duffy retired from politics in October 1864, travelling back to the United Kingdom to help enroll his son Frank at Stonyhurst College, the famous Catholic school in Lancashire. He remained in Europe for nearly two years.

Back home in Britain and Ireland, Duffy gave a number of public addresses on Australian and Irish politics, speeches that defended and celebrated the Australian experience as an example of how nationalism might develop as a constructive force both in Ireland and across the British Empire. Arriving in Dublin in September 1865, he drew a sharp contrast between Ireland and Australia, celebrating the success of his Land Act of 1862 while lamenting Ireland's condition: 'if only we had as fair a field for the experiment in Ireland as there exists in Australia'.³⁵ At the same time, Duffy underlined the importance of Australian unity in seeking justice within the Empire and spoke kindly of John Stuart Mill, William Sharman Crawford, and even Sir Robert Peel.³⁶

In August 1866, Duffy presented a paper entitled 'Popular Errors Concerning Australia' at the Society of Arts in London, defending the Australian colonies against the charge that a more democratic franchise had led to damaging political instability. In the paper, he argued that Australian colonists were keenly aware that they lived under 'one of the freest and most serviceable constitutions in the world', and that he was happy to be part of this experiment in colonial governance, warning against any return to the old days of colonial misgovernment.³⁷ Even the typically antagonistic *Argus* noted with approval that *The Times* had celebrated Duffy's civil and thoughtful discussion of these matters.³⁸ While

this support was partially a matter of provincial pride (the stakes here were raised by the fact that one of the offenders was Robert Lowe, a prominent Tory who had started his political career in Sydney as an advocate for colonial reform), the broader international context was critical as well. Set against the violent backdrop of the American Civil War, the Fenian threat and the racial bloodshed of Morant Bay in Jamaica, Duffy's ideas about articulating Australian (and Irish) nationality through constitutional and political measures of imperial reform doubtless looked comparatively attractive to conservatives and liberals alike.

Duffy returned to Australia in late 1866 and recreated his public life within months, giving a number of public addresses and successfully getting elected as MLA for Dalhousie. He remained confident in Australia's future, advising Australians to look outside of England for their models (he specified Mediterranean societies like Italy and southern France) and saying that the virtues of merry old England would be found 'in the Southern ocean' rather than the 'England of coal mines and factories'. As long as its political leaders remembered that 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' was the proper end of government and society, Australia would be well served. While it is likely this conscious nod to Bentham was more rhetorical flourish than ideological commitment, it is equally clear that Duffy's mid-Victorian fusion of romantic nationalism and British liberalism remained intact.³⁹

So too did his commitment to Australian federation and Duffy returned to the cause in 1870, securing a royal commission that he once again chaired. Two things made the 1870–71 attempt different from his first effort. The first involved Duffy's own position and reputation within Australian politics. As noted earlier, Duffy was asked to head a coalition government in Victoria in 1871, and both his position as Premier of Victoria and the fact that Melbourne was the site of the inter-colonial conference in 1871 ensured that these debates over federation generated a wider intra-colonial and international debate. By any measure, however, Duffy's position as head of government was a mixed blessing, as few of his more radical allies in the coalition government shared his faith in free trade and federation. It did not help that relations between New South Wales and Victoria reached their nadir in the late 1860s and early 1870s, sharpened by a tariff war between the two colonies. The clash centered on who was to benefit from commerce on the Murray River, which formed the border between New South Wales and Victoria before flowing through South Australia into the Indian Ocean. Revenues had been shared between

the three colonies since the late 1850s, with the two larger states battling for a greater share throughout the ensuing decade. Driven by divergent fiscal policies, acrimony between the two colonies grew sharper in the late 1860s and 1870s.⁴⁰ This was hardly an ideal political landscape for bringing the Australian colonies together.

The other element that was significantly different in 1870 involved imperial defense and security, issues that were given much more prominence in this second report. This reflected both the contemporary international context and the origins of the report, which had been triggered by the British decision to remove its last military units from Australia.⁴¹ As Jill Bender's essay in this volume makes clear, this decision was part of a decade-long debate about the need to reorganize imperial defense. Attempting to take advantage of the moment, Duffy made the need for colonial defense the centerpiece of his renewed call for federation, an approach that proved to have little political traction in the Australian colonies. More tangibly, however, the report's focus on colonial constitutions and imperial defense sparked the proposal that would dominate the ensuing debate in 1871: Duffy's controversial advocacy of colonial neutrality in times of imperial war.

The 1870 report opens in much the same manner as its predecessor, outlining the many advantages that federal union would bring to the Australian colonies. The more practical and utilitarian arguments that had long dominated federalist discourse were certainly present: the creation of a larger domestic market through the elimination of customs duties and other 'jealous and wasteful competitions'. These were balanced by more ambitious claims for the benefits for imperial defense and greater state power, factors that reflected both contemporary politics and Duffy's own views of the state: 'It forms larger designs, engages in larger enterprises, and by its increased resources and authority causes them to be more speedily accomplished. It obtains additional security for peace by increasing its means of defence ...'.⁴² For Duffy, this was particularly vital in an era dominated by the military might of powerful states like Prussia and Russia, a worrying trend that highlighted the vulnerability of the colonies of an overextended British Empire.⁴³

While these practical matters were essential, they were no more important than the possibilities that federation opened up for the new Australian nation. It was not only that federation would provide Australians with a clear understanding of shared goals; a federal union would literally create the nation:

By creating the nation, it creates along with it the sentiment of nationality—a sentiment which has been one of the strongest and most beneficent motive powers in human affairs. The method, indeed, by which states have grown great is almost uniform in history: they gathered population and territory, and on these wings rose to material power; and with the sense of a common citizenship there speedily came, like a soul to the inert body, that public spirit by whose inspiration dangers are willingly faced and privations cheerily borne in the sacred name of country.⁴⁴

Only through the mobilized expression of this national sentiment could the Australian colonies use the ‘resources and territory which fit them to become in the end a great empire’.⁴⁵ Wedded to a clear vision of liberal Eurocentric progress, Duffy’s blend of national and imperial purpose was a heady brew indeed.

Given the lack of unanimity about federation, however, it was no surprise that the report was less clear about how a federal union was to be achieved, stating that the process of federation would have to be worked out by an inter-colonial conference of delegates representing all concerned governments and legislatures. While it noted the variety of available models, the report made special mention of the recent confederation of Canada (1867) as ‘the most perfect example of federated colonies’.⁴⁶ This had a personal connection for Duffy, since Canadian confederation was closely associated with his close friend and fellow Young Irelander Thomas D’Arcy McGee, who had been assassinated on the streets of Ottawa in 1868. The comparison with D’Arcy McGee’s vision of Canadian nationality is of particular interest, since both men saw confederation within the Empire as the best way of fusing American liberties and resources with the retention of Old World customs and practices. In a later report, *The Spectator* made the association quite explicit: ‘That shows how seriously Mr. Duffy still contemplates the duty of doing for Australia the great service which his countryman Mr. D’Arcy McGee affected for Canada.’⁴⁷

While committee members varied in the degree of their commitments to the first two sections of the 1870 report, these divisions paled in comparison to the response to a final section devoted to a ‘cognate question’, the notion that colonies should have the right to declare themselves neutral in times of imperial war. This part of the report clearly reflected Duffy’s own thinking, since the argument employed many of the rather esoteric examples that he had used in public speeches in the late 1860s.⁴⁸

Duffy's advocacy of colonial neutrality was rooted in the implications that imperial troop withdrawal had for his expansive understanding of colonial self-government. It was unprecedented, he argued, for an imperial government to devolve political responsibility to a colonial government without allowing it the authority to provide for adequate protection. Unlike his Irish-born contemporary in New Zealand, Governor George Bowen, Duffy argued that it was the absence of legitimate political authority rather than the withdrawal of imperial soldiers that threatened the constitutional relationship between the Australian colonies and the mother country: 'This is a relation so wanting in mutuality that it cannot be safely regarded as a lasting one, and it becomes necessary to consider how it may be SO modified as to afford a greater permanence'.⁴⁹ He proceeded to argue that the formal acknowledgement of the right of self-governing colonies to be neutral in times of imperial war was the only solution that balanced the 'genius and traditions' of the British constitution with international law.

To make this case, Duffy stressed the extent of colonial self-government in the Australian colonies, pointing out that Victoria had its own parliament, government, flag, and naval/military establishment. Given its substantive sovereignty, international law dictated that it should not be drawn into a war without its consent. Ranging across a century of diplomatic legal cases and opinions, Duffy cited examples from Hanover, Neuchâtel, and the Ionian Islands, arguing how each of these subject states was considered or had been adjudicated to have the right to remain separate in times of imperial war. If these states had a legal right of consent, surely the same rules applied to self-governing colonies in Australia, North America, and Africa. Duffy stressed that this did not mean that the Australian colonies would not support Britain in times of war, but this support could not simply be taken for granted.⁵⁰ At the very least, the report concluded, the importance of this subject required its consideration by the imperial government.

Four members of the committee refused to sign Part III of the report, most notably Graham Berry, soon to be a prominent member of Duffy's own government. Predictably, Duffy's arguments about colonial neutrality generated public controversies that quickly overshadowed the report's more conventional arguments for Australian federation. Much of this discussion centered on the committee chair's reputation as an 'Irish rebel'. As *The Empire* (Sydney) ventured sarcastically, Duffy had used the example of the Ionian Islands, but it was quite likely that he had been thinking about another island.⁵¹ While there was some support

from political elites from across the various colonies, the prospects for even a limited federal scheme were poor from the outset, and quickly sank under the weight of inter-colonial contention. Sir James Martin, Premier of New South Wales, led the opposition, focusing his fire on the report's advocacy of colonial neutrality, something he believed would threaten the ties between the United Kingdom and the Australian colonies, a 'calamity' too dangerous to risk. While less strident in his opposition, Henry Strangways, the South Australian Premier, also opposed union, saying that federation could happen in the relatively near future only if public opinion was mobilized and Victorian tariff policies were liberalized.⁵²

The reality was that heightened inter-colonial rivalries over tariff policies made agreement on any version of Australian federation unlikely. Protectionism was on the rise across the continent, particularly within Victoria, a trend that made Duffy, an instinctual free trader, uncomfortable, and federation more difficult. In 1871, contention between New South Wales and Victoria over the Murray River trade came to a head, with Martin's Government making claims for compensation that Duffy viewed as insultingly excessive. Visiting Sydney in 1871, the English novelist Anthony Trollope noted that 'border duties were so much in the ascendant' that politicians talked about little else.⁵³ Not surprisingly, it was the battle over tariff policy, not the 1870 report, which dominated discussion at the inter-colonial conference in Melbourne. While Duffy's refusal to sign on to a statement by the New South Wales government critiquing Gladstone and the imperial government was noted by the Colonial Office as 'an unexpected gush of loyalty' (the conservative Martin later called Gladstone the 'Archdestroyer of Empire'), the conference itself was relatively unproductive.⁵⁴ The British government passed legislation in 1873 that allowed the colonies to make tariff agreements with one another, but federation itself was a dead issue and would not return as an important issue in Australian politics until the late 1880s.⁵⁵

Tired of political infighting and again fearful for his own frail health, Duffy once more retired from Australian politics in 1874, returning as Speaker of the House in 1877. His wife Susan died of consumption that same year, and Duffy left Melbourne in 1880, finally settling in Nice, where he remained an active public intellectual in British and Irish politics, publishing a number of influential histories and commentaries on contemporary cultural and political issues. While Duffy's faith in liberal

politics clearly dimmed in the 1880s and 1890s, he retained a positive view of his Australian experience, consistently describing it as a model for what could be done in Ireland.⁵⁶ This led A. V. Dicey, the noted British constitutional scholar and a fierce opponent of Irish nationalism, to write a specific refutation of the analogy between Australia and Ireland. In his widely read treatise *England's Case Against Home Rule*, Dicey described Duffy as the most able of Ireland's advocates for constitutional reform. In many ways this was a perfect testimony to the abilities of the famous Irish-Australian nationalist imperial reformer.⁵⁷

Pauline Colombier-Lakeman has argued that relationships between Irish constitutional nationalists and the British Empire are best characterized as ambivalent, since most nationalists had little difficulty reconciling their demands for legislative independence with active participation in the life of the British Empire.⁵⁸ This reflects the more nuanced understanding of the seemingly contradictory relationships between Irish nationalists and the British Empire found in many of the essays in this book. Duffy's support for Australian federation illustrates the complexities involved in reconstructing these relationships, which necessitate not only careful attention to place and time, but the ways that ideas flow back and forth between Britain, Ireland, and the Australian colonies. Writing in 1890, Duffy seemed to recognize some of these difficulties, arguing that thoughtful men in the Empire now argued in terms of imperial federation but that such concepts and language had not been available when he was in Australia. At any rate, there would be no imperial federation until the 'Australian and African groups had federated amongst themselves' and that would not happen until Australian federation was made an imperial question.⁵⁹

Charles Gavan Duffy's Australian career, and particularly his support for Australian neutrality in times of imperial war, brings his beliefs about nationalism, anti-imperialism, and the British Empire into sharper relief. Only a reformed Empire, one that allowed nations like Australia to fulfill their promise, was capable of harnessing the national spirit. Ireland had long been denied national justice, but both Irish success in Victoria and the British willingness to allow Australian political leaders the latitude to pursue radical economic and political reforms in the colonies made it easier for Duffy to see national possibilities within the British Empire. Nation came before Empire, however, and Irish men and women had a particularly keen understanding of the violence at the core of British imperial expansion. In articulating his anti-imperialism, Duffy did not simply draw on the

Irish experience, combining the resonant language of Carlyle, Cobden, and Mill's opposition to imperial war with potent Irish nationalist historical narratives. Viewed from Melbourne, London, and Nice if not quite Dublin, Charles Gavan Duffy thus could see imperial reform as possible and imperialism as something that had to be opposed.

NOTES

1. *Argus*, 27 June 1871.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Joy E. Parnaby, 'Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903)', in *Australian National Biography* <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/duffy-sir-charles-gavan-3450> (accessed, 9/11/2013). For Duffy's view of his role in the longer history of Australian federation, see Charles Gavan Duffy, 'The road to Australian Federation', *Contemporary Review*, LVII (February 1890), 153–169.
4. Andrew Porter, (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 546–572; Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward (eds.), *Australia's Empire in The Oxford History of the British Empire: Companion Series* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008).
5. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the Present* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 1986). For a thoughtful, if brief, treatment of Duffy's federalism, see W.G. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1994), 75–80. For a more detailed view, see J. M. Ward, 'Charles Gavan Duffy and the Australian Federation movement, 1856–70', *Journal and Proceedings* (Royal Australian Historical Society), 47: 1 (1961), 1–30.
6. León Ó Broin, *Charles Gavan Duffy: Patriot and Statesman* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Ltd., 1967); Steven Knowlton, 'The enigma of Charles Gavan Duffy: Searching for Clues in Australia', *Eire-Ireland*, 31: 4 (February 1996), 189–208.
7. See Introduction.
8. Matthew Kelly, 'Irish nationalist opinion and the British Empire', *Past and Present*, 204: 1 (2009), 127–54; Niamh Lynch, 'Defining Irish nationalist anti-Imperialism: Thomas Davis and John Mitchel', in *Eire-Ireland*, 42: 1/2 (2007), 82–107; Ryder, 'Defining colony and empire'.

9. Joe Cleary, 'Amongst Empires: A short history of Ireland and empire studies in international context', in *Eire-Ireland*, 42: 1/2 (2007) 45.
10. Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, I (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1898), 1–26.
11. In particular, see Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History 1845–1849* (New York, London and Paris: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Company, 1882).
12. The best monograph on the subject remains John Whyte's *The Irish Independent Party, 1850–1859* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1958).
13. Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, 130–158. In choosing law and politics over journalism, he rejected the advice of William Smith O'Brien, who argued that journalism was his surest vehicle for influence. See William Smith O'Brien to Charles Gavan Duffy, 1 September 1856 (N.L.I., Charles Gavan Duffy Papers, MS. 8005/13).
14. Duncan Bell, 'Victorian Visions of Global Order: Introduction', in *Victorian Visions of Global Order*, ed. by Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 6.
15. Of course, not all Irish emigrants were supportive. For a particularly critical take on Duffy, see William Dalton to Ned Hogan, 22 February 1859, in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994), 294–5.
16. Charles Gavan Duffy to William Smith O'Brien, 28 October 1856 (NLI, William Smith O'Brien Papers, MS 445/2931).
17. John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 9–13.
18. Quoted in Ó Broin, *Charles Gavan Duffy*, 108.
19. John Hirst, 'Empire, State, Nation', in Schreuder and Ward, eds., *Australia's Empire*, 143–148.
20. Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1892), 202. For Deakin's take on Duffy, see Alfred Deakin, *The Crisis in Victorian Politics, 1879–1881: A Personal Retrospect* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1957).
21. Exasperated by the repeated misuse of his phrase, Duffy later insisted that he was an Irish rebel not a rebel in general, that—like Algernon Sydney, William Wallace, and George Washington's—his patriotism was a product of English malfeasance, and that he was

- no more a 'Red Republican than a Red Indian ...' (*Argus*, 23 April 1857).
22. *Ibid.*, 18 August 1862. For a thoughtful examination of the land question, see Dianne Hall and L. J. Proudfoot, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and Scots in Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011), 122–126. Duffy himself claimed that the failure of his land reform bill was rooted in a technical error made by the lawyers who drafted the bill, an error that allowed squatters to combine to buy up large tracts of land, thus foiling Duffy's aim of using reform to create a prosperous rural yeoman farming class in the Victorian countryside. See Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, 225–234.
 23. O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 134–138.
 24. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 184–191.
 25. For Grey's own views, see Earl Grey, *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, in Two Volumes* (London: R. Bentley, 1853). For Grey's impact on the origins of modern Australian nationalism, see McMinn, *Nationalism and Federation in Australia*, 26–72; J. M. Ward, *Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1958).
 26. *Argus*, 23 April 1857.
 27. *Ibid.*, 19 September 1865.
 28. Duffy, 'Road to Australian Federation', 157.
 29. *Ibid.* For a thoughtful discussion of the importance of 'unity' in Young Ireland thought, see David Dwan, *The Great Community. Culture and Nationalism in Ireland* (Dublin: University of Notre Dame/Field Day Publications, 2008), 53–54.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Although Duffy's admiration for John Bright dimmed with the latter's support for coercion and opposition to Irish Home Rule in the 1880s, he certainly shared what Gregory Claeys terms '... an anti-aristocratic radicalism rooted in free trade principles'. For Cobden and Bright, see Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 27–36. See also *Freeman's Journal*, 28 November 1857.
 32. Duffy, 'Road to Australian Federation', 158–159.
 33. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia*, 77–80.

34. The article made particular reference to South Australia and Tasmania. See *The Courier* (Brisbane), 25 July 1863. For one powerful politician's anti-federalist views, see Charles Cowper in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 February 1859.
35. *Argus*, 19 September 1865.
36. Ibid.
37. The talk was later published as a pamphlet: Charles Gavan Duffy, *Popular Errors Concerning Australia* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1866), 20–21.
38. See e.g. *Argus*, 12 and 14 August 1865; 19 September 1865; 4 and 14 August 1866.
39. *Argus*, 5 February 1867. Young Irelanders showed a particular antipathy to Bentham in the 1840s, and Duffy's liberalism owed more to John Stuart Mill than to the founder of English utilitarianism. See Dwan, *Great Community*, 40–50.
40. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia*, 82–87.
41. Duffy, 'Road to Australian Federation', 153. See also Jill Bender's chapter in this volume.
42. *Argus*, 10 October 1870.
43. Duffy developed these themes in his lecture 'The Political Condition of Europe and its Lessons for Australia': see *The Age*, 7 May 1867.
44. *Argus*, 10 October 1870.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. *The Spectator*, 29 June 1872. For McGee, see David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (2 vols., Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2008 and 2011).
48. For his use of the Hanoverian parallel, for example, see the report of Duffy's speech in the Victorian legislature: *Argus*, 8 November 1869.
49. *Argus*, 10 October 1870.
50. Ibid. Not surprisingly, Duffy's argument was rejected by Robert Lowe. See Robert Lowe to Charles Gavan Duffy, 30 November 1870 (NLI, Charles Gavan Duffy Papers, MS 8005/13).
51. *Empire*, 13 October 1870.
52. For Martin, see *Argus*, 2 January 1871; *Empire*, 27 January 1871; for Strangways, see *South Australia Register*, 7 January 1871.

53. Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand, Volume I* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873), 31.
54. Parnaby, 'Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903)', in *Australian National Biography* <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/duffy-sir-charles-gavan-3450> (accessed, 9/11/2013). *South Australia Register*, 10 October 1871; *Queenslander*, 21 October 1871.
55. McMinn, 115–181.
56. For other examples, see Duffy, 'An Australian Example', *Contemporary Review*, 53 (January 1888), 1–31; 'The Humble Remonstrance of an Irish Nationalist', *Ibid.*, 59 (May 1891), 655–665; 'Mr. Gladstone's Irish Constitution', *Ibid.*, 49 (May 1886), 609–20; and 'A Fair Constitution for Ireland', *Ibid.*, 52 (September 1887), 301–332.
57. Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule* (London: J. Murray, 1886).
58. Pauline Colombier-Lakeman, 'Ireland and the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism', *Radical History Review*, 104 (Spring 2009), 57–76.
59. Duffy, 'Road to Australian Federation', 153–155, 166–167.

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The Assassination and Apotheosis of the Earl of Mayo

Timothy G. McMahon

On the evening of 8 February 1872, as the sun set over the Bay of Bengal, a party that included Richard Southwell Bourke, 6th Earl of Mayo and Viceroy and Governor General of India, was finishing a tour of the prison camp at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands. Having seen the main part of the camp, which spread over several sites along the central bays of South Andaman Island, Mayo insisted unexpectedly on climbing Mount Harriet above the village of Hope Town, on an island set aside for prisoners with records of good behavior. While most of the party remained aboard his flagship, the H.M.S. *Glasgow*, he and a smaller group headed to Hope Town for this closing excursion. Taking a good stretch of the legs was entirely characteristic of Bourke. Physical labors had endeared him to Anglo-Indians and native peoples alike: A keen sportsman, he became an avid pig hunter after arriving in India in 1869.¹ But in this instance, the exertion also enabled the viceroy to gain a more complete appreciation of the facility that served as the primary site for transportation of South Asians convicted within the Raj for committing heinous crimes.

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Having completed its visit, the party made its way back toward the pier, pausing briefly so that the superintendent of the camp, General Donald Stewart, could issue orders about the following day's activities. When Mayo stepped toward the transport boat, however, a figure rushed forward past his secretary and jumped onto the viceroy's back. Mayo let out a cry and fell off the pier. His security detail and camp warders seized the assailant and Mayo's aides helped him to a small wagon. He mumbled a few phrases in the direction of his secretary, but could manage little else.² Blood loss from a stab wound to the left shoulder and another to the right-middle of his back was already weakening him and, as a witness testified the next day, by the time that the party returned to the *Glasgow* 'he had the appearance of a dying man'.³

News of this unprecedented event spread quickly throughout India and back to the United Kingdom thanks to the technological marvel of telegraphy. Mayo was the only governor general to be killed in the history of the Raj.⁴ Moreover, the sudden violence juxtaposed against the victim's personal popularity led to an outpouring of grief in India *and* the United Kingdom that makes this incident worth consideration in an examination of the relationship of Ireland to the British Empire.

Grief manifested itself in various forms, ranging from the construction of memorials in Mayo's honor to the holding of grand funerals in Calcutta and Dublin, the latter of which provide windows on the use of imperial spectacle as a unifying glue to hold together a worldwide empire. The planners of such events, in David Cannadine's view, intended them to generate broad community interest in and sympathy for the imperial project. Yet spectacles and memorials held different meanings for different constituencies and must, therefore, be read carefully in order to grasp their multivalent implications. In Cannadine's words, 'For some people the whole attempt to make empire and monarchy seem transcendentally splendid was just a sham, which meant that there was conflict as well as consensus on these ceremonial occasions'.⁵

The death and commemoration of Mayo present us with an opportunity to examine a series of occasions that connected Ireland to Britain and to the wider Empire beyond because the earl had been a prominent exponent of the Union and, by virtue of his exalted office in India, of its overseas possessions. After offering a brief overview of his life, this chapter will focus on the months immediately after his death, when press coverage of his years as viceroy led even his harshest critics to consider him anew. Then, it will highlight the memorials and events honoring

him, particularly the massive funerals of February and April 1872 in Calcutta and Dublin. Those funerals and associated memorial collections provided family, friends, and imperial advocates with opportunities to project Mayo as representative of an authentically hierarchical and multiracial world empire, but close readings suggest that such messages did not resonate fully with large constituencies in Ireland or India. Ultimately, however, Mayo's imperial apotheosis was an occasion that allowed a segment of the population to project their view of Empire as hegemonic, even in the face of evidence that they were at best a powerful minority, and as that power waned, their stamp on affairs proved fleeting both in Ireland and abroad.

Richard Southwell Bourke was born in 1822, a grandson of the Anglican Bishop of Waterford and Lismore and grand-nephew to John Bourke, the 4th Earl.⁶ His parents raised and schooled Richard and his seven siblings at a family property (Hayes in County Meath) befitting the collateral branch of an aristocratic family. The childless 4th Earl recognized that his title would devolve to his nephew Robert and eventually to Richard, so when the younger man had reached his early 20s and had enrolled at Trinity College, his uncle and aunt helped to establish him in society. Richard moved to the earl's Palmerstown estate in County Kildare, and the elder Bourkes introduced him into elite Conservative circles in England, where his easy manner, athletic build, and ability as a dancer all made him a welcome addition at occasions such as Lady Jersey's well-known soirées.

The late 1840s proved to be years of enormous personal and career transitions for him. Active in County Kildare, he ran his own farm, joined the militia, and aided the family's tenants during the worst periods of the Famine. Partly as a result of these efforts, Bourke won a seat in parliament as a member for County Kildare in 1847. The next year he married Blanche Wyndham, daughter of Lord Leconfield. When his father succeeded to the earldom in 1849, he granted Richard the courtesy title by which he was known for most of his adult life, Lord Naas. Richard ultimately succeeded as earl in 1867.

In the decade-and-a-half after his first election, Naas gained a solid, if unspectacular, reputation in parliamentary circles because of his interest in colonial and Irish questions. A member of the short-lived Colonial Reform Association, which opposed Lord Grey's designs for colonial federation in the early 1850s, Naas more famously served three times as Irish Chief Secretary under Lord Derby (1852, 1858–59, and 1866–68). He also

had a richly deserved status as a sportsman, who served as Master of the Kildare Hunt and founded a stud at Palmerstown.⁷ His expertise on Irish issues and his reputation for ‘sound sense and independent character’ were nevertheless undervalued because of his indifferent qualities as a public speaker.⁸ As Derby noted at the time, ‘he was not an eloquent nor even a fluent speaker’, but ‘tact and judgment were his strong points: high spirits and unfailing good humour disarmed opposition’.⁹ At the time of his greatest challenge as Chief Secretary, the Fenian Rising of 1867, he spearheaded the government response, inspiring even the Liberal Earl of Kimberley to say that the situation was salvaged only because ‘Naas [however] has a head on his shoulders’.¹⁰

While many underestimated his capacity for work, his friend Benjamin Disraeli recalled that Naas’s ability to master reams of esoteric facts enabled him to carry complex legislation through the House while sitting in opposition. One of these measures related to the superannuation system for the Civil Service, and his efforts on behalf of these black-coated workers inspired one of the memorial collections in 1872. ‘A member of parliament who showed qualities of this character was a man evidently indicated for office’, Disraeli told a public meeting in April 1872, ‘and in the office to which Lord Mayo was soon preferred he justified the opinions of those who had recommended him to the queen’.¹¹

Such a statement was entirely self-serving. Disraeli had chosen Mayo for the viceroy’s throne during the final weeks of his first administration. The decision had been greeted derisively in the press, with the *Times* declaring that ‘had any dozen well-informed persons been asked to guess a dozen times, we will venture to say every one of them would have exhausted his chances without coming to the Lord Naas so familiar to all in debates about Irish affairs. No doubt the Premier loves a mystery, and likes to see people puzzled’.¹²

In the event, Mayo’s secretary recalled that his chief zealously dove into his preparations before leaving the United Kingdom, visiting ‘the India Office at all hours’ and ‘collecting books and papers bearing upon Eastern questions’.¹³ Still, the incoming Liberal Government considered throwing over one Tory for another, as William Gladstone toyed with offering the post to Lord Salisbury, who was disaffected from Disraeli in 1868.¹⁴ In the event, the Liberals accepted Mayo because, in Kimberley’s words, ‘no better choice could have been made by a Conservative Govt [sic]’.¹⁵

Once in India, Mayo displayed energy and ingenuity. To familiarize himself with the Raj, he travelled extensively, covering nearly 20,000 miles

on horseback in three years.¹⁶ Despite trimming expenditures and raising taxes to erase a deficit inherited from his predecessor, Sir John Lawrence, Mayo undertook a dynamic program in domestic affairs. For instance: He showed genuine interest in improving agriculture, though he ordered his officials to learn from native farmers as well as to instruct them; against the advice of railway company agents, he encouraged construction of narrow-gauge railways into parts of India that had not yet been connected to the main trunk lines; and he encouraged educational opportunities, especially for the children of the leaders of the princely states on whom the peace of the Raj had often depended. ‘We have done much’, he wrote to the Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll, in 1871. ‘But we can do a great deal more.’¹⁷

Mayo made adept use of public spectacle throughout his time in India, often funding events from his personal income rather than from the Raj’s treasury.¹⁸ Two occasions exemplified his use of pageantry for political effect. At the first, in 1869, he met with Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan, at an army cantonment at Ambala along the Grand Trunk Road. The meeting was one of great importance. Afghanistan was an essential buffer between the Raj and the Russian Empire, yet Lawrence had kept the Amir at arm’s length, souring Ali’s opinion of the British more generally. Mayo’s graciousness at Ambala, where he conceded no more practically to the Amir than had Lawrence, led to a temporary thaw in the relationship. The exchange of presents, the display of princes allied to the Raj, and the muster of some 8,000 troops impressed the Afghan leader, but according to the newspaper the *Calcutta Englishman*—writing after the outbreak of the Second Afghan war—Mayo’s success was based on Ali’s belief that ‘he was dealing with an honest man. The Ameer [sic] had till then disbelieved in us. Lord Mayo’s personal character led him to think that he might trust to an English viceroy’s friendship’.¹⁹ Given the central place of Afghanistan in the Great Game and the tumult caused by both the First and Second Afghan Wars, it is difficult to overstate this success, inspired as it was by Mayo’s personal touch—a factor which perhaps also points to the limitations on negotiations that are dependent upon contacts that may prove ephemeral. Still, Amballa was only one of many *durbars* or consultations the earl had with princes and allies as he travelled the Raj.²⁰

The following year, Mayo oversaw the second great public spectacle of his reign when he welcomed Queen Victoria’s second son, His Royal Highness Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, the Duke of Edinburgh, to India.

The occasion called for pomp, but there were numerous pitfalls in the planning. For example, the original plans for the prince's visit included the holding of a *darbar* at Agra, but with near famine conditions in north-central and west-central India, Mayo recognized that it would be impolitic and stressful for large bodies of people to exacerbate localized misery by marching through distressed areas.²¹ Moreover, within the Raj, Mayo stood in for the queen, outranking the prince, while at home, his status would have been far below the Duke of Edinburgh's. Thus, during the public ceremonies and balls attended by indigenous elites and the leaders of Anglo-Indian society, Mayo had to balance his exalted office against his personal deference. At events such as the investiture where he awarded the Star of India to the duke, the viceroy's manner was gracious and authoritative, and his arrangements were spectacular. According to Sir Edward Aedeane: 'Ld. Mayo has done everything in such a truly regal manner that native chiefs & all are impressed ... The whole road from Government House lined some distance with Elephants having their Howdahs on, & the remainder with troops, gave one a good idea of what the field of the Cloth of Gold might have looked like'.²² Mayo informed the queen afterward that 'nearly all the races in the military service of your Majesty' were on display and that 'the crowds in the streets of the native part of the city were enormous' as well. Perhaps more important, he also reported that her son had 'won golden opinions from everyone here'.²³

His staging of such extravagant events, coupled with his management of the Raj, led contemporaries to reassess the Irish earl. That shift became readily apparent when, at the news of Mayo's assassination, 'golden opinions' blended with public grief. Argyll announced the news to a stunned House of Lords on 12 February, while Gladstone informed the Commons. Both were generous in their statements, Gladstone talking about the sorrow felt within the Cabinet at the great loss to the nation. Mayo, he said, 'had been outdone by none in his zeal, intelligence, and unsparing devotion to the public service'.²⁴ Disraeli responded with words that prefigured the tone of the coming weeks. Calling the assassination 'one of those calamities that sadden nations', he concluded, 'Lord Mayo was well known to this House, and I think I may say he was generally beloved. (Prolonged cheering) The queen has lost in him a devoted servant of inestimable value, and those who had the great felicity of his private friendship may, I think, be pardoned if they are silent on this overwhelming occasion'.²⁵ The official statement released from the government of India echoed that

sentiment: ‘Those who were honoured by the Earl of Mayo’s friendship—especially those whose pride it was to be associated with him in public affairs—have sustained a loss of which they cannot trust themselves to speak’.²⁶

And yet politicians spoke and the press wrote extensively over the next several months about the investigation into the killing and the effort to honor the late earl. For example, reports about the killer built on Orientalist fears of wild-eyed savages, noting for instance that Shere Ali came from the Khyber Pass region where, ‘like most of that clan’ (i.e. the Afridi), he developed ‘a savage, truculent character, with an utter disregard of human life, as evinced by frequent murders committed by him in the prosecution of blood feuds among his tribesmen’.²⁷ Such descriptions fit into a wider stream of concerns about violence in the Raj inspired by ‘fanaticism’ and about Mayo’s efforts to suppress groups such as the Kukas and Wahabi Muslims through military expeditions and harsh judicial sentences.²⁸ Those state responses, in turn, had resulted in further violence, with the most understandably cited incident alluded to at the time of Mayo’s death having been the assassination of the Chief Justice of Bengal, John Paxton Norman, by a Wahabi roughly six months prior to the viceroy’s demise. Thus, the *Londonderry Journal* concluded in mid-February that ‘India is surcharged with elements of trouble’. Such stories also almost surely inspired later portrayals of Mayo’s death, including the dramatic drawing that appeared in *Cassell’s Illustrated History of India*, featuring a menacing, steely-eyed Ali overpowering the jowly viceroy (Fig. 5.1).²⁹ More recently, several accounts have noted that Ali was a Wahabi and have echoed rumors current at the time that his attack may have been retaliation for the treatment of his co-religionists.³⁰

On the other hand, contemporaries also read accounts that presented a more rounded picture of Ali. In correspondence with the India Office published in the *Irish Times*, his former commanding officer Reynall Taylor, then the District Commissioner at Amritsar, acknowledged that his one-time aide had prosecuted blood feuds while in service, albeit he took leave and crossed the border into Afghanistan to do so. (Thus, he committed these assaults outside the jurisdiction of the Raj.) When on duty, however, he ‘attended me with eager zeal and devotion in rough work, and in peace he had been the playfellow of my children, one little girl having him entirely at her beck and call. In his great posteen and boots, and armed always like men of his clan with sword and knife, he would carry her all over the place and attend her on her pony rides’.³¹



Fig. 5.1 “Assassination of Lord Mayo,” *Cassell’s Illustrated History of India* (@1880)

The government investigation officially determined that the attack was not part of a wider conspiracy and that Ali had acted alone, perhaps out of a desire for revenge against the system that had incarcerated him.³² Certainly, this was Taylor’s opinion. The assassin was ‘not a religious fanatic in any sense of the term’, he claimed. ‘On the contrary I should say he was an indifferent religionist’.³³ Rather, Ali had been angry to have been tried at all in 1867 because the murder in which he was implicated was again associated with his family’s feuding tradition. The commissioner noted, however, that this incident took place within the Raj, and Ali was therefore subject to its laws, including the seemingly progressive determination to transport him to the Andamans rather than to put him to death.³⁴ That decision seems to have triggered his lingering resentment, for, as the *Kilkenny Moderator* reported, Ali had begged for a sentence of death rather than transportation.³⁵ Afterward, he had told other prisoners that he intended to ‘pay back the British by killing ‘some European of high rank’, and at his execution in early March, while refusing to make a

confession, he said that ‘he could not resist the impulse to kill the vice-roy’.³⁶ Taylor’s statement concluded similarly that the assault on Mayo may have stemmed from Ali recognizing ‘in the Governor-General the head and front of that system of even-handed justice which had condemned him to penal servitude for life’.³⁷ There is a further point that would seem to confirm that the assault was not premeditated: Mayo had not been scheduled to visit the island where Ali was imprisoned. The vice-roy’s unexpected decision to visit Hope Town created an unplanned-for opportunity for Ali to strike at a ‘European of high rank’, and the prison superintendent’s pause to brief his staff gave him his moment.

If news outlets offered commentary about the investigation into the assassination itself, they devoted far more space to the countless obituaries and encomiums about Mayo. Many publications recalled that they had questioned his appointment, but these former critics now revised their opinions. *The Spectator* acknowledged grudgingly, ‘Mr. Disraeli was right, and it is no small credit even to his knowledge of men that he discerned under Lord Mayo’s intellectual heaviness, the one faculty essential to an Indian viceroy,—the power of governing men’.³⁸ *Punch*, meanwhile, expressed a similar sentiment in verse:

They gauged him better, those who knew him best;
They read, beneath that bright and blithesome cheer,
The Statesman’s wide and watchful eye, the breast
Unwarped by favour, and unwrung by fear.³⁹

Meanwhile, newspapers that had been well-disposed toward Mayo in the first place were effusive in their praise of him in death and dismissive of those seeking to embrace him belatedly. Thus, the *Kilkenny Moderator* charged that ‘when he was appointed Governor-General of India some small envious people, who snarl at everyone and everybody, took a peevish exception to the appointment. Experience has shown how little competent to judge were these persons’.⁴⁰

Reports from India arrived throughout March, reinforcing the impression that Mayo had been beloved during his reign. Members of the viceroy’s staff, the crew of the *Glasgow*, and the crowds in the streets of Calcutta testified to his popularity.⁴¹ The *Belfast Weekly News* reported that ‘public meetings of condolence have been attended by all classes of Europeans and natives’.⁴² And the *Londonderry Standard* opined that ‘seldom in our time has the death of one individual caused as deep and

general an emotion. It is a tragedy which millions will mourn as almost a household disaster. To India, the loss may be said to be irreparable'.⁴³

Reports of Mayo's funeral in Calcutta depicted scenes of imperial pomp and emotional outpourings of support, as much of the Indian capital turned out to pay its respects to him. Notably, such accounts described the mix of land and sea forces, as well as the maritime trades, who attended, all of which symbolized the strengths on which the British Empire had been built. The *Irish Times*, for example, wrote that 'every round-top and cross-tree crowded with sailors' testified to the 'solemnity' and 'grandeur' of the scene, 'for it told of the majesty of the nation, and of the Sovereign supreme in Hindostan [sic]'.⁴⁴ Most tellingly, the story concluded that the event drew together representatives of the Raj and the natives 'differing from us, and from each other, in race and creed, but all looking for protection to the old flag which covered the remains of our murdered viceroy'.⁴⁵

Two months later, an even larger crowd gathered twice in Dublin for a funeral procession through the city. They gathered twice because the Admiralty paddle yacht bringing Mayo's remains from Suez back to Ireland was delayed by a massive storm as it rounded Cape Finisterre. News of the delay did not make it to Dublin until the planned day of the procession, 24 April. Expectant crowds had, therefore, gathered at the North Wall to meet a ship that did not arrive. Meanwhile, people collected along the procession route and only reluctantly believed the delay when the announcement finally spread among them. (Of course, none of them went home, and according to the *Irish Times*, 'the city for the remainder of the day wore quite a holiday appearance, from the number of persons walking about'.⁴⁶) That evening, the yacht arrived at Kingstown where it remained until just after mid-morning on the 25th, when it paddled to the North Wall to begin the proceedings.

Newspapers from throughout the United Kingdom covered the event in great detail. Some, such as the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic* also provided visuals that helped bring the varied scenes to life. Readers learned, for instance, that the transport had been outfitted with a special mortuary chamber just forward of the main deck saloon. 'From the centre of the roof are suspended rich white bullion drops, and from this central ornament radiate massive white satin cords. On the platform in the middle of the chamber to which the coffin will be secured, stands upon a crimson velvet cushion, fringed with gold bullion and with crimson tassle, and earl's cornet'.⁴⁷ Readers followed the proceedings from the moment that

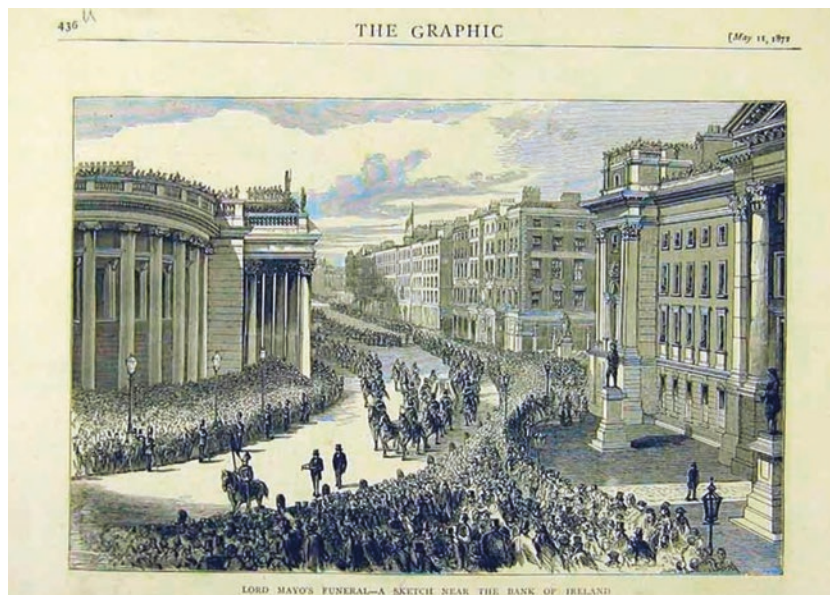


Fig. 5.2 ‘Lord Mayo’s Funeral—A Sketch Near the Bank of Ireland’, *Graphic*, May 11, 1872

the two-ton teak coffin was placed on a specially outfitted gun carriage and covered with the Union Jack until it passed through the city center en route to the Esplanade. According to the *Northern Standard’s* account, ‘The solemn cortege set out in a burst of sunshine, which lit up the glittering military display’ (Fig. 5.2).⁴⁸

The procession—which had been organized by Sir Bernard Burke, the Ulster King at Arms—included the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and officers of his government, the Marquis of Lorne (son of the Duke of Argyle and son-in-law of the Queen), members of Mayo’s family—including his sons and his brothers, some 150 tenants from his Kildare estate, as well as the Marquis of Drogheda, carrying the Banner of the Order of St Patrick, and the Cork Herald, carrying the banner of the Order of the Star of India. The captain and crew of the *Enchantress* as well as those from the H.M.S. *Vanguard* marched, while the line of the procession was ‘guarded by the King’s Dragoon Guards, Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Coldstream Guards, 15th Regiment of Infantry, 16th, 20th, and 40th Regiments’,

and military bands played appropriate funerary music. The most imposing such display occurred at the Esplanade, where the bands of the cavalry and infantry massed, playing the oratorio from Handel's 'The Dead March in Saul'. The *Weekly Freeman* wrote of this portion of the day that while 'we were prepared for witnessing a most impressive sight, we did not expect to see one of the most effective displays which ever came under our notice'.⁴⁹

The *Irish Times* declared that the ceremony 'was, in every respect, worthy of this great city, and worthy of the high rank, the noble character, and the distinguished public services of the deceased'.⁵⁰ The paper's extensive coverage of the event set the tone for many of its contemporaries, and featured reports from nearly every street along the procession route:

there was no mistaking the genuineness of the public sympathy. In all that mighty crowd which densely lined the quays and bridges, the streets and the barrack squares, there was no sign of levity, no instance of rudeness, no unseemly pushing for a better place, no look or word incongruous with the occasion, or that could jar on the feelings of the nearest personal friend of the deceased.⁵¹

The *Belfast Weekly News* concluded its story succinctly: 'it [is] the most remarkable ceremonial of the kind ever witnessed in Ireland'.⁵²

In the months and years after these two funerals, there were most certainly follow-on activities designed to cement the earl's memory as the good viceroy, both in the United Kingdom and in India. Among the many legacies yielded from these outpourings of emotion and treasure were the naming of a butterfly discovered in the Andamans in 1873, *Papilio Mayo*; the sculpting of a 14-foot bronze statue of the earl on horseback by Thomas Thornycraft, paid for by public subscription from Calcutta and unveiled there by the Prince of Wales in January 1876; the naming of one of the Raj's elite preparatory colleges for the earl, who had promoted creation of this school for the sons of leaders of the princely states as 'the Eton of India'; and the naming of a hospital in Ajmer after the late viceroy. Numerous similar testimonials appeared in the United Kingdom, including a handsome statue of Mayo erected in 1875 in Cockermonth, in the heart of his final parliamentary district and near the seat of the countess's family, the Wyndhams.⁵³ Eleven years later, Lord Cranbrook presided at the installation of a bust of the earl in the crypt at St Paul's Cathedral, London.⁵⁴ And a stained-glass window dedicated to his memory was constructed at the east end of the north aisle in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

With all of the subtlety of a hammer, the images in the window made clear that its sponsors viewed Mayo's death as a martyrdom. The image in the lower light featured the death of St Stephen, while that in the upper featured the martyrdom of St Bartholomew—whom Eusebius claimed had been the first apostle to India.⁵⁵

The most impressive standing memorial drew upon one of the viceroy's fervent wishes—to build a grand home on his Palmerstown estate. Before settling on this as the object of their collections, elites in Britain and Ireland launched separate memorial funds in April 1872. In deference to the Bourke family's wishes, the funds were ultimately combined. The Duke of Leinster launched the Irish fund, while His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, whose visit to India had been a highlight of Mayo's reign, chaired the British campaign. One should note as well that an important portion of the fund came from civil servants, who collected more than £1,600 in memory of the man who had promoted a bill to protect their pensions.⁵⁶ All totaled, the collections garnered between £15,000 and £20,000, which went to the construction of Palmerstown House, a three-story home designed by the Roscommon-born architect Thomas Henry Wyatt, which bore the following inscription over its main entrance: 'This house was built in honoured memory of Richard, sixth Earl of Mayo, K.P., G.M.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by his friends and countrymen, A.D. 1872'.⁵⁷

Press coverage, memorial funds, busts in stone and bronze, and large crowds in deep mourning may have led imperial advocates to think that the assassination had knit together Britons, South Asians, and Irishmen in a single-minded way, but in keeping with Cannadine, we should not accept such a conclusion at face value. For instance, in spite of its recognition that the Dublin procession had been spectacular, the *Weekly Freeman* was more circumspect in its depiction of the crowds attending than were most of its contemporaries, asserting that it lacked 'any widespread enthusiasm of popular grief' and that the city merely manifested 'the usual uneasy curiosity of large populations'.⁵⁸ The record suggests that the most exciting event of that day occurred at the Custom House before the transport even approached. According to the *Freeman*, the windows and the entire balustrade were 'awake with human faces', 'while there was scarcely a projection or a pillar but some reckless occupant was clinging and writhing upon'. Echoing the scene at Calcutta, ships flying the flags 'of all nations' 'at half height' lined the riverfront. But the occasion took on the character of an opéra bouffe: longshoremen clambered onto the rigging, but unac-

customed to these floating vantage points, ‘one or two fell off the rigging into the water, the disaster provoking sheets of laughter which rang from the river to the shore all round, and had a strange gigantic effect’.⁵⁹

Moreover, tales of the earl’s funerary sail home have been transformed, such that in his home place, Richard Bourke has gained the affectionate nickname of ‘the pickled earl’.⁶⁰ The title stems, apparently, from reports that authorities preserved his remains in what the *Irish Times* called ‘spirits’ on the trip from the Andamans to Calcutta.⁶¹ But over time, the story has been embellished, identifying the liquid either as rum or vinegar. One iteration, recorded by Con Costello, says that villagers around Naas say ‘that he had been shipped home in a barrel of rum, which was said to have been drained and consumed by the sailors during the journey!’⁶²

Beyond the deployment of black humor both to remember and to undermine the legacies of a figure from a former age, anti-colonial movements in India and Ireland effected the virtual erasure of many of the Mayo memorials, ‘virtual’ because even attempts at erasure were impermanent. To be sure, the newly independent state of India removed Thornycraft’s great bronze statue from Calcutta, and a nine-foot statue that had stood in front of the hospital in Ajmer was buried for several decades in the Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur. But only a few years ago, alumni of Mayo College in Jaipur, Pakistan, unearthed and moved the latter piece, honoring the founding patron to the college grounds.⁶³

The most dramatic attack on a memorial in Ireland occurred in late January 1923, when troops of IRA Irregulars entered Palmerstown House while the 7th Earl and his Countess ate their dinner. They gave the couple 15 minutes to gather personal belongings and proceeded to set fire to the house, possibly as a reprisal for the executions of their comrades being carried out by the Free State, possibly because the earl had agreed to serve in the new state’s senate.⁶⁴ The earl sought compensation for the loss of his home, a structure built from donations to honor his fallen father and that served as a symbol of Ireland’s link to the British Empire. But by the third decade of the twentieth century, he was resident in a new state in which people of his caste were no longer the dominant social or political force they had been. The settlement he received from the famously tight-fisted Cosgrave government was for slightly more than £51,800, or roughly half of the estimated value of the former building and its contents. As a result, when Palmerstown was rebuilt, the structure was considerably smaller than what Wyatt had designed in the 1870s.⁶⁵

One might read this physical diminution as a metaphor for the Free State's contentious relationship with the nascent Commonwealth. After all, those who burned Palmerstown opposed any connection to the Crown, and even the Free State government was working toward co-equality with other Commonwealth member states. Such a reading would certainly be valid at one level and for one moment in time, because as chapters in the present collection make clear, anti-imperial sentiment (which Mayo had combatted in Ireland and the Raj) was in the ascendant by the 1920s. Equally important, however, we should recognize that Ireland's connections to the Empire as exemplified in Mayo's imperial apotheosis ought not to be read as fixed in any given moment and especially not over time. Just as the funeral-procession crowds in 1872 included those for whom the day was one of deep solemnity, those for whom it was mere holiday, and possibly those for whom it represented both meanings, so too should we recognize that in remembering Richard Southwell Bourke as the 'pickled earl', the people around Naas are not merely laughing at the expense of an outmoded elite. Like the alumni of Mayo College in Jaipur, they *are* remembering him and his local legacy but in a new context, one in which their distance from the imperial center enables them to consider Mayo both critically and with appreciation.

NOTES

1. Major General Owen Taylor Burne, *Memories* (London: Edward Arnold, 1907), 136–137. Burne served as Mayo's private secretary and recorded that the earl frequently woke early for a 'pig-stick'. See also *Belfast Weekly News*, 24 February 1872; Bernard M. J. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Sport and Sportsmen* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1878), Chap. 1 passim; and Con Costello, *A Class Apart: The Gentry Families of Kildare* (Dublin: Nonsuch, 2005), 74.
2. Conflicting reports of what he said. At the time, news accounts suggested that the viceroy initially asked his party, 'Do you think I am much hurt?' His secretary claimed later that he said, 'Burne, they have done it'. Cf., *Irish Times*, 12 March 1872; and Burne, *Memories*, 132.
3. *Private Notes, Made during the Trial of Shere Ali, son of Wali, for the Murder of the Earl of Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on 8th February 1872. Trial held at Port Blair, in the Andamans, on Friday, 9th February 1872, on board H.M.S. Glasgow (n.p. n.d.*

- [?1872]), 6. Witness statement of Colonel William F. Jervois of the Engineers.
4. The 8th Lord Elgin [James Bruce], who came to India at the end of a distinguished career, had died of a heart attack while on a swinging rope bridge over the River Chandra nine years earlier.
 5. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2001), 147.
 6. For background, see Sir William Wilson Hunter, *A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India* (London: Smith Elder, 1875); Richard Pottinger, *Mayo, Disraeli's Viceroy* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1990); Mark Bence-Jones, *The Viceroys of India* (London: Constable, 1982).
 7. In addition to the biographies cited in Note 6, see Angus Hawkins and John Powell, eds., *The Journal of John Wodehouse First Earl of Kimberley for 1862–1902*, Camden Fifth Series, Vol. 9 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1997), 43–45, 198–99; Fitzpatrick, *Irish Sport and Sportsmen*, chap. 1.
 8. The phrase is Kimberley's. See Hawkins and Powell, *Journal*, 265, at fn. 752.
 9. John Vincent, ed., *A Selection from the Diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826–93), Between September 1869 and March 1878*, Camden Fifth Series, Vol. 4 (1994) (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1994), 99.
 10. See Hawkins and Powell, *Journal*, 199, entry for 9 March 1867.
 11. *Times* (London), 29 April 1872.
 12. *Times* (London), 12 Aug. 1868. The Indian correspondent of *The Times* reported that opinion in the Raj was against the appointment, as most there did not know Mayo. See *Times* (London), 6 Oct. 1868.
 13. Burne, *Memories*, 84.
 14. Gladstone may not have put the offer to Salisbury, but the latter's experience as Indian Secretary, his obvious skills, and the prospect of wresting him from the rival parliamentary bench, all made the prospect worth considering. See Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville, K.G., 1815–1891*, vol. 1 (New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905, 2nd ed.), 540–541; Andrew Roberts,

- Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson 1999), 104–105.
15. Lord Kimberly, quoted in Hawkins and Powell, *Journal*, 487.
 16. Pottinger, *Disraeli's Viceroy*, 81.
 17. Quoted in Pottinger, *Disraeli's Viceroy*, 80.
 18. National Library of Ireland MS 47,694, Mayo Papers, Letter from Sir E. Adeane to his sister, Althea Grenfell, 19 January 1870. Hereafter the National Library of Ireland will be referred to as NLI.
 19. Newspaper clipping included in NLI MS 5,167, Mayo Papers, 'In Memoriam'.
 20. Burne, *Memories*, passim.
 21. Pottinger, *Disraeli's Viceroy*, 104–105.
 22. Adeane to Grenfell, 19 January 1870.
 23. The Earl of Mayo to Queen Victoria, 27 December 1869, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria, Second Series, Vol. I, 1862–1869: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journals between the Years 1862 and 1878*, ed. by George Earle Buckle (London: John Murray, 1926), 686–687. See also Sambhu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, *The Prince in India, and to India, by an Indian. A Description of His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh's Landing and Stay at Calcutta, and a Commentary on His Visit and Reception in India, and on His Farewell Address to India* (Calcutta: Berigny & Co., 1871).
 24. *Irish Times*, 13 February 1872.
 25. Ibid.
 26. *Irish Times*, 15 February 1872.
 27. Ibid.
 28. For instance, see *Spectator* 45: 2275 (3 February 1872): 135–136; *Spectator* 45: 2276 (10 February 1872): 9; *Londonderry Standard*, 21 February 1872; A. C. Lyall, 'The Religious Situation in India', *Fortnightly Review* 18:67 (1 July 1872): 151–165.
 29. *Londonderry Journal and Tyrone and Donegal Advertiser*, 14 February 1872. Cf., James Grant, *Cassell's Illustrated History of India, Vol. 2* (London: Cassell, Pater, Galpin, 1891), 414.
 30. James Wilson, *Why was Lord Mayo Killed? The Question Considered* (London: Ridgeway, 1872). Written by the editor of the *Indian Daily News*, this pamphlet described a variety of decisions taken by Mayo which had been unpopular, particularly with regard to taxa-

tion, among the Wahabi sect. Burne also believed a larger Wahabi conspiracy may have lashed out at the earl, and the subject has received interest in recent scholarship. Cf. Burne, *Memories*, 133–135; S. K. Bhattacharje, *Encyclopedia of Indian Events and Dates* (New Delhi: Sterling Paperbacks, 2008), 146; G. S. Chhabra, *Advanced Study in the History of Modern India, Vol. 2: 1813–1920* (New Delhi: Lotus Press, 2005), 334–341; 562; and Helen James, ‘The Assassination of Lord Mayo: The “First” Jihad?’, *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* 5:2 (July 2009): 1–19.

31. *Irish Times*, 16 February 1872.
32. *Irish Times*, 14 February 1872.
33. *Irish Times*, 16 February 1872.
34. Ibid.
35. *Kilkenny Moderator*, 21 February 1872.
36. Quote in Chhabra, *Advanced Study*, 235; *Northern Standard and Monaghan, Cavan, and Tyrone Advertiser*, 23 March 1872.
37. *Irish Times*, 16 February 1872. The *Londonderry Standard* published a summary of these comments on 17 February 1872.
38. *Spectator*, 17 February 1872, in NLI MS 5167, Mayo Papers, ‘In Memoriam’.
39. ‘Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Governor-General of India’, *Punch*, 24 Feb. 1872, in NLI MS 5167, Mayo Papers, ‘In Memoriam’.
40. *Kilkenny Moderator*, 17 February 1872.
41. Representative articles appeared in *Irish Times*, 12 March 1872; *Londonderry Standard*, 14 February 1872.
42. *Belfast Weekly News*, 9 March 1872.
43. *Londonderry Standard*, 14 February 1872.
44. *Irish Times*, 19 March 1872.
45. Ibid.
46. *Irish Times*, 25 April 1872
47. *Northern Standard*, 9 March 1872; cf., *Kilkenny Moderator*, 24 Feb. 1872.
48. *Northern Standard*, 4 May 1872.
49. *Weekly Freeman*, 27 April 1872.
50. *Irish Times*, 26 April 1872.
51. Ibid. Cf., *Kilkenny Moderator*, 27 April 1872; *Belfast Weekly News*, 27 April 1872.
52. *Belfast Weekly News*, 27 April 1872.

53. See *Times* (London), 18 June, 31 July 1872; 20 August, and 27 August 1875. See also C. T. Bingham, *The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma. Butterflies—Vol. II* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1907), 49–50.
54. *Times* (London), 26 July 1886.
55. ‘6th Earl of Mayo’, *St. Patrick’s People: Newsletter of the Friends of St. Patrick’s Cathedral Dublin* (Spring 2010), 18.
56. *Times* (London), 5 March 1873.
57. Jeremy Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland, 1837–1921* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), 240–241; Mark Bence-Jones, *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London: Constable, 1988), 230. Although Bence-Jones dated the completion to 1875, Dooley set the date as 1874, with construction costs of just over £21,000. The 7th Earl testified in 1925 that his mother preceded him as resident in the house, though, in separate accounts, he indicated that construction was not complete until 1877. See Terence Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: A Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2001), 30; *Leinster Leader*, 12 December 1925, accessed on 3 October 2013 at http://www.kildare.ie/library/ehistory/2007/10/post_17.asp.
58. *Weekly Freeman*, 27 April 1872.
59. *Ibid.*
60. ‘6th Earl of Mayo’, *St. Patrick’s People*, 19; Costello, *A Class Apart*, 74; and Liam Kenny, ‘Ghosts, Ghouls and the Echo of Vanished Coaching Horses—History Meets Hallow’een [sic]’, *Leinster Leader*, 25 October 2007. Accessed on 3 October 2013 at: http://www.kildare.ie/library/ehistory/2007/11/johnstown_myth_and_memory.asp.
61. See, for instance, *IT*, 12 March 1872.
62. Costello, *A Class Apart*, 74.
63. ‘Lord Mayo Arrives at Mayo—Making History’, About Mayo Alumni: Jaipur Chapter News, 4 June 2007, accessed on 3 October 2013 at: <http://mayoalumni.in/news-detail.php?newsId=100&cid=8&ch=1&page=1>.
64. Dooley, *Decline of the Big House*, 175.
65. See materials relative to the 7th Earl’s compensation case in NLI MS. 24, 456, Mayo Papers, especially Item 1, ‘Brief on Behalf of the Applicant, prepared by E. J. Phelps, Esq. K.C’. See also *Leinster*

Leader, 3 Feb. 1923; *Leinster Leader*, 12 Dec. 1925; Dooley, *Decline of the Big House*, 175; idem, 'IRA Activity in Kildare during the War of Independence', in *Kildare: History and Society, Interdisciplinary Studies on the History of an Irish County*, ed. by William Nolan and Thomas McGrath (Templeogue, Co. Dublin: Geography Publications, 2006).

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Imperial Politics and the London Irish

Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre

As the economically dynamic capital of the British Empire and its seat of government, London provided a long-term home to a substantial Irish immigrant community as well as a temporary base for Ireland's members of parliament. What makes this community particularly significant is that one of the most important political concerns for late-Victorian Britain's politicians was how to pacify, manage, or support the Irish. While Irish Home Rule dominated political debate and determined British elections on a national level, the menace of the (frequently Irish) urban poor in Britain preoccupied middle-class imaginations on a local level. This chapter identifies a third dimension of the Irish presence in the British political imagination and reality, the imperial, and considers how Irish issues were filtered through an imperial lens in the politics of late-Victorian London. Fusing together evidence and scholarly literature on demographics, election results, political rhetoric and associational culture, I demonstrate that

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the politics of the London Irish had an imperial dimension as well as a local one.

The primary evidence for such a dimension is in the imperialised rhetoric of Irish Home Rule in London electoral campaigns in the late-nineteenth century, particularly those of the Indian nationalist Dadabhai Naoroji. The historical challenge of this evidence is that we cannot measure its effectiveness in terms of electoral results: that is, without knowing who voted and for whom, we cannot pinpoint the Irish vote in decisive elections that hinged on imperial or Irish issues. While we may be unable to account numerically for popular London Irish participation at the parliamentary ballot box, still the strategy, rhetoric and lobbying activity of London politicians affirm the proximity of the Irish community and Irish political issues to imperial debates. Furthermore, the political associations of Irish members of parliament point to their integration into imperial networks that were firmly anchored in London. As well as demonstrating that Irish politicians were involved in imperial discussions, these networks point to the vital role of societies and associations in the political life of Victorian London, particularly as a means of social networking for those who were outsiders to the political establishment.

It is becoming a commonplace that late-Victorian London was an imperial city and that its residents were immersed in an imperial culture. By virtue of London being both a port and a capital, this was manifested through global trade and the specific vocational opportunities it presented as well as patterns of consumption: ships staffed by colonial sailors arrived daily bearing imports from the colonies, and these colonial and 'exotic' products were vaunted in the capital's department stores, consumed in coffee shops and 'ethnic' restaurants, and displayed in museums and major exhibitions.¹ Financiers plotted capital investments in Britain's foreign possessions from London's City; their exorbitance also fuelled the local economy.² Public monuments and leisure attractions contributed to a built environment infused with reference to imperial glories and delights, from statues of war heroes to the elephants in London Zoo. Increasingly, historians are also explicitly acknowledging London's political scene as an imperial one, too. For example, Alex Windscheffel's *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London 1868–1906* has tackled the long-running debate on where the Conservative Party's late-Victorian support base truly lay (deep in urban working-class neighbourhoods, or taking refuge in suburban villas), but Windscheffel has framed the discussion as an imperial one.³

There is abundant evidence that the existence of the Empire shaped ordinary Londoners' lives, and correspondingly there is a vast and fascinating literature on the 'empire at home'. However, the evidence that London life—and particularly material culture—was moulded through imperial encounters does not necessarily demonstrate that there was widespread popular enthusiasm for the Empire in the capital. It does not demonstrate that ordinary Londoners were aware of the Empire's influence on their quotidian existence, or even less so that they were prompted to consider profoundly the merits or ethics of the imperial system. The omnipresence of imperial evidence in London life may actually indicate its banality, or a political reality so common as to be taken for granted.

What may have been a more arresting and engaging metropolitan experience of empire than the consumption of a cup of coffee or the stroll past an imperial war memorial was the encounter with a colonial person. There have been triumphant efforts by historians to repopulate Victorian London with the colonial communities, particularly the various South Asian communities, which the historical record had forgotten or deleted (and although there has been less attention to this topic in Irish history, Mark Doyle's chapter on Belfast in this volume tackles that very topic).⁴ It makes sense also to consider the Irish as a colonial population in the imperial metropole. Technically, the Irish were, of course, internal migrants within the United Kingdom, but socially and culturally they were often outsiders with a particular consciousness of Britain as an imperial centre. Thus, even Irish parliamentarians in London felt conscious of acting imperially, given that they were legislating for the Empire, and yet felt kinship with other colonial people.⁵ Recognising that the Irish in London lived lives that had been shaped by both imperial and colonial experiences is not the same as arguing that Ireland was governed colonially. That is a separate, thorny issue. Ireland was no doubt unique in its constitutional arrangement, but it is worth bearing in mind that there was great diversity within the British Empire and not a single colonial model: South Africa was as different from India as it was from Ireland, and so on.

If, like all Londoners, the London Irish inhabited a city steeped in imperial culture, a particular feature of the Irish population was its close residential proximity to other colonial communities in less affluent neighbourhoods, such as in the East End. But while there may be a popular historic association of the Irish with parts of London, there are real methodological problems in precisely identifying and analysing the imperial politics of the London Irish. The first problem

is the basic difficulty of determining the size of the 'Irish' population of London. Census returns offer the number of Irish-born individuals living (or residing at the time of the census) in London: for 1871, this was 91,171 individuals, slightly over 10 percent of the Irish-born population in Britain.⁶ The census does not, however, provide ethnic data, meaning it does not account for second- or third-generation migrants who would have considered themselves Irish (or, just as importantly for our purposes, would have been perceived as Irish). Donald MacRaild estimated that the population of first- and second-generation Irish in Britain may have been over 2 million in 1901, so if approximately 10 percent lived in London that would make a London-Irish population of over 200,000.⁷ The population of the County of London in 1901 was approximately 4.5 million, with the area known as Greater London home to a further 2 million.⁸ Assuming the smaller County population, the Irish may have been around 5 percent of London's total population in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. They were certainly a minority group.

Even if we were able to determine the size of London's Irish population with accuracy, there is further difficulty in accounting for the size of the electorate. A large Irish population in a particular constituency did not necessarily mean a large Irish electorate. The franchise was limited by age, gender and property qualification. We know that London had long attracted young migrants (late teens and early 20s) seeking work; we know that late-Victorian London had an overrepresentation of women, particularly young migrant women, to men, thanks to the large market for domestic service; we know that young Irish migrant women were overwhelmingly employed as domestic servants.⁹ A young Irish woman living in her employer's house as a domestic servant failed every single criterion for voting rights. Thus, a London constituency with a large Irish population could have conceivably claimed a relatively small Irish electorate, if it were composed mainly of those ineligible to vote.

Without knowing the gender distribution of the London Irish population, it stands that the extension of the franchise in 1884 through the Representation of the People Act and the Redistribution Act of 1885 would have pulled more London Irish men deeper into the political process, as the minimum property requirement was significantly lowered, and the number of London constituencies was increased from 10 to 22. Across the United Kingdom, the electorate grew by approximately 70 percent, from 2.6 million in 1883 to 4.4 million in 1885.¹⁰ But how Irish men in

London would have benefited depended on their relative wealth, which is virtually impossible to measure with much certainty.

The size and the voting strength of the Irish community may matter less than the popular perception of it. As Laura Tabili has noted, '[h]istorians long dismissed colonial subjects and foreigners as unimportant due to their modest numbers, yet antagonism to the same people has been attributed to intolerably large numbers'.¹¹ In Victorian Britain there was a persistent association of the urban Irish with poverty, and Jennifer Davis has shown that particular notorious Irish slums in London reflected broader fears about the crime and degeneracy that the middle classes believed were fostered by working-class culture.¹² 'The Irish scapegoat was meant to explain the negative features of the Victorian city', MacRaidl argued, but 'the image of the Irish as a negative and alien presence had more to do with the urban world in which they lived than with the character of the Irish themselves'.¹³ That urban world was an imperial one, too, as has been abundantly demonstrated in recent literature, and that sense of difference had some roots in a colonial relationship. Regardless, in terms of the relationship between poverty and politics, it matters a great deal to the size of the Irish electorate whether most Irish men were truly impoverished or were in the upper strata of the working classes. The latter would have disproportionately benefited from the legal changes of 1884, while the former would be relatively worse off in terms of political participation rights compared to the majority of adult men. These franchise changes may have, thus, intensified the association of the Irish with urban subalternity.

If the Irish parliamentary vote cannot be quantified, the production of candidates can be more easily measured, although there were not very many. Alan O'Day argued in 1985 that the 'slow rate of advance of Irish leaders at parliamentary level in post-1885 Britain can be attributed to the nature of the system rather than to the quality of politician' from the Irish Catholic community.¹⁴ The problem with the system, O'Day contended, was that parliamentary constituencies were too large to promote what we might now term 'ethnic politics'. In other words, the distribution of the Irish population within and across constituency boundaries determined the number of potential members they could return. The absence of Irish candidates in London in the late-Victorian period would seem to support this view. The notable exception was T. P. O'Connor's election in Liverpool, which had a dense Irish population, although O'Connor spent most of his time in London, as discussed below. However, the South Asian

communities in London produced three parliamentary candidates in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, even though this community was also relatively small and likely suffered the same electoral disadvantages of the Irish (namely, voter exclusion based on property wealth and/or gender). Irish politicians had an alternative source of constituencies that South Asians lacked (seats in Ireland), but evidently it was not impossible for a colonial outsider to get elected in the imperial capital.

These three candidates were Lal Mohun Ghose, who stood unsuccessfully as a Liberal in 1885 and 1886; Dadabhai Naoroji, who stood as a Liberal in 1886, 1892 and 1895, and as an independent in 1906 (although he was only elected in 1892); and M. M. Bhowndegree, who stood successfully as a Conservative in 1895. For our purposes, these South Asian candidates deserve scrutiny not only for the fact that they stood but also because of Irish involvement in their campaigns. Irish issues were pivotal in imperial politics in the late-Victorian era. Most specifically, Irish Home Rule was a crucial political litmus test and the decisive issue in the 1885, 1886 and 1892 general elections. As such, the political careers of British politicians could hinge on their support for Home Rule. This is particularly true in the case of Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Asian MP elected in a London constituency. The question is whether support for Irish Home Rule was simply shorthand for the Liberal platform in late-Victorian campaigns, or whether candidates and their voters actually thought more carefully about Home Rule in terms of imperial unity or the local Irish community. The South Asian candidates' rhetoric suggests that the latter was the case.

The rhetoric of Parliamentary debate, the hustings and the pamphlet press all frequently situated the Home Rule debate within an imperial context. Lal Mohun Ghose, who stood for the Liberal Party in the newly created constituency of Deptford in 1885, was a London-trained lawyer and the first Asian to stand for Parliament. He lost to the Conservative candidate W. J. Evelyn, although he polled 47.5 percent of the vote. He stood again in 1886 and was again defeated by Evelyn. Press reports on Ghose's campaigning showed him highlighting first and foremost his support for Home Rule, on the grounds that it would protect the integrity of the Empire, with the caveat that he wished to see continued Irish representation at Westminster, 'for he could not imagine that Irishmen, who had so largely contributed to the building up of this great Empire, would permanently be content to have no part or lot, no voice or vote, in the shaping and management of that foreign and Imperial policy which was

productive of good or evil for both these islands'.¹⁵ Although we may be unable to tabulate the number of Irish voters, there is evidence of Irish political lobbying and organization in Deptford, a constituency described as 'working class and with a large Irish population'.¹⁶ Voting was not the only way to participate politically, of course, as many major moral force campaigns of the nineteenth century demonstrated (not least of all, Daniel O'Connell's campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal, which mobilised massive numbers of unenfranchised people). As of the autumn of 1887, Deptford had an Irish League, which had a band that played at official Liberal Association meetings, and a local branch of the Home Rule Union.¹⁷ The triumphant Evelyn, as a Conservative, was opposed to Home Rule. However, he was neither oblivious nor hostile to the local Irish community, nor was he in favour of Balfour's coercionist policies in the late 1880s, when he congratulated the Deptford Irish League in organising a local rally against them.¹⁸

Ghose may have been explicitly targeting a local Irish electorate with his imperial-Liberal rhetoric, but apparently the Irish vote did not or could not carry his candidature. His fellow South Asian Liberal candidate Dadabhai Naoroji had more luck. After an unsuccessful stand in the Holborn division of Finsbury in 1886 (a strongly Conservative constituency), Naoroji triumphed in Finsbury Central, a seat that usually swung Conservative, in 1892 by five votes.¹⁹ Naoroji (1825–1917) was born in India but had spent several decades of his life in Britain working as a merchant and building a broad business and social network, first in Liverpool and then in London; he was also a noted economic writer and thinker. He made the transition to a public persona when he established the East India Society in 1866. The society was established to bring together all types of men who had an interest in India, including former civil servants and military men, as well as native Indians who were resident in Britain. The membership rose to over a thousand men by the mid-1870s and was run by an administrative council of 20 men, all of whom had served or lived in India. Naoroji's earlier appearances in the British press were generally reports of his outings in such Anglo-Indian company in London society.²⁰

In the 1870s Naoroji began taking an interest in British politics and started casting around for a Parliamentary seat in order to represent Indian reform interests. This initiated his drift away from the Raj nostalgia of the East India Society toward a moderate, constitutional, nationalist position, one that sought remedy for Indian problems through parliamentary campaigning.

Naoroji's friend Allan Octavian Hume gave him letters of introduction to prominent English figures, including John Bright, John Morley, Florence Nightingale, Joseph Chamberlain and W. S. Blunt. But these do not seem to have got him very far: he had no name to trade on and instead needed to build a reputation for himself. This he could do by aligning himself with a portfolio of political issues, and personally implicating himself in those issues by joining the myriad clubs and societies formed to support them. Naoroji was a social networker extraordinaire, and his political climb appears to have been largely due to his persistence in building, widening and nurturing his social circle. That is not to say that he was not a talented politician. Rather, his networking is evidence of his political acumen, not a substitute for it.

Naoroji's main political concern was the extension of political rights to Indian people. In this regard, he was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress in 1885, and alongside it, a British Committee of the Indian National Congress based in London. The British Committee published a regular journal called *India*, which ran articles on all aspects of Indian politics and economics, reprinted all speeches and bills from the House of Commons that dealt with Indian affairs, and publicised the work of Congress. Naoroji's British Committee colleagues saw his other society and club affiliations as complementing and furthering his Indian political interests, not as distracting from them. The Committee also recognised that Naoroji could not campaign and win elections on a single issue if that issue was Indian reform. As they wanted him to be elected to Parliament, they therefore cheerfully supported his range of interests. *India* proudly reported in 1892 that Naoroji was campaigning in favour of Irish Home Rule, votes for women, an eight-hour day for working men, as well as, of course, Indian reforms.²¹ Writing after his victory in 1892, the journal argued that Naoroji's many social networks had been vital to his electoral success:

In addition to charitable undertakings Mr Naoroji warmly interests himself in the work of various temperance and friendly societies in his constituency. He is an Odd Fellow, a Forester, a Druid, and a Good Templar, and is to be seen at his best when presiding over a Band of Hope Society and addressing the little children, whose hearts he knows so well how to touch. He has also many engagements with the various Trades Unions, Trade Societies, and Working Men's Clubs, which supported him heartily at the last election.²²

The journal also wrote, in a separate issue, that such connections would reap rewards for the Congress movement:

It is an encouraging sign of the times that many political clubs and associations are being roused by the earnest endeavours of true friends of the Indian people, to a sense of England's responsibility to India. The missionary work of members of the British Committee of the National Congress, and of the East Indian Association, are doing good work, which should have its effect at future elections.²³

There are two connections here to Irish imperial politics in London. The first is that, among his many networks, Naoroji made special, even priority, space for the London Irish clubs and societies. The second is that Irish MPs, those temporary London residents, were employing the same social networking and lobbying techniques.

This is particularly apparent in an 1888 letter implicating three well-known Victorian figures. The author was Josephine Butler, the campaigner for women's rights and social reform, and she was writing to Naoroji. In the letter she referred to T. P. O'Connor, the Irish Nationalist MP for Liverpool and prolific journalist. The letter was written from Butler's home in Winchester and the full text is as follows:

My dear Mr. Naoroji,

Mr. T. P. O'Connor MP stayed three days with us during the election here and I talked a great deal to him about India, and all you had told me. Profr. [sic] Stuart was here at the same time, and Mr O'Connor said to him, 'Stuart, that is the next question that you and our friends must take up, and we must get Mr. Naoroji into Parliament.' Mr O'Connor has a fertile brain and mind in which to plant good seed. At parting he said to me—'Please ask Mr. Naoroji to introduce himself to me at the National Liberal Club, where I shall be staying, and let us have a good talk over the whole matter, for I can never learn anything from reading, but only from conversation.' I should advise you to get hold of him (when he has a little leisure, after his paper is started on Tuesday), and put some of the fire into him which we wish to see in our best men on the subject of Indian reform and good Government. I feel myself rather in the same condition as Mr O'Connor just now, with little power to read or write, but more for conversation. I therefore lose no opportunity I have of repeating to friends what I heard from you, and conveying to them my own strong feelings about India.²⁴

The three main characters—Butler, Naoroji and O'Connor—had extensive reputations among contemporaries and have featured in separate subfields of historical study. That is, Butler has appeared prominently in modern British history, and in particular in the history of the women's movement; O'Connor is well known to Irish historians and merits a hefty footnote in the history of British journalism; Naoroji looms large in Indian history as one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress and was referred to in his own lifetime as the 'Grand Old Man of India.' Professor Stuart is almost certainly the educational reformer James Stuart, an academic and a Liberal MP for Hoxton from 1885–1900. Stuart was an early advocate of extension education for working people, and of practical, applied education within the University of Cambridge, where he taught mechanical science. His efforts have attracted less historical attention.

The three main players in Butler's letter were politically engaged and powerful in their own ways. But they were also all outsiders to a certain extent. As a woman, Butler did not have the right to vote. Naoroji was an immigrant and victim of quite blatant racism, most publicly from Lord Salisbury (who deemed that the British public would not elect a 'black man').²⁵ O'Connor was Irish, and he continued his journalism alongside his politics because he needed to work for a living. None of these three was straightforwardly a member of the political establishment or the social elite. With historical hindsight we can consider them to be successful individuals, but in their lifetimes they did not see the achievement of their goals: women's suffrage for Butler, Indian independence for Naoroji, and the peaceful extension of Home Rule to all of Ireland for O'Connor. Comfortable as they may look from our present vantage, the letter demonstrates the vigour and anxiety through which they were constantly working for their causes by constructing their own networks. Furthermore, it demonstrates that Irish issues were one particular point of convergence for politically ambitious outsiders in the imperial capital.

O'Connor was the president of the Irish League of Great Britain, the organising branch of constitutional Irish nationalism in Britain, responsible for drumming up support for the Irish Parliamentary Party and lobbying on its behalf. He was also the face of the Irish parliamentary nationalist movement in late-Victorian Britain as the only Irish Parliamentary Party MP elected from a British constituency. Dadabhai Naoroji himself became a member of the London Metropolitan Branch

of the Irish League, received congratulations on his 1892 election from the East Finsbury Branch, and was invited to give speeches or attend events at the Clerkenwell, Dulwich and St Pancras branches.²⁶ O'Connor's political life extended beyond the immediate Irish issue, however. According to his wife, 'He loved men, and clubs, and political meetings, and speeches, and public dinners, and dining in the House of Commons, and long conferences'.²⁷ He was a member of the National Liberal Club (as were Naoroji, Stuart and Ghose), the prime meeting place for Liberal-minded imperial men with political and social ambitions.²⁸ O'Connor was also one of the founders of the 'New Journalism'. The paper to which Butler was referring was *The Star*, launched in 1888, for which he recruited a young Colonial Office servant named Sidney Webb and an Irish writer named George Bernard Shaw.²⁹

Butler also supported Irish Home Rule, although she did not join the Irish League like Naoroji. As she wrote in her 1887 pamphlet, *Our Christianity Tested by the Irish Question*, the 'story of Ireland since the Union is one of uninterrupted misgovernment, sorrow, and suffering'.³⁰ Moreover, she explicitly compared Irish coercion acts to the Contagious Diseases Acts, as both posed a double-standard in law. She corresponded with prominent Irish nationalists—writing a gushing letter to Michael Davitt that can only be described as fan mail.³¹ She was also friendly with the Irish MP Alfred Webb, whom she knew through the agitation against the Contagious Diseases Acts, agitation which itself took on imperial dimensions once the domestic legislation was repealed. Butler had founded the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in 1870. Once the Acts were repealed in Britain, she continued her agitation for the repeal of similar acts in India, and also continued working for women prostitutes.³² Naoroji became a member of her group, the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution.³³ He, Butler and Professor Stuart all shared a stage at public meetings of the group, and they appeared in the minutes as frequent contributors in the society's monthly meetings.³⁴

Naoroji also joined the London branch of William O'Brien's United Irish League of Great Britain, which O'Connor did not support, but the fact that Naoroji was a supporter of both does not seem to have bothered any of the members. Indeed, overlapping membership among the capital's lobbying groups and societies was seen as a boon by their organisers, even when those groups had opposing aims or goals. Catherine Impey, founder of the Society for the Furtherance of the Human Brotherhood of Man,

an anti-racism group, invited Naoroji to join, assuring him that he would already know many of the members and offering some of their names as references.³⁵ The records of the British Committee of the Continental and General Federation for Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution reveal correspondence with other societies, and efforts to figure out which members could provide links to other societies. For example, at a meeting in February 1893, Professor Stuart gave a report on the recent findings of the Statistical Society, and ‘Miss Browne enquired whether Sir Wm. Wedderburne, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, was friendly to our cause, and if so, whether it would be suitable to ask him to join this Committee. Mr Naoroji undertook to make enquiries’. In June there was a letter of support read from the Moral Reform Union, and from three different branches of the Women’s Liberal Association.³⁶ Most of this coordination was based on sympathy and shared interests, but some of it was just practical: the Committee also decided, ‘That it is desirable to engage, if possible, an office and a clerk’, and in the interest of saving money and sharing resources, it would approach two complementary groups, the London Branch of the Ladies’ National Association and the Social Purity Alliance, to determine ‘if a satisfactory arrangement can be made with them’.³⁷

There is a great deal of consistency and predictability in the societies which Butler joined; less so the societies which Naoroji joined. But it does not seem to have harmed the reputations of any of the individuals involved that they were members of many different groups that might have differing, even conflicting, philosophies. Nor do any of the societies mentioned above seem to have been competitive for members: rather, they took for granted that most members joined a number of societies, and they operated on this basis and used it to their advantage. Irish societies may have appeared, in the Irish press reporting on their activities or in the Irish speeches of their organisers, to have been lonely operations, forging ahead in the hostile wilderness of British cities. This may have been more popular with domestic Irish audiences (at the time or, as I have noted elsewhere, when these organisers were penning their memoirs much later in life in post-Revolutionary Ireland). But the practical functioning of these societies suggests the opposite: that the London-based lobbying groups for Irish people and issues were equally enthusiastic about broadening their membership by engaging with the wider realm of British and imperial issues. In 1906 Naoroji received several invitations to join the Irish Club of London. The Irish Club promoted itself as

‘non-political and non-sectarian’ by boasting of 50 Irish MPs among its members. Keen to expand its membership, the Club’s secretary, Samuel Geddes, evidently thought that Naoroji would be a strong attraction, frankly explaining, ‘You have numerous friends who might very possibly join the Club, if they knew you were a member, and I know you will help us if you can’. Naoroji was eventually persuaded to join, once the membership fee was waived.³⁸ The attractions for Naoroji would have been the possibility that he, too, could expand his social network and constituent base, in a year when he was still attempting to be re-elected to Parliament. Naoroji was unsuccessful on this occasion, in Lambeth North, despite again addressing Irish issues. This was unsurprising because he lacked Liberal approval and split the vote, standing as an independent liberal candidate and polling 14.9 percent, while the official Liberal candidate won 44.1 percent of the vote; the conservative vote was similarly divided between two candidates.³⁹

This brings us back to the issue of how and whether we can explain the ‘Irishness’ of London election results. We have seen how Irish Home Rule was proudly presented in imperial terms to London voters, through the example of several colonial candidates for Parliamentary elections. However, I have also demonstrated how difficult it is to account for the ‘Irish vote’. It is not sufficient to explain that a candidate was elected from a constituency with a large Irish population, and assume that the election was assured by actual Irish voters themselves: what we know about the Irish in London suggests that many of them were not enfranchised. Perhaps it was the spectre of the Irish crowd, and middle-class voters’ fears about anti-social behaviour and the Irish poor that made Home Rule an attractive message, because it promised to pacify an Irish problem that had literally been brought home to voters. This is a local explanation for appeals to Irish politics in elections where Irish suffrage was actually quite limited and had little potential impact on the electoral results. But Irish issues were clearly also imperial issues. This emerges from discursive analysis of the speeches of South Asian politicians discussed here, as well as from the vast contemporary pamphlet literature and the Parliamentary discussions about whether Home Rule would strengthen or destroy imperial bonds.⁴⁰ This suggests that voters could associate Irish Home Rule with both imperial vitality and local urban harmony.

Whilst South Asian politicians could have been arguing for Home Rule for reasons quite local to London, Irish politicians in London were thinking imperially. The second instance of the imperialisation of Irish politics

can be viewed through the associational life and culture of Irish MPs. T. P. O'Connor is an excellent example of a Home Rule MP who fused his Irish political aims with broader imperial concerns through his membership of societies and associations that supported imperial causes and through his friendships with prominent imperial thinkers.⁴¹ This fusion was undoubtedly rooted in part through personal conviction, but it had a political purpose, too, of normalising and universalising Irish nationalist demands by parcelling them up with wider discussions of imperial progress and rights. O'Connor was described by a journalist contemporary as 'the most popular platform orator in England' in the late 1880s,⁴² one whose concurrent activities as an editor, speaker, club-man and member of parliament served to raise the profile of all his associational interests, including Irish Home Rule. By extension, he also gave political expression and respectability to the Irish community in Britain; in the first decades of the twentieth century O'Connor became the principal fundraiser of the Irish Parliamentary Party overseas,⁴³ further suggesting his talent and usefulness as a cross-community networker. Some contemporary political opponents saw the rich London lives of Irish activists like O'Connor as demonstrating a lack of loyalty towards Ireland (and indeed, some historians have given weight to such critiques),⁴⁴ but we should be wary of taking this interpretation at face value. The opposite was true: imperial life was a strong feature of London life, and Irish issues were read as imperial issues, too. It was both natural and useful for Londoners to fuse Irish and imperial ideas, and O'Connor's associations with Naoroji and Butler provide an illustration of his imperial networking within the capital. It is useful to describe his actions, and those of like-minded Irish and imperial politicians, with the language of political lobbying, which I see as formally taking shape in this period, moving beyond individuals' 'representations' to Parliament, to the creation of associations that existed for the transparent purpose of shaping political decisions. Although this chapter has necessarily focused on a half-dozen prominent politicians, each of the 20 organisations mentioned above had dozens, sometimes hundreds, of members, demonstrating the dense web of London social organisations that were key to these politicians' success.

Mrinalini Sinha has written, 'Membership in particular gentleman's clubs became a passport for entry into the culture of ruling elites in Britain and helped to sustain an elaborate system of old boys' networks'; women [and non-white men] were not 'deemed "clubbable"', that is, capable of that male-defined collegiality that was thought to underwrite English

national character'.⁴⁵ She saw this trend as part of the racial discourse of British colonialism. While this exclusivity may have been true for many of the old clubs and less true for the newer National Liberal Club and the Irish Club, it appears that many middle-class, socially minded people were untroubled by this. Or at least, they were not so distraught by their exclusion from such clubs that they did not forge ahead in setting up their own societies to meet their own social and political needs. That Victorian, imperial social networks sprang up outside of existing hierarchies indicates that some political 'outsiders'—Irish, colonial, women—exercised more agency than we may normally credit to them. While most London Irish may have simply struggled to sustain themselves, for the politically savvy the city presented opportunities both as the seat of British government and as a large urban canvas for political action. Irish political figures manoeuvred their aims into an imperialised world of social networking, while non-Irish figures drew on Irish Home Rule to bring domestic resonance to far-flung imperial concerns.

NOTES

1. Sarah Cheang, 'Selling China: Class, Gender and Orientalism at the Department Store', *Journal of Design History* 20:1 (Spring 2007): 1–16; Joanna de Groot, 'Metropolitan desires and colonial connections', in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 2006), 166–191.
2. Jonathan Schner, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999), 84–85.
3. Alex Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London 1868–1906* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2007).
4. These include Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press, 2002); Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880–1930* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 2000); and Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
5. As I have argued in *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
6. Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750–1922* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 55, Table 2.3.

7. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, 3.
8. Burton, 'Tongues Untied', 6.
9. Consider, for an earlier period, E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650–1750', *Past & Present* 37 (July 1967): 47–49; Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain 1870–1914* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), 43; John Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1963), 192, Table IX.
10. Chris Cook and John Stevenson (eds.) *The Longman Handbook of Modern British History 1714–2001* (London and New York: Longman, 4th ed., 2001), 81.
11. Laura Taibili, 'A homogeneous nation? Britain's internal "others", 1880–present', in Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 2006), 53–76, 57.
12. See in particular the discussion of the Jennings Buildings in Jennifer Davis, 'From "rookeries" to "communities": Race, Poverty and Policing in London, 1850–1985', *History Workshop*, Vol. 27 (April 1989): 69–70.
13. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain*, 5–6.
14. Alan O'Day, 'Irish influence on parliamentary elections in London, 1884–1914: a simple test', in *The Irish in the Victorian City*, ed. by Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1985), 98–105, 104.
15. *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 June 1886.
16. Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 130.
17. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 October 1887; *Daily News* 29 October 1887.
18. Straight truths from an ex-Tory M.P., *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), Thursday, June 28, 1888; Issue 7264.
19. A Liberal won this seat in 1885 with 55.3 percent of the vote; Conservatives triumphed in 1886 with 50.1 percent, in 1895 with 56.3 percent, and in the first 1910 election with 52.8 percent. F. W. S. Craig (ed.), *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885–1918* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1974), 13.
20. For example, *The Era* 15 May 1886.
21. *India: A journal for the discussion of Indian affairs*. 33:3 (26 Aug. 1892).
22. *India* 1:4 (Jan 1893).

23. *India* 5:4 (May 1893).
24. Josephine Butler to Dadabhai Naoroji, 12 Jan. 1888, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, D. Naoroji papers, MS 4A.
25. Discussed in, for example, Antoinette Burton, 'Tongues Untied: Lord Salisbury's "Black Man" and the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42:3 (July 1, 2000): 632–661.
26. Robert J. Sheehy, London Metropolitan Branch of INLGB, to Naoroji, 8 May 1894, NAI Acc 420, Reel 18, I-43(8); Thomas Daniel O'Connor, East Finsbury (T. M. Healy) Branch of INLGB, to Naoroji, 14 July 1892, NAI Acc 420, Reel 18, I-43; Clerkenwell Branch of INLGB, invitation to Naoroji, 1894, NAI Acc 420, Reel 18, I-42 (5–6); J. Dillon O'Flinn to Naoroji, 17 February 1892, NAI Acc 420, Reel 18, I-42(4); C. E. Wilson, St Pancras Branch of INLGB, to Naoroji, 6 March 1894, NAI Acc 420, Reel 18, I-43 (3).
27. Quoted in Hamilton Fyfe, *T. P. O'Connor* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1934), 126.
28. Discussed in further detail in Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), chs. 6–7.
29. Fyfe, *O'Connor*, 149.
30. Josephine Butler, *Our Christianity tested by the Irish question* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887), 36.
31. Josephine Butler to Michael Davitt, n.d., TCD, Davitt 9347/498.
32. Butler to Webb, 23 Jun 1888, TCD, Webb autograph letters, 4787/4. On the CDAs in the wider Empire see Philippa Levine, 'Rereading the 1890s: Venereal Disease as "Constitutional Crisis" in Britain and British India', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55:3 (Aug. 1996): 585–612; Elizabeth B. van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868–1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Apr., 1984): 170–197.
33. Correspondence from this organisation is in N.A.I., Naoroji papers, MS Acc. 406, reel 4, B-216. Correspondence from British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice, NAI, Acc 406, Reel 4, B-216. [1890s]. On Butler, Stuart and Naoroji sharing a platform, see *Daily News* 13 July 1894.
34. *India* 12:4 (Dec 1893).

35. Impey to Naoroji, 29 June 1893, NAI Acc No 419, Reel 17, I-9.
36. Minute book, Women's Library, 3BGF, Box 1, #76.
37. 19 Feb. 1891, WL, 3GBF.
38. Samuel Geddes to Naoroji, Acc No 420, Reel 18, I-40, NAI. 6 Oct 1906.
39. Craig, 31.
40. Both of these topics are beyond the scope of this chapter but are discussed in *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire*. See also, for example, James McConnel and Matthew Kelly, 'Devolution, federalism and imperial circuitry: Ireland, South Africa and India', in *Debating Nationhood and Government in Britain, 1885–1945: Perspectives from the 'Four Nations'*, ed. by D. Tanner, C. Williams, W. Griffith and A. Edwards (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2006), 171–191.
41. Also discussed in *Cosmopolitan Nationalism*, where I identify up to a third of the Parnellite Irish Party as holding imperial political interests, and I present MPs Alfred Webb, Justin McCarthy and Michael Davitt as particularly significant in articulating and advancing imperial concerns.
42. Sir Robert Donald, quoted in Hamilton Fyfe, *T. P. O'Connor* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934), 153.
43. Erica Doherty, "'The Party Hack, and Tool of the British Government": T. P. O'Connor, America and Irish Party Resilience at the February 1918 South Armagh By-Election', *Parliamentary History* Vol. 34, pt. 3 (2015), 345.
44. I have discussed mockery of the 'West Britonism' of Irish MPs in the 1890s. Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism*, 111–114. Doherty dissects Sinn Féin's attacks on O'Connor in the Revolutionary era: 'As the one member of the IPP who had become the most integrated into British society (he lived in London for most of his life, represented a British constituency from 1885, fully supported the British war effort by taking to recruitment platforms throughout the country, and had a close friendship with the British prime minister, David Lloyd George), O'Connor became an easy target for the Sinn Féin propaganda machine' (Doherty, 'Party Hack', 340).
45. Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, clubbability, and the colonial public sphere', in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2005), 183–200, 182, 185.

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PART II

Opportunism

The Irish Press and Imperial Soldiering, 1882–85

Michael de Nie

In recent years scholars have endeavored to broaden and complicate our understanding of Irish engagements with the British and other empires. Jill Bender has rightly noted that the questions historians are asking about Ireland and empire have changed. ‘Rather than look to Ireland’s participation in the Empire for insight into Ireland’s colonial status’, she explains, ‘historians have begun to unpack these contributions for insight into the imperial experience’.¹ In some cases this has meant challenging long-held conceptions about Nationalist imperial resistance, while others have productively explored how numerous Irishmen and Irish families took advantage of the many financial and professional opportunities available to them within the British Empire.² By far the most numerous and visible Irish people serving in the Empire were soldiers, hence the truism that the English paid the Scots to run their empire for them and the Irish to fight for it. While scholars have noted the large numbers of Irishmen in the Victorian army, outside of military historians few have devoted much attention to Irish soldiers.³ This chapter will examine the major themes in Irish newspaper commentary on imperial

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soldiering during the Egyptian and Sudanese crises of 1882–85, arguably the highest-profile imperial military conflicts between the Indian Rebellion/Mutiny and the Boer War, in order to explore how contemporaries understood the connections between the Empire, Irish service within it, and the national question.

This period was not only a critical turning point in the Scramble for Africa, but also witnessed the high-water mark in the Irish Party's anti-imperial rhetoric, as Charles Stewart Parnell and his compatriots rose to power in part by appealing to widespread Irish antipathy toward imperial expansion.⁴ I will examine both the ambiguous response of the Irish Nationalist press to the military successes of the 'Sons of Erin', and Irish Conservative and Liberal commentary on Irish soldiers in order to begin an exploration of a fascinating yet understudied facet of Irish imperial sensibilities during these important years in the history of the Empire and Anglo-Irish relations. While mirroring the larger gamut of imperial sensibilities in Ireland, newspaper opinion on imperial soldiering also reflected and helped shape ongoing debates over Irishness, Irish identity, and the Empire. Not surprisingly, Conservative and Liberal newspapers presented Irishness and imperial Britishness as overlapping identities.⁵ Moderate Nationalist organs, like the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party, demonstrated the ability to, in Alexander Bubb's phrase, negotiate 'their Irishness through the imperial idiom', reconciling or in some cases even grounding their support for Irish self-government with membership in the Empire.⁶ Their more advanced or radical peers, however, found these two identities incompatible. The last of these viewpoints ultimately carried the day with the majority of the Irish people, but this was by no means inevitable. Both sensibilities about the compatibility of national and imperial belonging were still viable in the 1880s, and arguably through the First World War.

Generations of Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant, viewed military service as an escape and opportunity for social advancement, and their contributions were widely recognized by British observers. Like emigration, military service was a simple fact of life for countless Irish families. Thus, throughout the century, Irishmen were consistently over-represented in the British army (and earlier in the East India Company army) relative to their share of the United Kingdom population. In 1881, for example, they accounted for 21 per cent of the army, as against Ireland's 15 per cent share of the UK population.⁷ In that same year the army underwent a major reorganization, in which regiments of the line were converted

into territorial regiments, eight of which were assigned recruiting areas in Ireland. As a result, after 1881 ‘the vast majority of Irish regular soldiers were increasingly concentrated in the Irish infantry regiments’.⁸ Most enlisted Irish soldiers in these units and their predecessors were Catholic, while Irish officers were overwhelmingly Protestant. The tradition of Anglo-Irish military service continued well into the twentieth century and, as Kevin Kenny has argued, was ‘as much a part of Irish history as Fenianism or the Home Rule movement’.⁹ Irish enrollment in the army declined steadily in the decades leading to the First World War, falling to only 9 per cent of soldiers in 1910, but this was a reflection of Ireland’s massive emigration and its consequent falling proportion of the United Kingdom population (10 per cent in 1910) rather than any widespread rejection of military service.¹⁰

The large numbers of Irishmen serving did not of course escape the attention of Irish nationalists, who exhibited rather complicated, ambivalent, and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward Irish enlistment in the army, as they did to the British Empire in general.¹¹ Beginning with the *Nation* in the early 1840s, some Nationalist newspapers openly opposed recruitment, unsuccessfully seeking to convince and sometimes shame Irishmen against enlistment.¹² Anti-recruitment propaganda was most notable during the Indian Mutiny/Rebellion of 1857 and particularly the Boer War and several years following.¹³ While many Nationalist journalists and some politicians sought to deter Irish youths from taking the shilling, this did not for the most part translate into hostility toward those who joined the ranks (some exceptions are noted below). Instead, Nationalist papers and especially members of the Irish Parliamentary Party actively concerned themselves with the welfare of their countrymen and were quick to protest (and publicize) real or rumored ill-treatment of Irish soldiers. ‘Behind the Irish soldier stood the Irish Parliamentary Party’, Terence Denman aptly summarizes, ‘disappointed that he had joined up but doing everything it could to praise and defend him and make sure he did not lose his sense of Irish identity’.¹⁴ As will be shown, this ambivalent mixture of regret and pride was well represented in all but the most radical Nationalist newspapers.

For much of the nineteenth century, Irish service in the British army meant fighting in small conflicts across the Empire. The Royal Irish Regiment, Royal Irish Fusiliers, and others saw action in Egypt in 1882, while numerous Anglo-Irish officers served in both campaigns, most notably the commander of both expeditions, Garnet Wolseley. Wolseley

was dispatched to Egypt in 1882 to suppress a nationalist-military revolt against the country's British-backed ruler, Tewfik Pasha.¹⁵ Led by Arabi Pasha, the rebellion was inspired in large part by resentment over European control of Egypt's finances, the result of the enormous debt accrued by Tewfik's father, Ismail Pasha. After failing to convince France, the other principal European power in the region, and the Ottoman Empire, the nominal suzerain of Egypt, to join them in military action, the British invaded Egypt alone and quickly defeated Arabi's forces.

Gladstone and his government intended only a temporary occupation of Egypt, and began the process of withdrawing the troops in late 1883, when word arrived of trouble in the Sudan, which had come under Egyptian rule in the early nineteenth century. In the Sudan, a number of tribes united under Muhammad Ahmad, who declared himself the Mahdi (Guided One), the prophesied redeemer of Islam.¹⁶ In 1882, Ahmad began a revolt to expel the Egyptians from the Sudan in order to establish a theocratic state (the Mahdiya). The Egyptians dismissed Ahmad as a religious fanatic, but their forces were unable to cope with the rebellion. After a British-officered Egyptian expedition was annihilated by the Mahdi's forces in November 1883, the British government quietly decided to abandon the Sudan. Soon afterward, however, they bowed to the pressure of intense lobbying by numerous journalists (particularly W. T. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette*), army officers, and many others to send the famed general Sir Charles 'Chinese' Gordon to the region. Gordon was hastily dispatched in January 1884 to oversee the evacuation of the garrisons at Khartoum and other fortified towns. He quickly exceeded his orders, intending to make a heroic stand rather than abandon the region to the Mahdi. Exasperated by Gordon's conduct, Gladstone's cabinet delayed organizing a relief force for months until public pressure became irresistible. The relief expedition, commanded by Wolseley, finally got underway in late September. An advance force arrived at Khartoum on 28 January 1885, only to find the city in the hands of the Mahdi. Two days earlier, in perhaps the most famous British defeat of the Victorian era, the Madhists had overwhelmed the garrison, killing and then beheading General Gordon.

The Irish and British press closely followed all of these events, sending numerous special correspondents and war artists to both theaters, who in turn supplied readers with a steady diet of special reports, illustrations, and maps in order to follow the progress of the expeditions. In their leaders (editorials), these journals also carefully scrutinized the political

and military decisions that shaped these campaigns and offered no small amount of advice, praise, and criticism. The officers leading the Egyptian and Sudanese expeditions, and particularly Wolseley, were well aware of this close scrutiny as well as the power of the press to make or break their reputations back home, and were thus often quite keen to shape how correspondents reported on their exploits. For example, in his official account of the climactic battle of Tel-el-Kebir (13 September 1882) Wolseley took special care to note the bravery displayed by two ‘Celtic’ units—the Royal Irish Regiment and Highland Brigade—in the decisive bayonet charge into the Egyptian trenches. The contributions of the Royal Irish and other soldiers from the island were also well noted across the Irish press, particularly in Liberal and Conservative newspapers. The Conservative *Belfast News-Letter*, for example, praised the ‘Celtic valour’ of the Irish and Highland brigades at Tel-el-Kebir, while the Conservative *Cork Constitution* expressed its satisfaction that, ‘true to what we believe to be the genuine instincts of the Irish nation, the Royal Irish Regiment are awarded special honourable mention for the courage and dash displayed by them’.¹⁷ ‘It was a proud moment for the Irish Commander, and for the Irish people’, declared the Conservative *Daily Express*, ‘when, in announcing the greatest victory that had attended British arms for half a century’, Wolseley attributed ‘his triumph in no small degree to the native gallantry and discipline of his own countrymen and companions in arms’.¹⁸ Along with the Highland Scots, Gurkhas, and Sikhs, the Irish had long been regarded as one of the martial races of the Empire.¹⁹ While the Irish in Britain and their own country were frequently criticized in the British press for their supposedly inborn violent ways, their natural courage and toughness were highly valued when put to more productive use in the army. As Heather Streets has demonstrated, while British officers and politicians consciously used the discourse of martial races for ‘specific political and practical ends’, this discourse was also adopted by the peoples identified as natural warriors, and the Irish were no exception.²⁰

Thus, even some Nationalist newspapers, almost all of which had expressed sympathy for Arabi Pasha and his call for ‘Egypt for the Egyptians’, got caught up in the celebratory mood. The Nationalist *Western News*, for example, expressed its pride for the ‘Royal Irish (18th and 67th Regiments) who so gallantly stormed the trenches and turned the enemy’s position’, but also noted its regret that ‘they were not pitted against foemen more worthy of their steel’.²¹ Like a number of its

peers, the *Western News's* support for Arabi's rebellion cooled after the Egyptians' poor and supposedly 'unmanly' showing against the British army. The *News* was somewhat atypical of the Nationalist papers, however, in its disappointment that the Sons of Erin faced enemies unequal to them. Far more common were expressions of pride for Irish courage tempered by regret that it was used for a bad cause—the expansion of British imperial tyranny. For example, the *Connaught Telegraph* averred that 'we could wish that the blood of our gallant countrymen was shed in a holier and higher cause than that of fighting against a cruelly oppressed people ... yet we cannot help saying how proud we feel that they have so nobly and conspicuously upheld the traditional glory of our race'.²² Like most of its peers, the *Telegraph* could not resist celebrating the exploits of Irish soldiers, even when they were used to suppress what it and its peers widely characterized as a national movement.

While they sharply differed over many aspects of these campaigns, Irish newspapers were generally united in their criticism or complaint that the British press tended to downplay or ignore Irishmen's contribution to the victories in Egypt and the Sudan. Even the Nationalist *Waterford Mail* complained that the London press ignored the Irish regiment, although Wolseley had singled them out in his report, while the moderate Nationalist *Limerick Reporter* praised Wolseley for noting the Irish regiments' bravery, which otherwise would have been ignored by the British press, as in the past.²³ The independent Liberal *Derry Journal* made a similar complaint in the waning days of the Sudan campaign. 'Wherever there is wrong-doing by Irish hands', it claimed, 'our nationality is not forgotten'. But 'wherever the Irish carry the day with the bayonet, or save ... the British squares from ignominious rout, no word of their nationality is to be found in print'.²⁴ These complaints, which appeared across the political divide, echoed both the traditional Anglo-Irish grievance that Britain consistently failed to appreciate their many contributions to the administration of Ireland and the Empire, and what Denman posits as the standard Nationalist narrative of the Irish enlistee: a young man forced by economic circumstances to join the army, put in the most dangerous situations because of his natural bravery, and then, when his service was complete, 'cruelly cast aside by the ungrateful English'.²⁵

As in the Egyptian campaign, newspapers across the political divide marked the pluck of Irishmen serving in Wolseley's expedition to rescue

General Gordon and the campaign that preceded it. The Liberal *Munster News*, for instance, noted the large number of Irish and Scottish officers in Wolseley's Sudan expeditionary force, which it praised for 'splendid bravery and daring', which 'has not been surpassed in the history of the English army'.²⁶ Reporting on the March 1884 Battle of Tamanieb, the Liberal *Ballymoney Free Press* celebrated the critical role played by Irish troops. 'The destiny of England in the East hung in the balance', the paper exclaimed breathlessly, but 'the catastrophe has been happily averted by Irish soldiers'. Commenting on suggestions that England ally with the courageous Arabs as 'a breakwater against Russian aggression', the paper asked 'Why not form the Irish, who beat the Arabs, into a wall of defence against England's foes?' Make Ireland a nation of peasant proprietors with a local government, it claimed, 'and her sons will make England's foes bite the dust'.²⁷ In other words, once Ireland became a truly equal partner in the Union it would happily shoulder its fair burden of defending the shared empire.

Many imperial theorists, liberal or otherwise, envisaged a future in which the Empire, or at least the 'civilized' parts of it, would exist as a broad framework that afforded room for multiple and overlapping identities (both national and imperial). The constituent parts of this association would be granted self-government in proportion to their level of political maturity.²⁸ Irish liberals and moderate nationalists did not contest this liberal model of empire, but rather sought to ensure that Ireland was counted on the civilized side. While many liberals and some moderate nationalists pointed to Ireland's ubiquitous contributions of manpower, skill, and knowledge to the imperial project as marks of their nation's political maturity, conservatives and others used the violence and disorder produced by long-standing grievances over the land and national questions (recently displayed in the Land War of 1879–82) as evidence to question whether or not Ireland was truly civilized or politically trustworthy. By addressing Ireland's domestic complaints and thereby removing the shadow of agrarian violence and parliamentary obstruction, the *Ballymoney Free Press* suggested, its imperial contributions and political maturity could be fully appreciated.

In contrast, throughout the Egyptian and Sudanese campaigns, many Nationalist papers frequently charged that the British public and government used the Irish not as imperial partners but rather as cannon fodder, military instruments for imposing British oppression on foreign peoples, an oppression that the Irish themselves felt keenly. In this vein

the *Tipperary People* complained that ‘Irishmen are specially prized by John Bull when any deed of heroism is required on the battle-field, but at home they are only fit for the prison cell, the galley ship, or the hangman’s noose’.²⁹ These laments over service in a bad cause were more pronounced in advanced Nationalist newspapers such as the *Weekly News*. In the cartoon ‘Bad Work’, wounded Irish and Highland soldiers recount the various crimes committed against their countries by ‘Saxon laws and Saxon lordlings’. ‘We have been great fools, Pat’, the Highland soldier concludes, ‘to give such help as we have given to the oppressors of our race’. ‘Fools Sandy!’ the Irish soldier replies, ‘Not merely fools, but something worse than that!’³⁰ This final line suggests a less sympathetic view of the Irish soldiers than that expressed in other Nationalist newspapers. It implies that Pat the soldier was not simply a brave Irishman forced by economic circumstances to join the army, but something worse; perhaps he and Sandy were somehow complicit in the crimes of empire, many of which were on display in the North African campaigns.³¹

Unlike Arabi’s soldiers, who were universally scorned in the Irish and British press, the Mahdi’s followers proved more than willing to fight, even against clearly hopeless odds, earning them widespread admiration for their audacity and manliness.³² The large and unequal number of Sudanese casualties, combined with the seemingly pointless nature of the campaigns—the Government was fighting in a land it had pledged to abandon—gradually turned opinion against the entire enterprise in a large section of the press in Britain and Ireland. The advanced Nationalist papers, such as the *Weekly News*, posited that no glory was to be found in the ‘wanton slaughter’ of such ‘courageous fanatics’, and the spectacle of the British people and press celebrating these battles must lead ‘reasoning men of other races ... to the conclusion that the mass of Englishman of the present day are cowards at heart’.³³ Critiques such as this challenged the dominant narrative of the desert battles in the British press as exemplars of valor on both sides, presenting them instead as simple slaughters of rude tribesmen over which the craven British people and their newspapers rejoiced. They also ran counter to a growing tendency among some sectors of the British public to view the one-sidedness of Britain’s victories in small colonial wars as evidence of their moral correctness.³⁴

Nationalist newspapers criticized not only the massacres themselves, but also the financial and moral costs of the Sudanese campaign. The

moderate Nationalist *Limerick Reporter*, for example, argued that ‘while full credit must be given to the English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers who displayed their usual dauntless courage on this occasion (the Battle of Abu Klea, 17 January 1885), it is impossible not to feel horrified at the shocking expenditure of blood which this ill-omened enterprise has necessitated, to say nothing of the millions of money which it will cost’.³⁵ The *Nation* remarked in a similar vein: ‘Unfortunately the Irish, who have no desire to share in the gigantic atrocity, will be compelled to pay part of the butcher’s bill’.³⁶ While it celebrated the fall of Khartoum and the cutting of the British lion’s claws, the *Kilkenny Journal* mourned the loss of Irish soldiers, particularly in such an immoral enterprise. ‘Brave Celtic hearts have been stilled forever upon the banks of the Nile’, it sadly observed, ‘Thus in England’s defeats as well as her victories, unfortunate Ireland must suffer still, and sacrifice her sons to support Britain’s thirst for conquest!’³⁷ The *Nationalist and Leinster Times* complained a few weeks earlier in similar tones, ‘Once again has Irish blood been profusely shed to sustain British power, and to promote those schemes of aggrandizement which have made the name of England all over the world synonymous with oppression’.³⁸

These complaints echoed earlier Nationalist criticisms of the use of Indian troops (at Indian expense) in the Egyptian campaign. Writing a few months after the conclusion of hostilities, the *Weekly News* chastised the Government for hypocritically claiming that the expedition was undertaken for India’s benefit. ‘Thus the wretched Hindoos have first had to pay a tax in blood’, the paper complained, ‘and are now to pay a tax in hard cash, for military operations undertaken with the object of securing control of the Suez Canal for England, to enable her the more readily to keep the dusky children of India in subjection’.³⁹ The *United Ireland* concurred in typical fashion: ‘It is not enough that Indian Musulmans must shoot down Egyptian Musulmans, with whom they have no quarrel and every tie of creed and race. They must pay down what it costs England to make their subjection complete by clearing her enemies off the road to India. Yet, we dare say, ungrateful India, like ungrateful Ireland, is not happy’.⁴⁰ In contrast, organs such as the Independent but Conservative-leaning *Meath Herald* defended the use of Indian troops, positing that it was quite natural that ‘our fellow-subjects in India take a profound interest in the Egyptian question’.⁴¹ This dialogue reveals the rather different interpretations of imperial interest between Nationalist and Conservative and Liberal journals. The latter portrayed Britain’s military expeditions

in the region as undertaken in the combined interest of all peoples of the Empire, especially those in India, as the Canal was a vital lifeline of imperial trade. Nationalists, particularly advanced Nationalists, instead depicted the British invasions of Egypt and the Sudan as self-interested measures to protect Britain's economic, military, and political domination of its various subject peoples. Indian soldiers, much like their Irish peers, were thus largely innocent pawns used by their colonial master to expand its dominion.

These attacks did not go unnoticed in the Conservative papers, which chastised the Nationalist press for exaggerating British losses and making false claims about the army's behavior on the field. 'Bugbear after bugbear is brought up, like so many Egyptian mummies', complained the *Belfast News-Letter*, 'to frighten the nervous and possibly to stimulate the disaffected'. 'If the 'National' journals choose to cover themselves with shame by misrepresenting the valour of the British army, many of whose regiments are filled with our own countrymen', it continued, 'they are at liberty to do so; but they ought to keep nearer to the truth'.⁴² The *News-Letter* further expressed its conviction that 'every true Irishman is proud of the victory in Egypt and the feeling of pride is increased by the thought that an Irish General successfully planned the campaign, which Irish soldiers bravely helped to carry out'.⁴³ This association between loyalty and 'true' Irishness was long-standing in the British and Conservative Irish press, which frequently claimed that the Fenians and then Parnell and his associates represented their Irish-American paymasters rather than true Irish men and women.⁴⁴ Despite some occasional expressions of concern over Fenian subversion, those serving in the army were generally regarded as 'true', or loyal, Irishmen, whose service and reliability were frequently emphasized to assuage concerns over the ascendant Home Rule movement.⁴⁵

For these journals the model 'true' Irishman was perhaps General Wolseley, despite the fact that he did not commonly regard himself as Irish. While he was feted upon his return from Egypt in 1882 and voted a generous pension, Wolseley found a somewhat chillier reception in his native Dublin. In November 1882 the Corporation of Dublin voted down a proposal to offer the returning Caesar the freedom of the city. The *Waterford Mail* applauded this decision, arguing that his victory came in an unjust war, fought to protect English bondholders. 'What have the English troops ever been but cut-throats?' the paper asked, 'Ready at any time to carry bloodshed, fire, and sword amongst their own countrymen

if only paid for it, as well as the unfortunate fellaheen of Egypt, or the unarmed Zulus'.⁴⁶ The use of the term 'English troops' is interesting, given that the paper had noted the contributions of Irishmen to the armed forces on numerous occasions, and would do so again just one week later when it argued that Englishmen could only achieve military success when 'properly supported by Irishmen, Scotchmen, and natives of India'.⁴⁷ It does, however, follow a pattern somewhat common in the Nationalist press, which tended to describe the army or soldiers as English or British when charging them with cruelty or other misdeeds, while often reserving mention of Irish soldiers to accounts of their valor or their critical role in achieving victory in particular battles.⁴⁸ As this sleight of hand sometimes involved the very same units, one wonders if it was effective among readers.

Some papers, such as the *People* (Wexford) grudgingly allowed that General Wolseley was due some praise for his caution and planning, but beyond this, it asserted, any praise was 'underserved; for there has been very little fighting, and Arabi's officers have displayed no capacity in maneuvering'.⁴⁹ 'The troops made a dash and after a few minutes the enemy ran away', added the Nationalist *Cork Examiner*. 'The incident is really indicative of the nature of the whole war, which certainly was not one to sing paeans over'.⁵⁰ While expressing its desire not to affront 'a man of distinguished position', the moderate Nationalist *Freeman's Journal* nonetheless strongly supported the Corporation's decision not to honor Wolseley, whom it described as 'an Englishman by stock, by service, by rank, by every title that he values'. 'In no sense does he represent Irish opinions or Irish aspirations', it claimed, and noted that his sword was at the service of England, and 'would be ready to be turned against his fellow-countrymen as it was to be turned against the helpless Egyptians'.⁵¹ In contrast to the Conservative papers, such as the *Daily Express*, that were keen to claim Wolseley for Ireland, the *Freeman* portrayed him as not even being a West Briton.⁵² In effect, the paper was flipping the 'true' Irishman narrative of the Conservative and British press. In this formulation, no Irishman could serve in such high rank in the imperial army and retain his nationality. While very few, if any, Nationalist newspapers openly followed the logic of this argument to the end and denied the Irishness of the entirety of the Anglo-Irish officer corps, their criticism of Wolseley reflected the long-running and soon to be intensified identification of Catholicism and Irishness among Nationalists. For their part, Irish Conservative newspapers demonstrated their class and political interests by paying considerably

more attention to the Irishness of the officers accompanying Wolseley in Egypt and then the Sudan than did their Nationalist peers.

This dialogue on Irishness had some basis in sectarian identity but was founded more concretely in political or national/supranational senses of belonging. Which loyalty came first, the nation (Ireland), the political unit (United Kingdom), or the supranational unit (the British Empire)? Did one of these have to come first? Could identity be compartmentalized? The answers to these questions were of course deeply influenced by one's view of the Union and the Empire. Were these or were they not legitimate political arenas in which Irish interests and aspirations would receive fair treatment? Again, although large sections of the Irish public and particularly its political classes would answer no to this query by the early 1920s, opinion on this question, including Nationalist opinion, was decidedly mixed in the preceding three or four decades.

While fairly widespread, Nationalist criticisms of the invasions of Egypt and the Sudan and the conduct of the army were not necessarily evidence of hostility to the Empire in general. As Barry Crosbie, Scott B. Cook, and many others have demonstrated, many Irish families, and indeed many Irish politicians saw opportunity as well as oppression in the British Empire. As they understood it, Ireland, which had long played such a critical role in building and defending the Empire, rightly deserved its fair share of the commercial and professional opportunities on offer. This claim was most famously advocated by John Redmond in the decade leading to the First World War, but it was far from a radical position even in the early 1880s. Support for the Empire, or at least imperial careers, was not, however, the same thing as support for the continued expansion of British dominion. Although a large section of the Irish public might not have supported disbanding the Empire entirely, there was a seemingly deep-seated antipathy toward imperial adventurism, ably harnessed in these years by Parnell and his party. Also, while they were undoubtedly more intemperate in their language, the Nationalist papers were not the only critics of increasing Britain's imperial responsibilities. A majority of Irish and British Liberal newspapers strongly supported Gladstone's (unfulfilled) promise of imperial retrenchment and reform in the late 1870s as well as the Government's plans (also unfulfilled) for a speedy withdrawal from Egypt.

This practically minded support or at least toleration of Irish service in the Empire did not generally extend to the advanced Nationalist papers. 'In common with all Irishmen', the *Tipperary People* claimed, '[we] feel

the great pity is to have Irish valour and chivalry thus spent in keeping up the honour of a most inveterate foe May Irish soldiers live to distinguish their friends from their foes'.⁵³ The *Weekly News* was even more critical of Irish soldiers, describing them in March 1884 as 'the Irish adventurer who takes the risk of getting his brains knocked out for the glory or profit of England'.⁵⁴ The term 'adventurer' is significant, as it was commonly used in this period to describe soldiers of fortune, pirates, or would-be dictators. The Irish adventurers serving in the Sudan, the paper intimated, were perhaps the equivalent of freebooters, de-nationalized mercenaries loyal to whoever paid them. In a February 1885 cartoon echoing 'Bad Work', a group of wounded Irish soldiers in the Sudan listen to 'Private McCarthy' denounce anti-Irish prejudice in the British press and workplace while 'we are spilling our blood every day for those villains, and slaughtering men who are only defending their own country'. Private O'Halloran replies, 'More fools we are McCarthy; more fools we are!'⁵⁵ This cartoon was a bit softer on the soldiers than the 1884 article, suggesting that these men were merely misguided and foolish rather than adventurers.

In the end, the advanced Nationalist papers were offering up their own vision of what it meant to be a 'true' Irishman. A true Irishman could distinguish his friends from his enemies and placed his talents and energies at the service of his homeland, not his oppressor. Like their Conservative and Liberal peers, advanced Nationalist journalists used phrases such as 'true Irishman' not necessarily to describe an objective reality but rather to 'perform rhetorical functions, and to provoke ethical and evaluative responses'.⁵⁶ 'Vocabularies and meanings are dynamic', Sean Ryder reminds us, 'language is not solely a matter of finding the correct word to describe a static object, it is often a matter of mobilising vocabularies and meanings in specific circumstances, in order to get things done'.⁵⁷

So, these competing narratives on loyalty and Irish soldiers were also competing narratives of Irishness and Irish identity. Conservative, Liberal, moderate Nationalist, and advanced Nationalist journalists each mobilized their own interpretations of loyalty, nation, and empire in order to resolve what it meant to be Irish in the Union and in a global, multinational empire? The soldiers became the focus of this debate because they were the most visible Irish imperial servants in a time of maximum imperial awareness, a period when Parnellite MPs asked more parliamentary questions on imperial matters than any other subject save Ireland.⁵⁸ The soldiers were thus proxies for many of the imperial anxieties on both sides

of the evolving home rule debate. Conservative journalists determined to maintain the political status quo in Ireland emphasized its integral position in the Empire and the good service performed by so many of its sons. This was reflected not only in the press, but also by symbolic gestures such as Queen Victoria's order in 1900 that Irish soldiers be permitted to wear shamrocks on Saint Patrick's Day.⁵⁹ Irish Liberal newspapers shared this vision of joint imperial governance, but also stressed the need for certain reforms (ultimately including home rule) that would make the Irish full partners in the Union and willingly shoulder their duties as an imperial race. Moderate Nationalists were more insistent in their demands for reforms and much more strident in their criticism of imperial expansion, but in the end many shared the Liberals' vision. There was a dual patriotism that supported both home rule for Ireland and maintaining the Empire, though with some future concession of self-government in India and other territories.⁶⁰ As we have seen, nationalists did not speak with one voice, and the advanced Nationalist press was generally hostile not just to expansion, but to the Empire in general. Their vision of patriotism and true Irishness afforded little room for imperial careers. Commentary on Irish imperial soldiering thus offers insight into the multifaceted nature of Irish imperial sensibilities in the late-nineteenth century and their role in the emerging debate over Irishness and Irish identity, a contest that came to dominate Irish politics and Anglo-Irish relations over the next 40 years.

NOTES

1. Jill Bender, 'Empire', in *The History of Modern Ireland: A Princeton Guide*, ed. by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton UP, 2016), 343–360.
2. See especially Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012). See also Scott B. Cook, 'The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855–1914', *Journal of Social History* 20:3 (spring 1977): 507–529.
3. An important exception is Alexander Bubb, 'The Life of the Irish Soldier in India: Representations and Self-Representations, 1857–1922', *Modern Asian Studies* 46:4 (2012): 769–813.
4. See Paul Townend, 'Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis, 1878–1880', *Past and Present* 194, no. 1 (February

- 2007): 139–174 and *The Road to Home Rule: Anti-Imperialism and the Irish Nationalist Press* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2016); and Michael de Nie, “‘Speed the Mahdi!’ The Irish Press and Empire during the Sudan Conflict of 1883–1885’, *Journal of British Studies* 51:4 (Oct. 2012): 883–909.
5. For a detailed study of the liberal view of Empire and the political and rhetorical opportunities it afforded Irish liberals and nationalists, see Jennifer Ridden, ‘Britishness as an imperial and diasporic identity: Irish elite perspectives, c. 1820–1870s’, in *Victoria’s Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837–1901*, ed. by Peter Gray (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 88–105. See also Andrew Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c.1880–1932* (New York: Routledge, 2000); A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies: A Study in British Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1985); and Gary Peatling, *British Opinion and Irish Self-Government, 1865–1925: From Unionism to Liberal Commonwealth* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2001).
 6. Bubb, ‘The Life of the Irish Soldier in India’, 806.
 7. Keith Jeffery, ‘The Irish military tradition and the British Empire’, in *‘An Irish Empire’? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996), 94–122, 95. See also Peter Karsten, ‘Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792–1922: Suborned or Subordinate?’ *Journal of Social History* 17:1 (Autumn 1983): 31–64; H. J. Hanham, ‘Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army’, in *War and society: Historical Essays in honour and memory of J.R. Western 1928–1971*, ed. by M. R. D. Foot (New York: Elek Books, 1973), 159–182; and Alan Ramsay Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859–1899* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).
 8. Terence Denman, ‘Ethnic Soldiers Pure and Simple?’ The Irish in the Late Victorian Army’, *War in History* 3:3 (1996): 253–273, 254–255.
 9. Kevin Kenny, ‘The Irish in the Empire’, in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 90–122, 108.
 10. *Ibid.*, 106. See also Jefferey, ‘The Irish Military Tradition’, 94–95; and Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*.

11. See Niamh Lynch, 'Defining Irish Nationalist Anti-imperialism: Thomas Davis and John Mitchel', *Éire-Ireland* 42, nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer 2007): 82–107; Pauline Collombier-Lakeman, 'Ireland and the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism', *Radical History Review* no. 104 (2009): 57–76; Matthew Kelly, 'Irish Nationalist Opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s', *Past and Present* 204, no. 1 (August 2009): 127–154; and H. V. Brasted, 'Irish Nationalism and the British Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750–1950*, ed. by Oliver MacDonagh, W. F. Mandle, and Pauric Travers (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 83–103.
12. Terence Denman, "'The Red Livery of Shame": The Campaign against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899–1914', *Historical Studies* 29:114 (Nov. 1994): 208–233, 209. See also Donal P. McCracken, *Forgotten Protest: Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2003).
13. Jill Bender, 'The Irish 'Sepoy' Press: Irish Nationalism and Anti-British Agitation during the 1857 Indian Rebellion', in *Ireland Down Under: Melbourne Irish Studies Seminars, 2001–2010*, ed. by Elizabeth Malcolm; Philip Bull, and Frances Devlin-Glass (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2012), 241–251; Denman, 'The Red Livery of Shame'.
14. Denman, 'Ethnic Soldiers', 272. See also Bubb, 'The Life of the Irish Soldier in India'.
15. There is a very large body of scholarship on the Egyptian invasion and protectorate. Some of the more relevant to the topic of this chapter include M. E. Chamberlain, 'British Public Opinion and the Invasion of Egypt, 1882', *Trivium* no. 16 (1981): 5–28; John Crangle, 'The British Peace Movement and the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882', *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 15:3 (1975): 139–150; John Newsinger, 'Liberal Imperialism and the Occupation of Egypt in 1882', *Race and Class* 49, no. 3 (2007): 54–75; and Robert T. Harrison, *Gladstone's Imperialism in Egypt: Techniques of Domination* (Westport: Praeger, 1995).
16. For more on the Mahdi and the Mahdiya, see A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiya: A History of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1881–1899* (London: Longman, 1951); Richard Dekmejian and Margaret Wyszomirski, 'Charismatic Leadership in Islam: The Madhi of the

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17. *Belfast Newsletter*, 16 Sept. 1882, *Cork Constitution*, 14 Sept. 1882.
 18. *Daily Express*, 20 Sept. 1882.
 19. See Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race, and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2004); and Jeffery, 'The Irish military tradition and the British Empire'.
 20. Streets, *Martial Races*, 10.
 21. *Western News*, 16 Sept. 1882.
 22. *Connaught Telegraph*, 30 Sept. 1882.
 23. *Waterford Mail*, 15, 18 Sept. 1882; *Limerick Reporter*, 15 Sept. 1882. See also *Connaught Telegraph*, 30 Sept. 1882; *Belfast Newsletter*, 16 Sept. 1882.
 24. *Derry Journal*, 5 Feb. 1885.
 25. Denman, 'Ethnic Soldiers', 256.
 26. *Munster News*, 31 Jan. 1885. See also *Donegal Independent*, 24 Jan. 1885.
 27. *Ballymoney Free Press*, 20 Mar. 1884.
 28. Ridden, 'Britishness as an imperial and diasporic identity', 96, 98–99.
 29. *Tipperary People*, 15 Sept. 1882.
 30. *Weekly News*, 23 Sept. 1882.
 31. See, for example, *United Ireland*, 16 Sept. 1882. See also 12 Aug. 1882; *Nation*, 16 Sept. 1882.
 32. For example, see *Daily Express*, 13 Feb. 1885, *Roscommon Journal*, 24 Feb. 1885.
 33. *Weekly News*, 8 Mar. 1884. See also 5 Apr., 28 June 1884; *Irishman*, 24 Jan., 7 Feb. 1885.

34. See John MacKenzie, 'Introduction: Popular Imperialism and the Military', *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed. by John Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992), 1–24; and Michael Paris, *Warrior nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1859–2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).
35. *Limerick Reporter*, 28 Jan. 1885. See also 4 Mar. 1884. See also *Freeman's Journal*, 7, 22 Jan. 1885.
36. *Nation*, 14 Feb. 1885.
37. *Kilkenny Journal*, 25 Feb. 1885. See also 7 Feb. 1885.
38. *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 24 Jan. 1885. See also *Western News*, 7 Feb. 1885; *Freeman's Journal*, 14, 15 Mar. 1884.
39. *Weekly News*, 10 Mar. 1883.
40. *United Ireland*, 29 July 1882.
41. *Meath Herald*, 8 July 1882. For more commentary on the use of Indian troops in the north-east African theater see *Wexford Constitution*, 13 Dec. 1882; *Belfast News-Letter*, 26 June 1882; *Cork Examiner*, 2 Aug. 1882.
42. *Belfast News-Letter*, 2 Sept. 1882.
43. *Belfast News-Letter*, 18 Sept. 1882.
44. See Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798–1882* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), esp. chpt. 4.
45. Bubb, 'The Life of the Irish Soldier in India', 794. See also Denman, 'Ethnic Soldiers', 268.
46. *Waterford Mail*, 16 Nov. 1882.
47. *Waterford Mail*, 23 Nov. 1882.
48. See, for example, the *Nation's* denunciation of *British* cavalry for running down fleeing Egyptian soldiers at Tel-el-Kebir, 16 Sept. 1882. See also Timothy G. McMahon, 'Dash and Daring: Imperial Violence and Irish Ambiguity', in *Shadows of the Gunmen: Considerations about Violence in Irish History*, ed. by Sean Farrell and Danine Farquharson (Cork: Cork UP, 2008), 79–89, 84–85.
49. *The People*, 16 Sept. 1882.
50. *Cork Examiner*, 10 Oct. 1882.
51. *Freeman's Journal*, 8, 9 Nov. 1882. See also the cartoon, 'Consoling Sir Garnet', in the *Weekly News*, 18 Nov. 1882.
52. The irony in this case of course is that like another prominent Dublin-born general, Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, Wolseley never considered himself to be an Irishman.

53. *Tipperary People*, 14 Mar. 1884.
54. *Weekly News*, 29 Mar. 1884.
55. *Weekly News*, 28 Feb. 1885.
56. Sean Ryder, 'Defining Colony and Empire in Early Nineteenth-century Irish Nationalism', in *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Terrence McDonough (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 165–185, 167.
57. *Ibid.*, 168.
58. Alan O'Day, *The English Face of Irish Nationalism: Parnellite Involvement in British Politics, 1880–1886* (Dublin: MacLean-Hunter, 1977), 161. See also Carla King, 'Michael Davitt, Irish Nationalism and the British Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837–1901*, ed. by Peter Gray (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 116–130; Brasted, 'Irish Nationalism and the British'; John Crangle, 'Irish Nationalist Criticism of the Imperial Administration of India (1880–1884)', *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 11, no. 4 (December 1972): 189–194; and I. M. Cumpston, 'The Discussions of Imperial Problems in the British Parliament, 1880–1885', *Proceedings of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., no. 13 (1963): 29–47.
59. Denman, 'Ethnic Soldiers', 271.
60. Cook, 'The Irish Raj', 521–522. See also Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army', 41.

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Armagh Standard
Ballymena Observer
Ballymoney Free Press
Belfast Evening Telegraph
Belfast Newsletter
Carlow Sentinel
Clare Journal and Ennis Advertiser
Cork Constitution
Derry Journal
Donegal Independent
Eagle and County Cork Advertiser
Freeman's Journal
Galway Express

Galway Vindicator
Irish Fireside
The Irishman
Irish Times
Kerry Evening Post
Kerry Sentinel
Kerry Weekly Reporter
Kilkenny Journal
Kilkenny Moderator
Limerick Chronicle
Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator
Londonderry Standard
Mayo Examiner
Meath Herald
The Nation
Nationalist and Leinster Times
Northern Whig
The People
Roscommon Herald
Roscommon Journal
Sligo Champion
Sligo Chronicle
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‘The Leader of the Virgin Choirs of Erin’*: St Brigid’s Missionary College, 1883–1914

Colin Barr and Rose Luminiello

In the first years of the twentieth century, on the feast day of St Francis, a ‘grand’ stuffed beaver arrived at the Convent of Mercy in Callan, Co. Kilkenny. It was not a particularly unusual gift: like many others, the sender had been an ‘aspirant’ at St Brigid’s Missionary College, which was attached to the convent. Now a Sister of Mercy in St John’s, Newfoundland, no doubt she wanted to show off her new home to her old school. So many such gifts had arrived, the mother superior told her uncle, Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran of Sydney, Australia, that they would have to ‘enlarge the museum cases’.¹ ‘Far and wide’, another former aspirant wrote in 1898, ‘are St. Brigid’s children scattered in widely different latitudes, in far-away settlements at the goldfields, across the prairies, and under Indian suns, members of more than a dozen Religious Orders, each with its own special work of corporal or spiritual Mercy’.² This was not an exaggeration: although not all persevered in their vocation, and not all who did

* Patrick Francis Moran to Sr Joseph Rice, 17 December 1896, Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta, New South Wales [ARSMP].

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left Ireland, between 1883 and its closure in the mid-1950s, some 2,000 women entered St Brigid's Missionary College with a view to service in Ireland's spiritual empire.³

St Brigid's was unique within that empire. Although it was run by the Sisters of Mercy, it was not a novitiate for that congregation. Instead, it sought first to form and then provide women to any religious community anywhere in the world that desired Irish members. Most of these women did not have the resources to enter a congregation at home: St Brigid's provided them with both an exit from Ireland and an entrée into religious life abroad. The women in turn supplied the unpaid labor that was the backbone of the thousands of schools, hospitals, asylums, refuges and orphanages that sprang up around the Catholic world in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In the English-speaking lands, these institutions made possible the creation and endurance of a distinctively Irish Catholic imperial culture. As the Boston-based *Sacred Heart Review* observed in 1910, St Brigid's Missionary College was 'intended to do for missionary nuns what All Hallows' College is doing for missionary priests'.⁴

Yet unlike All Hallows, St Brigid's is almost entirely unknown. It appears briefly in Suellen Hoy's study of religious women in Chicago and in passing in Madeleine Sophie McGrath's history of the Sisters of Mercy of Parramatta, Australia.⁵ Hoy had access to some of the records preserved in Callan, and McGrath to papers held in Parramatta and Sydney. But neither made St Brigid's central to their story, and neither book was much noticed by scholars of Ireland or Ireland's spiritual empire or of missions generally. Other than these fleeting mentions, St Brigid's seems to have eluded scholars. There are several reasons for this. First is the problem of access: the records of the College are held in Callan, and have not normally been open to historians. This includes the College Register, which gives the details of the women who passed through St Brigid's, including their age, place of origin and destination. Other than Hoy, the present authors appear to be the only scholars to have had access to it. But Callan is not the only place that must be visited: St Brigid's was an integral part of the network of Hiberno-Roman clerics associated with the relatives and protégés of Cardinal Paul Cullen of Dublin.⁶ Although important everywhere in the English-speaking world, this network was strongest in Australia. The records detailing the origins of the College are hence largely to be found in the diocesan archives of Sydney and Maitland-Newcastle, and the convent archives

in Parramatta. Although Australian Catholic historiography is very well developed, the archival traces of St Brigid's have been missed by all save McGrath, who was not concerned with St Brigid's global significance, only with its connection with Parramatta.⁷ In addition to the problem of sources, there are the related facts that Irish religious women were very good at effacing their achievements and modern scholars have by and large been none too diligent in ferreting them out, especially outside Ireland. Nonetheless, the virtual absence of St Brigid's Missionary College from the historiography is a significant lacuna.

St Brigid's focused its attention not simply on the British Empire and USA, but rather on the worlds of the global Irish stretching from Boston to Ballarat to Buenos Aires, a 'Greater Ireland' around which people, ideas and institutions moved freely and which was conceived, especially by the Irish Catholic Church, as a common cultural space. This chapter describes the College's origins, its influences, development, place in the Hiberno-Roman spiritual empire and gives some idea of the experience of those who passed through its doors and their fates. The authors are grateful to the community at Callan for permitting us to use the College Register, with the proviso that no information be related, individually or in aggregate, regarding students who entered the College after 1914. Although as a consequence this chapter cannot capture the whole of St Brigid's story, it can reveal a great deal about the 849 Irish women who entered seeking a new life overseas down to that date.

The Callan Sisters of Mercy were not the first to recognize the need for religious in Greater Ireland and beyond. The rapidly expanding Catholic emigrant populations could not support the schools and other institutions that their Church required. The preferred solution of essentially free clerical labor was impracticable as the diaspora could not produce enough indigenous vocations. This was for several reasons, including the superior economic opportunities available in the British Empire and USA, the greater marriage prospects for young men and, especially, young women, and the relative absence of the religious schools and other institutions that would normally be expected to foster young vocations. As a result there was a chronic shortage of both priests and nuns, but particularly the latter who were required in greater numbers to perform the labor-intensive and time-consuming tasks necessary to the functioning of the numerous schools, hospitals, and orphanages of Catholicism's Greater Ireland.

By contrast, Ireland had a surplus of young men and women eager to enter religious life. The problem was one of matching supply to demand.

In 1842, a group associated with the recently established Irish Vincentians founded the Missionary College of All Hallows in Dublin with a view to supplying the necessary priests. In what was essentially a matchmaking service, colonial and American bishops provided partly or wholly subsidized places for prospective seminarians prepared to commit to their diocese upon ordination. Those who were able paid half the modest pension, the bishop the rest. Particularly desperate bishops offered to pay the full cost to lure young men to especially distant or unattractive missions. This appealed to those whose families did not possess the resources to pay for either a place at an Irish seminary, or for the sort of secondary education that would qualify an impecunious but clever student for a bursary at an Irish seminary. As a result, All Hallows opened up the priesthood to a much larger and humbler section of Irish society, but only beyond Ireland. The college was a sustained success, sending out some 1500 men as priests by 1900.⁸

All Hallows sparked attempts to create a female equivalent. An early plan by the Dublin Presentation Sisters failed to come to fruition in the mid-1840s, as did a similar project of the Cork Sisters of Mercy a few years later. In 1880, a Mother Patricia Comerford opened a novitiate (and school) in Kilcock, Co. Kildare, designed to supply Presentation Sisters to the western USA. Although some 13 women did ultimately travel to California, the novitiate quickly failed.⁹ In 1886, the Dominican sisters in Dunedin, New Zealand, tried to establish a novitiate at Beaumont in north Dublin. It was intended to attract women who could not normally afford entrance to the socially elite Dominicans. The experiment lasted a year and was not repeated.¹⁰ St Brigid's would be different in every respect. Unlike the other schemes, it was never intended solely to supply one religious order or congregation. And unlike Comerford's novitiate in Kilcock, which sought only dowered women, it would welcome those of modest or no means and give many Irish women a path to avoid becoming a lay sister, the little-studied drudges of the convent archipelago.

As with All Hallows, this social and financial flexibility met a real need: not enough women from prosperous homes had a vocation, and certainly not to the more isolated or difficult parts of Greater Ireland. The required dowry could be very large: to enter a Dominican convent, for example, some £1,000 was expected. Of the first 20 Dominican sisters in Maitland, New South Wales, seven had paid the full amount, and the rest sums ranging from £300–£650. Although the dowry could often be paid by installment, or by the legally binding promise of family property at a future

date, these amounts were far beyond the reach of most Irish families.¹¹ This problem was something that colonial bishops were well aware of. In 1872, for example, James Murray of Maitland received a lengthy letter from a Sister Mary Paul Cahill, a Presentation nun in Fermoy, Co. Cork. From it, the bishop learned that two young women had asked Cahill's assistance in becoming religious. Neither had enough money to enter in Fermoy; one, identified only as Grace, had made 'several attempts' to qualify as a teacher, but 'her father objected as his means are very modest and she had to go to business' despite being 'genteel in appearance and manner'. The other, Kate Collins, simply hoped to become a lay sister. Collins could just about pay her way to Australia, Grace had enough only for her personal outfit. Would Murray take them?¹² Although their ultimate fate is unrecorded, the women's experience was by no means untypical.

St Brigid's great advantage would be its powerful backers, indeed there were none more powerful in Ireland's spiritual empire. Although the idea of a missionary college seems to have originated with the Callan Sisters of Mercy, they were themselves at the heart of the global network created by Cardinal Paul Cullen of Dublin. From the early 1830s until his death in 1878, Cullen distributed his relatives, former students, and Dublin diocesan priests around the English-speaking world with ruthless efficiency. By the early 1870s, they had created a self-replicating form of Hiberno-Roman Catholicism in much of the British world and, to a lesser extent, the USA. This phenomenon has been examined by various scholars in several of the affected countries, and on a global basis by one of the present authors.¹³ After Cullen's death, informal leadership of his network fell to his nephew, Patrick Francis Moran. Like Cullen, Moran had been educated in Rome, and had spent much of his early career there before returning to Dublin as his uncle's secretary.¹⁴ In 1872, he was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Ossory, in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, in order to bring under Cullen's control the attempts to suppress the peculiarly litigious parish priest of Callan.¹⁵

As part of that campaign, Moran introduced a community of Sisters of Mercy into the town from Athy, Co. Kildare. The mother superior in Athy was a cousin, as was the first mother superior in Callan. She was joined by one of Moran's nieces, who would herself eventually become the superior.¹⁶ Over time, other nieces and cousins also found their way to Callan. As the mother superior, M. Michael Maher, observed to Moran in 1885, shortly after he became the second family member to be appointed Cardinal: 'what fine old stock [our grandparents] were to

spread their seed so far & wide over the new as well as the old world in the shape of Cardinals, Priests and Nuns'.¹⁷ Moran maintained his links with the convent, treating the women there with affection and a respect that bordered as closely on equality as was possible for an Irish bishop of the era.

By the late 1870s, Moran had largely secured the peace in Callan. With Cullen's death, he increasingly turned his attention overseas, serving, for example, as the European agent of the Irish bishops in Australia. Most were relatives or long-standing friends, who had since the early 1860s been engaged in a hard-fought campaign to displace the English Benedictines who had dominated the Catholic Church in Australia for more than 30 years. As part of Moran's kinship network, the Sisters of Mercy of Callan were also interested in Australia and regularly hosted Australian bishops who, when they came to visit Moran, usually also visited Callan. So too did Irish-Australian nuns home on recruitment trips, such as the two Brisbane Sisters of Mercy who visited in 1879.¹⁸ Whether it was these connections or something else that first suggested the idea of a missionary college to Mother Maher is unknown.

The first surviving mention of such a scheme is from early 1882, when Moran reported to Maher that he had discussed with Bishop James Murray of Maitland 'your preparatory school for aspirants to the religious life in Australia'. Through Moran, Murray proposed that a 'circular' be drawn up describing the course and its costs. He promised to support the effort and thought the other Australian Cullenites would as well. Moran offered to proofread the prospectus and add his own endorsement. Once such a school was 'set going', he wrote, 'I daresay there would be numbers of foreign Convents anxious to avail themselves of it'.¹⁹ The idea clearly appealed to Moran, and by late April 1882 he had approved the prospectus and promised to write ahead to the Irish-Australian bishops.²⁰

Maher duly wrote to James Murray on 1 May 1882, announcing the proposed College and enclosing its prospectus. She admitted that nothing tangible had been done, and no young women had as yet presented themselves who were suited 'for foreign missionary life'. (Maher claimed this was because 'all the young girls' were 'engaged about the Land League business' and thus distracted.) But she was confident that if Murray authorized Callan to recruit for his diocese, they would soon attract students.²¹ There things rested until Murray replied the following year, although in the meantime Moran called on the more peripheral Irish-Australian bishops to support the proposed College.²²

Murray finally responded in early April 1883, authorizing Callan to select 'six or eight' candidates for Maitland. The aspirants—as they would be called—could choose between the Dominicans and the Sisters of Mercy, both of which 'require sisters very much'.²³ Maitland already had seven Mercy convents, mostly involved with education, but that was nothing like enough to cater to the 2586 Catholics of primary-school age in the diocese.²⁴ In the relaxed manner that marked the Cullenite network, Murray wrote that Moran would pay for the students 'and if he do not you can put him in prison'.²⁵ Moran himself was delighted, promising to come to Callan as soon as possible to review construction plans and 'set the builders to work without delay'.²⁶ By September, Maher reported to Murray that she had identified four girls who might suit. She assured the bishop that 'you may make sure we shall do our best to select those that will likely become good and useful members of a community'. She also noted that yet another of the Irish-Australian bishops had recently called on Callan.²⁷ It was time to select a name for the new institution and a date to open it. Moran suggested Christmas and 'St Brigid's Convent for the Australian Mission'. St Brigid, he reminded Maher, 'was a great missionary Saint and I am sure she would extend her patronage to your missionary institution'.²⁸ Moran also offered practical help, boasting to Murray that the new buildings he had helped fund made the convent 'one of the finest in Ireland'. He also reported that he had secured 'a little endowment of £3,000, which will ensure their permanent usefulness amongst us'.²⁹

From the beginning, St Brigid's enjoyed financial stability, good facilities, and the free labor of the Callan Sisters of Mercy. This kept costs low, something that was necessary to attract often impoverished colonial bishops. A year's pension was set at £22,³⁰ considerably less than the £96 Murray was paying for a single seminarian in nearby St Kieran's College, Kilkenny.³¹ (The price would remain fixed for some years, rising to £32 only around 1912, and to £46, plus £4 for music, in 1953.)³² In this as in much else, St Brigid's followed the example of All Hallows, where a full pension was in the beginning around £20 per annum and only rose slowly to £25 in 1861 (of which the recruiting bishop was expected to pay £15) and £56 from 1912 until after the Second World War.³³ For 1884, Murray paid only £132 for his first five aspirants at St Brigid's.³⁴ By 1887, Moran (now in Sydney) was paying £176 a year for his.³⁵

In addition to tuition and board and its initial endowment, St Brigid's also enjoyed another source of income: the sale of the prolific Moran's

publications. He had already assigned to Callan the rights to his three-volume collection of Cardinal Cullen's pastoral letters.³⁶ At Moran's instruction, the convent printed thousands of advertisements to be sent 'to all the Priests and Bishops at home or in Australia and the United States'.³⁷ Although exact sales are unknown, judging by the volumes' distribution in clerical libraries around the world it must, at a guinea a set, have been an important source of income for Callan and St Brigid's.³⁸ Murray alone bought 10 sets.³⁹ A few years later, Moran gifted them his *Lives of the Irish Saints* and *Priests and People of Ireland in the Nineteenth-Century*, which together made £750 before stocks were exhausted.⁴⁰ Such acts prefigured other support from Australia: Moran sent gold nuggets to be raffled in 1889, for example, while Murray held a bazaar in Maitland in support of St Brigid's in 1901.⁴¹

With its first order and relative financial security, St Brigid's Missionary College opened on 7 January 1884. As Moran reported to Murray on 18 January—the same day he first heard the rumor of his appointment as Archbishop of Sydney—he had found in Callan 'five excellent young girls selected for Maitland'. He was confident, he told his friend, that 'a great deal of good will be sure to result from that Institution'.⁴² The first five women were Mary Anne Meany (aged 19), Hannah Looney (22), Mary Collins (17), Margaret Morris (who went by Maggie, 18) and an 18-year old from Moneygall, Co. Tipperary, whose first name was Ellen or Ellie, but whose surname is unfortunately illegible.⁴³ According to Maher's report to Murray, four of them 'have been accustomed to teach and are well up in English'. None was especially good at music, but they would work on that. Unsurprisingly, the women were drawn from the Mercies' own networks: one each was recommended by the convents at Athy (Meany), Macroom, Co. Cork (Looney), Mallow, Co. Cork (Collins) and Templemore, Co. Tipperary (Ellen). Margaret Morris was from Callan.⁴⁴ Murray was delighted: 'We will want them all'.⁴⁵ Escorted by Cardinal Moran, Morris, Looney, and Ellen left for Australia in September 1885. Meany joined them two years later. (Mary Collins stayed only a few months in Callan before going home.)

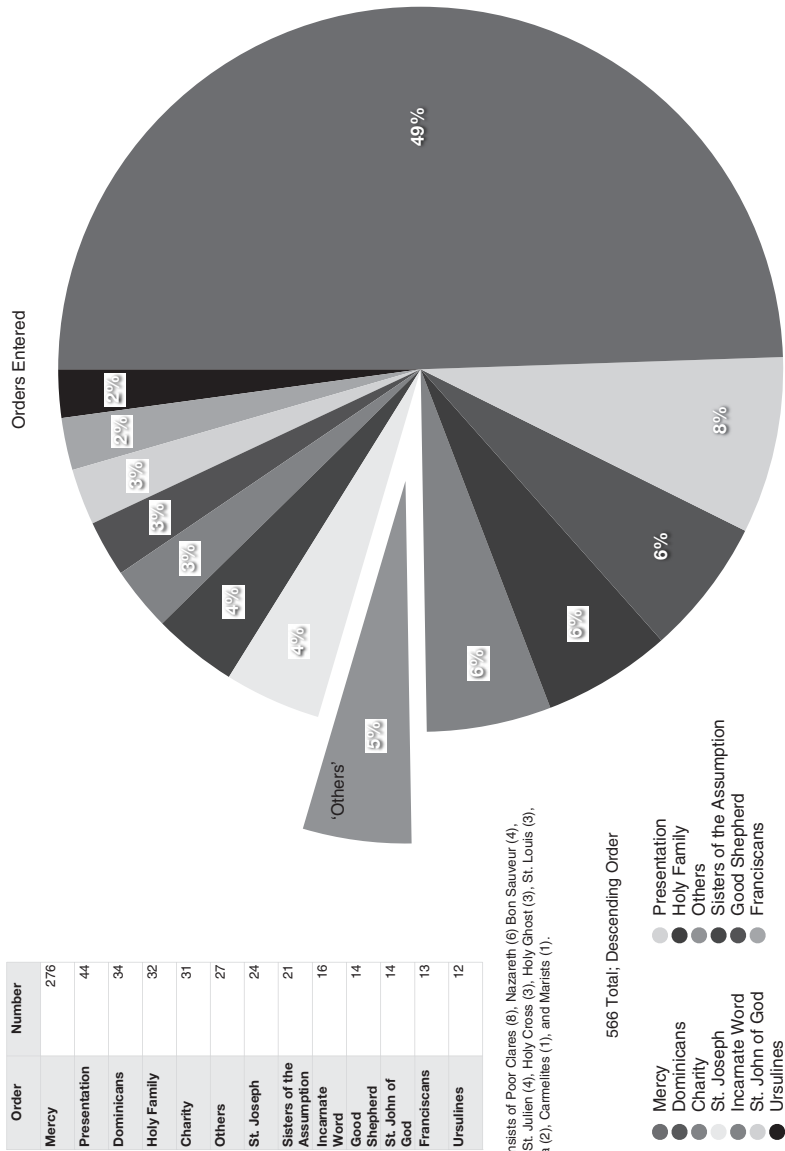
Although the first group of women were all destined for Maitland and for the Sisters of Mercy, such exclusivity was never the intention of St Brigid's founders. As a visiting reporter was prompted to stress in 1901, the women were at 'perfect liberty' as to which order they would select, and to which country they would go.⁴⁶ Of the first 10 women who persevered, seven became Mercy sisters, while one each joined the Sisters of

Charity, the Franciscans, and the Presentations. Six went to the diocese of Maitland, one to Armagh in Ireland, one to San Francisco, and one each to Newcastle and London in England. Of those who chose Maitland, four eventually moved to the diocese of Wilcannia in rural New South Wales, and two to the diocese of Wellington, New Zealand.⁴⁷

Of the 566 women who persevered by 1914 (and whose congregation is recorded), some 49 percent chose the Sisters of Mercy. But at least 22 other congregations were customers of St Brigid's. For example, 44 women (8 percent of the total) became Presentation Sisters, 34 Dominicans (6 percent), 32 Holy Family Sisters (6 percent) and 31 Sisters of Charity (5 percent)⁴⁸ (see Fig. 8.1). Some of these congregations were, like the Sisters of Mercy themselves, associated with the Hiberno-Roman global network. This was particularly true of the Dominican Sisters of Cape Town, who had been imported in the early 1860s from Cabra, Dublin, by Thomas Grimley, the first Cullenite bishop in the Western Cape. In 1903 alone, they had 25 aspirants in St Brigid's.⁴⁹

Just as St Brigid's spread its aspirants beyond the Sisters of Mercy, so too it sought to expand its market beyond its Cullenite base. This was most clearly the case in Australia. Moran, of course, became an even more powerful patron upon his appointment as Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney. The day he formally learned of his promotion, he told Maher that he was 'now particularly interested in the success' of St Brigid's.⁵⁰ As well as relying on the College himself, Moran joined Murray in serving as an advocate to the other Australian bishops. (Moran also convinced Callan to found a daughter house at Parramatta, which would go on to found numerous offshoots of its own.) To take one example, in 1890 Murray suggested to Bishop James Moore of Ballarat, Victoria, that he ask the mother superior of his own Mercy convent to approach Callan, which she duly did. The mother superior there, Moran's niece Mary Berchmans, was grateful to Murray for 'bringing our school under [Ballarat's] notice'.⁵¹ Moore was so pleased that he later engaged St Brigid's to provide aspirants for the most important of the indigenous Australian congregations, the Sisters of St Joseph.⁵² Other convents in Victoria followed suit.⁵³

The example of Broken Hill in extreme western New South Wales illustrates St Brigid's expansion and importance across Australia.⁵⁴ A mining boom town, Broken Hill had by 1888 some 2500 Catholics but only one school and one church sharing the same building. The first bishop of the newly created diocese of Wilcannia, John Dunne, appealed to Murray to



'Others' consists of Poor Clares (6), Nazareth (6) Bon Sauveur (4), Institute of St. Julien (4), Holy Cross (3), Holy Ghost (3), St. Louis (3), Immaculata (2), Carmelites (1), and Marists (1).

Fig. 8.1 Orders entered by St. Brigid's aspirants

help him secure a Mercy convent and six 'efficient' sisters to staff it.⁵⁵ Earlier requests to convents at Bathurst and Albury had been declined on grounds of insufficient numbers. Murray permitted the Mercy convent at Singleton in his diocese to respond to Dunne's appeal, and several sisters travelled nearly 1400 miles to Broken Hill. Two of them were among the first four St Brigid's aspirants to travel to Australia.⁵⁶ Ultimately, all four of the women settled there.⁵⁷ Once the new convent was established at 'Mt Erin', it immediately appealed to St Brigid's for personnel, telling Callan that they already had 400 children in primary school and plans to open both a high school and two more primary schools.⁵⁸

Despite the enduring focus on Australia, St Brigid's had global ambitions. As the school's then-head M. Joseph Rice told Cardinal Moran in late 1896, there 'are Aspirants here for different parts of India, as well as North and South America, and the demands for postulants ... are pouring in from all parts'.⁵⁹ A year later, Berchmans noted that, of the 30 aspirants then in residence, only one was for Australia, and the rest for 'South Africa, India & [the] U.S.A.'.⁶⁰ In the not untypical year 1905, Berchmans reported in May that four aspirants had just left for Australia, two to America, and three to India. A few months later, she told Moran of three who had just departed for Demerara in modern-day Guyana, and expressed her worries for 'our young Nuns' in Madras as the cholera closed in on that city.⁶¹ Of the 461 aspirants who are known to have gone abroad through 1914, 147 went to the various Australian states. But 120 chose the USA and 60 'Africa', which seems largely to have meant the Cape of Good Hope, as 19 of that number are specifically identified as having gone to Natal, and a further four to Rhodesia. Others went everywhere from British Columbia (10) to Argentina (7) to the Punjab (4). When the 28 percent who returned 'home' without immediately pursuing a vocation are taken into account, 26 percent went to Australia, 21 percent to America, 19 percent stayed in religious life in Ireland, 2 percent to New Zealand and so forth (see Fig. 8.2). As Berchmans lamented in 1895, St Brigid's 'gets applications every other day from all parts of the world for postulants but cannot supply them'.⁶²

The numbers entering St Brigid's fluctuated widely. From its opening in 1883 until about 1896, relatively few came: a handful each year in the late 1880s (and none at all in 1886), and then an average of 12 or so a year in the first half of the 1890s. From 1896, enrollments strikingly improved, with the College attracting anywhere from a high of 73 in 1902 to a low of 22 in 1907 (see Fig. 8.3). St Brigid's was confronted by several linked

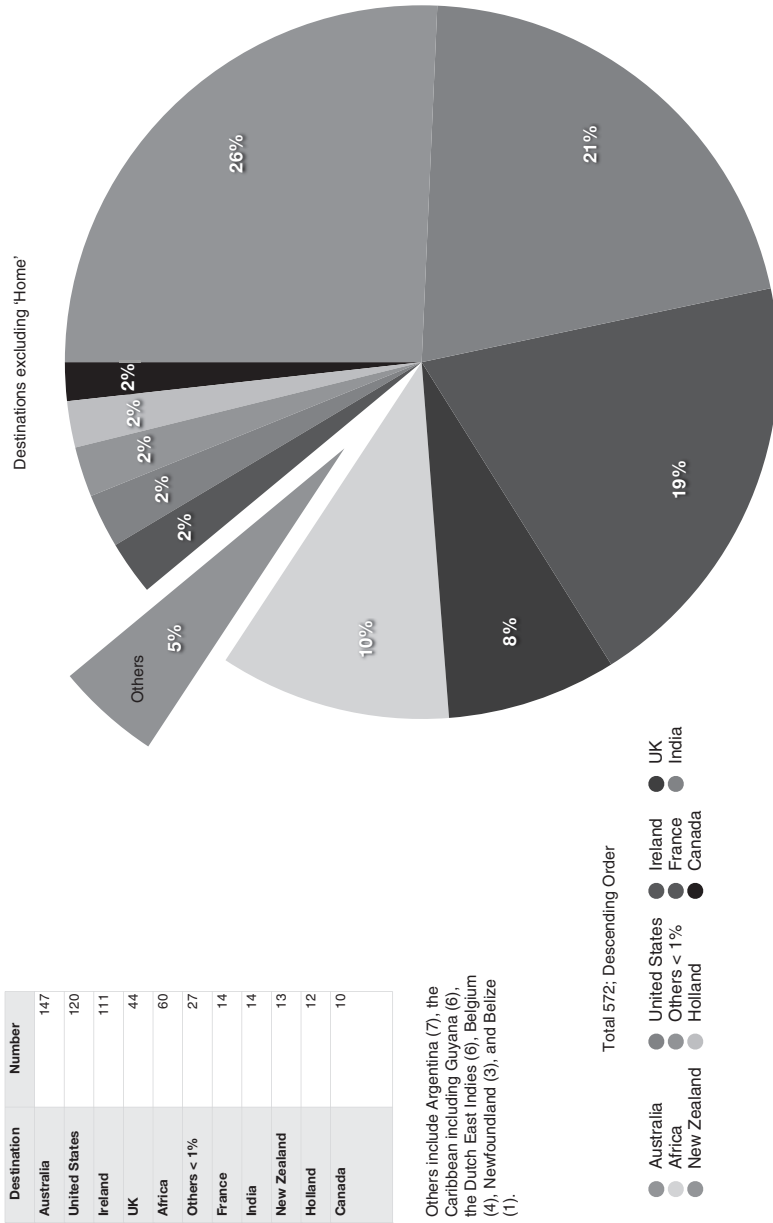


Fig. 8.2 Destinations of St. Brigid's aspirants (The College Register records only six aspirants as bound for Java or Batavia, and another twelve for Holland. It is highly probable that at least three and possibly more recorded for Holland simply stopped there to learn Dutch before joining their congregation)

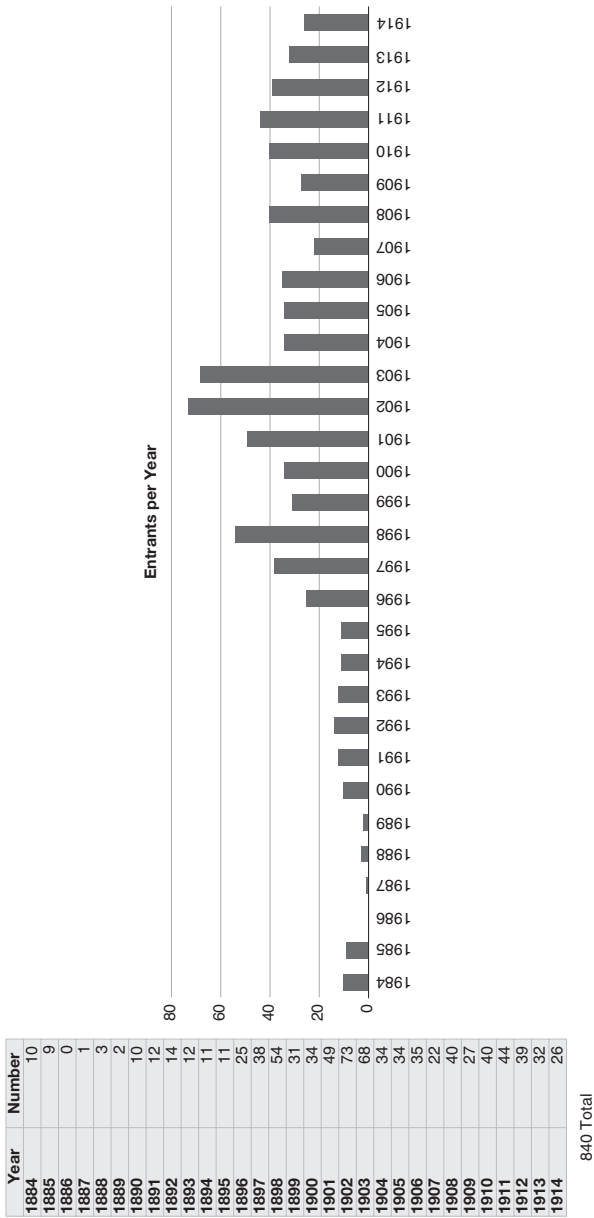


Fig. 8.3 Number of entrants per year

problems: there were not enough high-quality potential aspirants to meet demand; there was not enough money to provide free places or passage; and there was increasing competition from foreign convents recruiting in Ireland, cutting out the middleman.

As early as 1887, Rice was apologizing in advance for the quality of aspirants she had just dispatched to Maitland. 'We did the best we could with the material we had', she told Murray, 'and that too was the best we could get'.⁶³ In 1900, Berchmans lamented that there were at present 'twenty free places just now waiting for suitable subjects'. The problem, she continued, was that the 'requirements are so high it is very hard to get aspirants up to the mark'.⁶⁴ St Brigid's did reluctantly admit the occasional aspirant such as 'little Maggie Gannon' who despite being 'not smart' and 'a real child in mind' nevertheless had a strong desire to go on the foreign missions, a 'taste for drawing' and a nice voice.⁶⁵ St Brigid's wanted bright, motivated, and well-educated students, something that was in keeping with the wider Cullenite emphasis on quality clerical education.

The problem was not only the quality of the aspirants, but also the amount of time that was available to train those who were admitted. As Berchmans put it in 1906, it was 'impossible to get subjects *trainable* in the short time the Convents or Missions can pay for them'.⁶⁶ There was no fixed course: women remained until they were deemed ready to leave or were summoned by their new congregation or bishop. 'If the aspirants could remain longer', Berchmans complained in 1900, 'more good could be done for them'.⁶⁷ The demand for nuns was so great that there was little incentive for a foreign congregation to leave a potential subject in Ireland once she had been identified and provided with at least some formation and education. As Berchmans wrote in 1904, 'the foreign Convents cannot afford to pay for subjects for more than a year or very often six months'.⁶⁸ If the College had adequate resources of its own, she thought, it might resist these pressures. But despite repeated heavy hints to her uncle, no substantial new endowment was forthcoming from Australia or anywhere else.⁶⁹

The problem of impecunious and impatient clients was compounded by new competition. Although St Brigid's performed a useful service, it did so at a cost: not only was the receiving congregation or bishop usually required to pay their aspirants' pension, but they ceded control over the selection and initial training of their members or subjects to the Callan Sisters of Mercy. By the early 1900s, a number of congregations, usually

but not always American, began directly recruiting in Ireland. 'So many nuns come here from all parts each year', Berchmans lamented to Moran in 1907, '& take back with them such numbers of very young subjects that we are left without material for aspirants'. 'It would be a pity', she continued, 'if we be obliged to close the little school after its good work during 24 years'.⁷⁰ This was an exaggeration, but St Brigid's did begin to admit 'a few very young children' who would hopefully be 'too young to go on the Missions' when the foreign recruiters appeared.⁷¹ It does not seem to have worked: the travelling nuns were happy to 'carry' the very young 'off with them'.⁷²

Despite these challenges, St Brigid's thrived. As a visitor noted in 1901, women came from 'almost every County of Ireland'.⁷³ Unsurprisingly, many of the 841 aspirants whose origins are recorded through 1914 came from the region around Callan: 105 from Co. Cork, 99 from Co. Kilkenny and 85 from Co. Tipperary. But 59 came from Co. Clare, 44 from Co. Dublin, 26 from Co. Roscommon, and 22 from Co. Galway. Only counties Donegal, Westmeath, and Fermanagh did not contribute (see Fig. 8.4).⁷⁴ Most of the women who found their way to Callan were in their late teens—slightly more than 300 were aged 17, 18 or 19 on entry—but St Brigid's admitted women as young as 13 and as old as 40. Some 43 aspirants (5 percent of the total) were over the age of 30 when they entered (see Fig. 8.5).

St. St Brigid's aspirants were as diverse as their ages and origins. Some were like Ellen McAuliffe, aged 18 from Carrignavar, Co. Cork, who was 'bright and full of life' and destined for Maitland. It seems she knew Bishop Murray's family.⁷⁵ Others were like the three Parkinson sisters from Templemore. Mary Parkinson entered St Brigid's in December 1887, before leaving for Australia in May 1889. She became a Sister of Mercy at Singleton, New South Wales, her name in religion Sr. M. Philomena. Her sister Bridget first trained as a schoolmistress in the national schools and was employed by the convent school in Borrisoleigh for several years. As a result she not only had 'the usual English subjects' but also a 'fair knowledge of French and Music'.⁷⁶ Given her education and Singleton's willingness to accept her, she stayed less than a year at St Brigid's, entering in January 1890 and leaving for Australia in October. She became Sr. M. Regis. Their sister Kate entered the College the same month that Bridget left. She also took the name Philomena when she moved to Gunnedah, New South Wales, in September 1891. None had much money, and probably could not have hoped to enter a convent in Ireland.⁷⁷

Fig. 8.4 County of origin

County Origins in Alphabetical Order

842 Total

County	Number
Antrim	5
Armagh	5
Carlow	17
Cavan	20
Clare	59
Cork	105
Derry	3
Donegal	0
Down	10
Dublin	44
Fermanagh	0
Galway	22
Kerry	36
Kildare	14
Kilkenny	99
Kings	36
Leitrim	9
Limerick	56
Louth	5
Longford	4
Mayo	10
Meath	30
Monaghan	14
Queens	38
Roscommon	26
Sligo	2
Tipperary	85
Tyrone	6
Waterford	29
Westmeath	0
Wexford	31
Wicklow	22

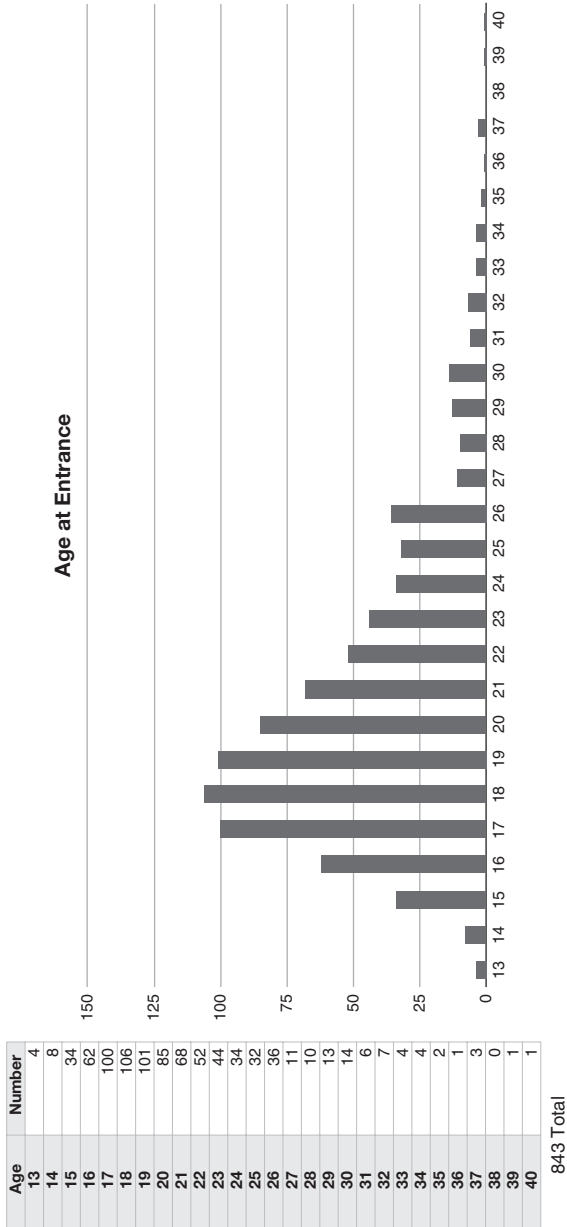


Fig. 8.5 Age at entrance

Mary had been 18 on arrival, Bridget and Kate 19. But others were older (or younger) and went elsewhere, for example 30-year-old Kate Fogarty from Arklow, Co. Wicklow, who arrived at Callan in late 1896, staying six months before moving to Sacramento in the USA, where she became Sr. M. Alphonsus. Or the 15-year-old Nellie Ross of Killinick, Co. Wexford, who entered St Brigid's in 1901, staying just over a year before becoming a Presentation Sister in Madras, India.⁷⁸

A comparison of the College Register for the periods 1901–03 and 1911–13 against the 1901 and 1911 censuses demonstrates the College's reach across Ireland's social and economic spectrum. Although relatively few aspirants could be positively matched to the census (41 percent in 1901, 30 percent in 1911), those who could were drawn from a wide range of backgrounds, including many that would not normally provide dowered choir sisters. Unsurprisingly, agrarian origins predominated. In 1901, farmers represented 17 percent of the heads of households that contained an identifiable aspirant, and 28 percent of the aspirants themselves were listed as farmers or farmers' daughters in the census. Also unsurprisingly, a high number of the aspirants were counted as being 'scholars' (23 percent in 1901, 37 percent in 1911), which meant that they were students at St Brigid's or another school on census day. But the remainder were domestic servants, dressmakers, shop assistants, factory workers, National School teachers, or milliners. The 1911 census gives similar results. The predominant occupation of the head of house was farming, at 54 percent. Excluding 'scholars', the most common occupations for the aspirants were domestic servants and farmers, both at 11 percent, but there were also shop assistants, dressmakers, two nurses, and a teacher. St Brigid's students came from all backgrounds and walks of life. They could be poor, like Mary Cronin, who was 16 years old in 1905 when she entered directly from an orphanage in Limerick. As Sr. M. Imelda, she ultimately became the Mother Superior of the Mercy convent in Demerara, British Guiana. Or they could be privileged, like Winfred Corbett and Mary Scanlon, who entered St Brigid's in 1900 and 1909 respectively, and came from affluent families in Rathmines. The precarious middle was also represented. James Joyce's sister Margaret, for example, arrived in Callan in 1909. She left nine months later for New Zealand and the Sisters of Mercy where she spent the rest of her life teaching music on the South Island. Two aspirants went to St Brigid's directly from a workhouse—one was a servant there, the other the mistress.⁷⁹

What the women all had in common was their experience at St Brigid's Missionary College. Although the women were aspirants, not postulants, and thus had taken no vows, they lived in a carefully regulated environment of prayer and study. Obedience was expected and required, and those who could not adapt lost their chance at a new life abroad. The instruction they received was academically rigorous: the course, 'besides the usual branches of English', included lessons in 'Italian, Latin, Vocal Music, Piano, Violin, Violoncello, Drawing, and Painting'. There was an 'Extended Course' for those who were thought able which included, among other things, book-keeping, 'Algebra, Euclid, and Natural Philosophy'.⁸⁰ This was an education that the poorer women attracted to St Brigid's could not have hoped to receive in Ireland. It was designed to prepare them for success in their vocations abroad, not simply in the sense that they would become competent teachers, but also that they might rise within their own congregations. Spiritually, the women were exposed (in the convent's magnificent chapel) to carefully planned and grandly celebrated liturgies in the Roman style everywhere favored by the Cullenites. Like the young priests who emerged from the Irish College in Rome or its many imitators around the world, St Brigid's aspirants were inculcated in Cullen's Hiberno-Roman Catholicism at the most important point of their religious formation. They then carried it to every corner of Greater Ireland and beyond.

The women who founded and nurtured St Brigid's were as much Cullenites as their uncles and cousins in the episcopacy. A missionary college seems to have been their idea, and they were permitted to run it as they saw fit, testing vocations and forming aspirants in their own way. As Murray told a priest he had authorized to accept for Maitland any seminarian or priest he thought suitable, when it came to prospective nuns it was Callan he trusted 'in judging the fitness of subjects'.⁸¹ St Brigid's was an active part of the Cullenite spiritual empire, and without its products, and many thousands of other Irish women, the schools, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and refuges that made the imperial culture of Catholicism's Greater Ireland possible could not have existed. As late as 1953, 69 years after its foundation, the College could brag that some 1500 women were 'doing good work in Australia, New Zealand, North and South America, Central America, the West Indies, India, South Africa, Java, Europe, Great Britain and Ireland, whilst new applications are arriving continually from these same countries'.⁸² Although Ireland was already changing, and St Brigid's soon became a lay school, its influence was substantial and enduring and its history should be better known.

NOTES

1. Berchmans to Patrick Francis Moran, 'Feast of St. Francis' (thus 4 October), no year, ARSMP, Box 60. Based on its location in the Parramatta archives, a date of 1901–03 is the most likely. The donor was most likely Jane Quinn from Wicklow, who was 22 when she entered St Brigid's in 1891. She left for Newfoundland in 1893.
2. 'An Aspirant', 'Apostolic School for Women', *Saint Joseph's Sheaf: An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine* II:14 (1898): 198–208.
3. For the figure of 2,000, see Hannah Frisby (ed.), *St. Brigid's College, Callan, Jubilee Book 1999* (Callan, 1999), 3. It is likely that around 1,500 actually went abroad.
4. *Sacred Heart Review*, 12 February 1910.
5. Suellen Hoy, *Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 24–26; Madeleine Sophie McGrath, *These Women? Women Religious in the History of Australia: The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888–1988* (Kensington: University of New South Wales Press, 1989).
6. Colin Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio": Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth-Century', *English Historical Review* CXXIII (2008): 611–650.
7. In addition to numerous specialist studies, there are three standard works on Australian Catholicism in the nineteenth century: John N. Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1969); the multiple editions of Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia* (first published by Thomas Nelson Australia, 1968); Christopher Dowd, O.P., *Rome in Australia: The Papacy and Conflict in the Australian Catholic Missions 1834–1884*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
8. See the published 'Matricula: 1842–1891' in Kevin Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows 1842–1891* (Dublin: All Hallows College, 1986), 290–364. See also Edmund M. Hogan, *The Irish Missionary Movement: A Historical Survey, 1880–1980* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991).
9. Hoy, *Good Hearts*, 23–4.
10. Mary Augustine McCarthy, O.P., *Star in the South: The Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St Dominic's Priory, 1970), chpt. 6.

11. M. R. MacGinley, *Ancient Tradition, New World: Dominican Sisters in Eastern Australia 1867–1958* (Strathfield: St Paul’s Publications, 2009), 83.
12. Mary Paul Cahill to James Murray, 22 October 1872, Murray papers, Maitland-Newcastle Diocesan Archives [MNDA], 3/1/1810/2/5.
13. Barr, “Imperium in Imperio”.
14. Philip Ayres, *Prince of the Church: Patrick Francis Moran, 1830–1911* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2007).
15. Colin Barr, *The European Culture Wars in Ireland: The Callan Schools Affair, 1868–1881* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2010).
16. Respectively, Teresa Maher, Michael Maher, Berchmans Commins. McGrath, *These Women?* 12.
17. Michael Maher to Moran, 17 September 1885, ARSMP, Box 60.
18. Moran to ‘Rev. Mother’ (Michael Maher), 10 December 1879, ARSMP.
19. Moran to ‘Rev. Mother’ (Michael Maher), 31 January 1882, ARSMP.
20. Moran to Maher, 29 April 1882, ARSMP.
21. Maher to Murray, 1 May 1882, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.1.
22. For example, see Moran to Maher, 31 May 1882, ARSMP. Here, Moran proposed that Daniel Murphy of Hobart, Tasmania, who although Irish was not directly a Cullen protégé, also receive a circular.
23. Murray to Maher, 6 April 1883, Callan Sisters of Mercy Archives [CRSMA].
24. ‘Report on the Primary Schools in the Diocese of Maitland, for the year 1884’, Murray papers, MNDA, 1811.
25. Murray to Maher, 6 April 1883, CRSMA. Murray attributed the delay to his difficulties over providing schools after state aid was withdrawn in New South Wales.
26. Moran to Maher, 25 May 1883, ARSMP.
27. Michael Maher to Murray, 11 September 1883, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.3. This was Bishop Matthew Quinn of Bathurst, who with his brother James Quinn of Brisbane were cousins of both Moran and Murray, albeit by different routes.
28. Moran to ‘Rev. Mother’ (Michael Maher), 27 November 1883, ARSMP.

29. Moran to Murray, 14 December 1883, Murray papers, MNDA, D.3.156.
30. Moran to Maher, 9 February 1882, ARSMP.
31. Moran to Murray, 8 August 1881, Murray papers, MNDA, D.3.136.
32. 'Our Future Nuns', 1912; 'Our Future Nuns', 1 January 1983. Copies are available in the archives of the Callan Sisters of Mercy.
33. Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows*, 162, 165.
34. Moran to 'Rev. Mother' (Michael Maher), 6 April 1884, ARSMP.
35. Maher to Moran, 'Feast of the Epiphany' (6 January), 1887, ARSMP, Box 60.
36. Maher to Murray, 1 May 1882, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.1.
37. Moran to Maher, 8 November 1882, ARSMP.
38. Moran to Maher, 30 July 1882, ARSMP.
39. Moran to Murray, 27 June 1883, Murray papers, MNDA, D.3.152.
40. Berchmans to Moran, 21 December 1904, Moran papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Sydney [AAS].
41. Moran to 'Sr. Alphonsus', 3 April 1889, ARSMP; Murray to Maher, 22 April 1901, CRSMA; Berchmans to Moran, 'Feast of St. Martin' (11 November)[1902], ARSMP, Box 60; Moran to Berchmans, 1 November 1902, ARSMP, Box 60.
42. Moran to Murray, 18 January 1884, Murray papers, MNDA, D.3.158.
43. St Bridget's Missionary College Register, CRSMA. It might be 'Drought', which although a name present in Moneygall is locally not normally considered a Catholic surname. The authors are grateful to Prof. Salvador Ryan for this information.
44. Maher to Murray, 13 February [1884], Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.6.
45. Murray to 'Mother Michael' (Michael Maher), 14 April 1884, CRSMA.
46. *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 January 1901.
47. College Register, CRSMA.
48. College Register, CRSMA.
49. Berchmans to Moran, 5 February 1903, ARSMP, Box 60. On the Cape Dominicans, see Kathleen Boner, *Dominican Women: A Time to Speak* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2000).
50. Moran to 'Rev. Mother' (Michael Maher), 28 March 1884, ARSMP.

51. Berchmans to Murray, 27 May 1890, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.37.
52. Berchmans to Moran, 16 November 1898, ARSMP, Box 60.
53. For example, the Geelong Sisters of Mercy: Berchmans to Moran, 7 March 1892, Moran papers, AAS.
54. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rise of Broken Hill* (Melbourne: Macmillan of Australia, 1968).
55. Dunne to ‘Rev Dear Mother’, 3 August 1888, Murray papers, MNDA, A.4.137. This was probably sent to the mother superior of the Sisters of Mercy in Singleton, who then forwarded it on to Murray. Dunne made his request to Murray as well: Dunne to Murray, 3 August 1888, Murray papers, MNDA, A.4.138.
56. Murray to Maher, 9 January 1889, CRSMA.
57. College Register, CRSMA.
58. Berchmans to Murray, 7 October 1889, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.18.
59. Sr. M. Joseph Rice to Moran, 11 November 1896, Moran papers, AAS.
60. Berchmans to Moran, 24 November 1897, Moran papers, AAS.
61. Berchmans to Moran, 24 May 1905, Moran papers, AAS; Berchmans to Moran, 2 August 1905, ARSMP, Box 60.
62. Berchmans to Moran, 20 November 1895, Moran papers, AAS.
63. M. Joseph Rice to Murray, 24 August 1887, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.11.
64. Berchmans to Moran, 14 November 1900, ARSMP, Box 60.
65. M. Joseph Rice to M. Mary Clare, 8 July 1908, Moran papers, AAS. It is significant that the unpromising Gannon was sent to Parramatta, Callan’s daughter house, rather than to strangers.
66. Berchmans to Moran, 9 January 1906, Moran papers, AAS. Emphasis in original.
67. Berchmans to Moran, 12 March 1900, Moran papers, AAS.
68. Berchmans to Moran, 30 August 1904, ARSMP, Box 60.
69. Berchmans returned to the theme to no avail throughout the early 1900s. See, for example, Berchmans to Moran, 21 December 1904, Moran papers, AAS.
70. Berchmans to Moran, 6 November 1907, Moran papers, AAS.
71. Berchmans to Moran, 30 August 1904, ARSMP, Box 60.
72. Berchmans to Moran, 20 December 1905, Moran papers, AAS.
73. *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 January 1901.

74. College Register, CRSMA.
75. College Register, CRSMA; Maher to Murray, 18 January 1888, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.12.
76. Sr. M. Agatha to 'Mother Josephine', 3 January 1890, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.30.
77. See Berchmans to Murray, 14 May 1890, Murray papers, MNDA, A.7.36.
78. College Register, CRSMA.
79. A full comparison and analysis of the census records and the St Brigid's register of aspirants may be found in Rose Luminiello, 'St. Brigid's Missionary College and the effects of Irish Catholic Religious Sisters in the Irish Spiritual Empire and Diasporas', unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2014.
80. 'Our Future Nuns', 24 September 1896. A copy is available in the Archives of the Callan Sisters of Mercy.
81. Murray to Patrick Hand, 26 December 1885, Murray papers, MNDA, E.1.20.
82. 'Our Future Nuns', 1 January 1953. A copy is available in the archives of the Callan Sisters of Mercy.

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‘Paddy Does Not Mind Who the Enemy Is’: The Royal Irish Constabulary and Colonial Policing

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The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) occupied a prominent place in the British imperial imagination as a model for policing the Empire. Sir Charles Jeffries of the Colonial Office observed in 1952 that ‘the really effective influence on the development of colonial police forces ... was not that of the police of Great Britain, but that of the Royal Irish Constabulary’.¹ In this formulation, the police forces of the British Empire, typically armed and under centralized state control, with military or quasi-military features, sought to replicate the organization, functions and ethos of the RIC. Yet historians have more recently cautioned us to be wary of sweeping generalizations regarding colonial police forces essentially based on an ‘Irish’ model, and we should be skeptical about the idea of an RIC model being transported intact to the colonial Empire.² As Elizabeth Malcolm has observed in her study of *The Irish Policeman*, ‘no colonial constabulary was ever an exact replica of the RIC’.³ Indeed, the relationship between policing in the United Kingdom and its counterpart in the British Empire

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was neither one-way traffic exporting of metropolitan models to the colonies or of importing colonial models to Britain, but rather a process of ‘cross-fertilization’ in which policing models, technologies and personnel were shared between metropole and empire.⁴

Nonetheless, if scholarship has urged us to be more cautious about the uncritical assumption of an ‘Irish model’ dominating British colonial policing, it has also reinforced the substantial and enduring importance of the Irish influence on that enterprise.⁵ From 1907 onwards, all colonial police officers underwent instruction at the Dublin depot of the RIC, and later (until 1932) at the Newtonards Depot of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. In the interwar period, 120 former Irish policemen transferred to colonial and Commonwealth police forces from the Palestine Gendarmerie.⁶ In Georgina Sinclair’s words, ‘the circulation of police officers to and from Ireland’ thus ‘instilled a degree of “Irishness” within the training and ethos of colonial police forces’.⁷

This chapter will examine Irish involvement with policing in Britain’s tropical Empire in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. With examples drawn principally from the British Caribbean, India and Southeast Asia, it will evaluate the role of ‘Irish models’ as well as Irishmen in policing the Empire. One principal contention is that Irish lives, as well as Irish models, must be considered in assessing Ireland’s influence on colonial policing. The examples chosen illustrate the Irish contribution not only to the policing of diverse locales within the Empire, but also how the Irish occupied a variety of roles within colonial forces. Irishmen served as officers in the elite Indian Imperial Police, and populated the white constabulary of the Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP). In Caribbean colonies such as Jamaica and Trinidad they occupied an important intermediary role between European officers and indigenous constables.

This chapter also contends that Irish involvement in policing the Empire sheds light not only on the workings of the British Empire overseas, but on Ireland at home. Following the creation of the United Kingdom in 1801, governmental structures shaped by Ireland’s earlier colonial history, notably the Lord Lieutenancy and the administrative apparatus of Dublin Castle, remained prominent.⁸ Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Anglicization of Ireland and its assimilation into the Union became from the perspective of British politicians and administrators an increasingly unlikely prospect. Instead, Ireland was seen as requiring special legislation and modes of governance. The Irish Constabulary represented

both of these features of Ireland's quasi-colonial experience of the Union: a distinctive police organization designed to contend with distinctive features of Irish political and agrarian unrest. In examining the origins of professional police forces within the British Isles over a quarter century ago, Stanley H. Palmer observed that while the RIC 'did develop a strong service function in the second half of the nineteenth century ... unlike the English police it never completely shed its original role as an imposer of force on the people'.⁹

This coercive function of the RIC made it in turn attractive to colonial governors; it reflected as well the presence of military and colonial elements in the policing of Ireland under the Union. In terms of its rank and file, which was composed largely of the Catholic sons of laborers and small farmers, the RIC was a 'domesticated' force largely representative of Ireland's religious and social demographics.¹⁰ Yet the RIC ultimately had more in common with the gendarmeries of continental Europe than with the unarmed civil constabularies which developed in nineteenth-century England. The isolation of Irish constables from the general population, their involvement in the gathering of political intelligence and in the suppression of agrarian protest marked them to many Irish people as outsiders. As Martin Thomas has recently emphasized, the nature of colonial policing was fundamentally interchangeable, 'less a matter of acquiring intimate local knowledge than of learning the rules of a colonial game'.¹¹ In this regard, the experience of 'colonial' policing in nineteenth-century Ireland was regarded as qualifying men for service elsewhere in the British Empire.

The RIC was not, to be sure, the exclusive model on which colonial governments drew. The Barbados Police appealed to the London Metropolitan Police for assistance in police re-organization after Emancipation, and other colonies followed suit over the nineteenth century.¹² Both the Hong Kong Police and the SMP were also modeled on the London Metropolitan Police, but, as we shall see, came to draw considerably on RIC personnel in the first decade of the twentieth century. When the Asian Indian population of Trinidad rapidly expanded in the late nineteenth century under the system of indentured labor, one governor hoped to recruit Irishmen with experience in the Indian Police to bolster the Trinidad constabulary.¹³ What is most striking therefore is the interplay between 'Irish-colonial' and 'metropolitan-English' models of policing the Empire rather than the duplication of one particular organizational structure.¹⁴

An important issue in evaluating the Irish influence on colonial policing is the interaction between ‘Irish models’ of policing and the role of Irish personnel. Richard Hawkins has contended that historians have exaggerated the Irish influence on nineteenth-century colonial policing.¹⁵ While requests for RIC recruits increased in the final decade of the nineteenth century, the RIC’s influence on colonial policing, particularly in the Caribbean, extended back much further. In 1845, an Irish Constabulary officer named Patrick Brenan was selected as Commissary of Police of the island of St Lucia, where a civil police force had been established just over a decade earlier. Brenan traveled to St Lucia with his wife and family, but died from yellow fever after just one year in the position. Nonetheless, his brief tenure had a major impact on the police there. In his eulogy, the Governor of the island praised Brenan as ‘one of the most efficient, zealous, upright, and useful public servants, with whom I ever had the satisfaction of co-operating’. Brenan’s Irish Constabulary experience, combined with ‘the untiring energies of his active temperament’, according to the Governor, led to many benefits to the colony’s residents:

The improved organization of the police force, the excellent discipline and classification which he established within the royal jail of Castries, of which he was inspector—his improved administration of the collection of fines, fees, and petty debts—the saving and improvements which he instituted in the rental and support of police stations—the better enforcement of the revenue laws; these are a part only of the services which in that short space of time he has rendered to you.¹⁶

Brenan’s brief but influential tenure in St Lucia illustrates two prominent issues regarding the Irish role in colonial policing: the attempt to replicate (or adapt) police practices from Ireland elsewhere in the British Empire and the motivations of Irishmen to pursue careers in policing far-flung regions of the Empire. Family traditions of policing played an important role in recruitment to the RIC, helping to determine why some Irishmen from farming and laboring backgrounds chose police careers and others did not.¹⁷ Similar networks of relations and friends in imperial service helped to foster the enlistment of Irishmen in colonial police services. In the late nineteenth century, Inspector George Hennessey of the Hong Kong Constabulary, a veteran of the London Metropolitan Police originally from Newmarket, Co. Cork, assisted in the recruitment of 20 fellow Irishmen from Newmarket for police service in Hong Kong.¹⁸ Successful

Irish candidates for the Indian Police in the early-twentieth century who stated preferences for the provinces in which they wished to serve were influenced by the presence of friends or family in India. R. R. Boyd, the son of a High Court judge from Dublin, preferred to serve in Bombay where several friends were stationed. Patrick Kelly, a student at Blackrock College from County Tyrone who later became Police Commissioner of Bombay, expressed a preference for the Northwest Provinces 'as most of the people I know in India reside there'.¹⁹ In colonial policing, as in other facets of Irish imperial involvement in the nineteenth century, Irish people 'operated within carefully constructed imperial personnel networks'.²⁰ And as in other branches of nineteenth-century imperial service, Irishmen placed their mark on imperial institutions.²¹ The police institutions to which these networks drew Irish recruits were, however, also much more likely to be recognizably 'Irish' rather than 'English' in their dominant features.

In addition to the pull of Irish imperial networks and the appeal of performing policing tasks which were in many ways familiar, colonial policing represented an opportunity for career advancement. For RIC officers, policing represented a practical choice of career at least as much as a demonstration of ideological attachment to the British Empire, and issues of compensation and pensions loomed large in their decisions.²² The ability to count RIC experience towards pensions was a necessary qualification to attract Irish police to colonial positions, and appointments which disallowed RIC experience were unlikely to attract applicants.²³ This was illustrated by the case of Sergeant Superintendent P. J. McLaughlin, who had served for 10 years in the RIC before resigning in January 1904 to take a position in the Trinidad Police. Within a few months, however, McLaughlin requested to resign and rejoin the RIC. The Irishman claimed that he was not informed about the conditions of service in Trinidad, where members of the police could not claim pensions before the age of 50, in contrast to the RIC's policy that after 25 years of service, men were eligible to retire on a pension. McLaughlin was willing to refund his passage money to Trinidad and pay his own way back to Ireland, and the Inspector-General of the Trinidad Police was willing to accept his resignation. Dublin Castle concluded, however, that while McLaughlin could rejoin the RIC, he would have to apply, and forfeit his previous service in the force.²⁴

By the early twentieth century, the idea of the 'Irish policeman' as the guardian of empire was well established. In 1907, a front-page article on

‘The European Policeman’ in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* began, ‘He is generally Irish, and is a good sort’, adding that ‘Paddy’, like most Irish recruits, had RIC experience and thus arrived in the colony with a ‘good knowledge’ of police duties.²⁵ Press commentary frequently cited accent as one of the markers of the Irish policeman in the Empire, and noted how, even after years or even decades away from Ireland, these police still retained their Irish brogue.²⁶ At times, this marked the Irish policemen as a comical figure.²⁷ Yet more commonly, the stereotype invoked was that of an Irishman’s love of conflict, something seen to be useful when leading Asian and African subordinate police against crowds and protests. The *Singapore Free Press* observed that:

When there is trouble with the Chinese coolies, and fighting to be done, you get a chance of seeing what a plucky fellow the European policeman is Immediately a crowd begins throwing brickbats [sic] he charges them with a few Malays and Sikhs and scatters them. He really seems to enjoy ‘bating’ the rioters more than anything else, and says if he only had his own way, he would shoot the whole lot, but his kindness belies his fierceness. Paddy does not mind who the enemy is so long as he can get a scrap.²⁸

In similar fashion to stereotypes of Irish soldiers in nineteenth-century India, an often reckless bravery mingled with a ‘ridiculous, unmanned childishness’ in depictions of Irish colonial policemen.²⁹

On the surface, the numbers of Irish members of the police would seem to contradict the assumption of ‘Paddy’ policing the Empire. Overall, RIC veterans formed only a small percentage of late-nineteenth-century colonial police forces. With the exceptions of mass RIC recruitment for the Palestine Police in the 1920s, this trend continued into the twentieth century.³⁰ Of 537 members of the Trinidad Constabulary in 1895, for example, only 14 were Irish.³¹ Yet according to a local historian, ‘Trinidadians in the late nineteenth century associated the Irish in Trinidad with the Police Force’.³²

This perception has much to do with the heavy recruitment of RIC veterans as sergeants and sergeants major within colonial police forces. Reflecting the status of the Irish as a ‘fighting race’, whose martial qualities, both positive and negative, were regarded in similar fashion to those of colonial troops, these men were seen to provide valuable ‘stiffening’ for police forces.³³ In the British Caribbean, Irishmen comprised the

intermediate level of the police between a European, and largely English, officer corps, and an Afro-Caribbean and Creole rank and file. In 1895, almost half of the 29 members of the Trinidad Constabulary from outside the Caribbean were Irish.³⁴ The police forces of Jamaica, Trinidad and smaller islands such as St Lucia regularly sought men with RIC experience to fill sergeant positions during these years. In the 1880s, a Trinidad newspaper noted admiringly that 'several of the senior Serjeants [sic] are picked men of the Irish Constabulary, whose stalwart forms ought to carry conviction with them'.³⁵ These sergeants, like Ireland itself, thus occupied an imperial liminal zone.

In particular, the governors of British Caribbean colonies turned to the RIC in the wake of civil unrest. In 1894, riots sparked by police attempts to arrest a man for illegal gambling at a racetrack outside Kingston persuaded the Governor of Jamaica, Henry Arthur Blake, himself a veteran of the RIC, to diminish white fears of 'black combustibility' by improving the 'efficiency of the police'. The Jamaica legislature authorized him to recruit up to 30 members of the RIC as police sergeants, and, as a result, black Jamaicans were removed from the ranks of sergeant and replaced by Irish recruits.³⁶ The RIC men recruited for Jamaica received a special four-week-long course of instruction at the RIC Depot in Dublin, ranging from Storekeeping and Accounting to Drill, Riding and Sword Exercise and Police Duties. They also underwent a course of instruction at Richmond Barracks where 'they acquired a fair knowledge of the duties of Sergeant Major and Sergeant'.³⁷

The same pattern of Irish policing was prevalent in the British Empire in Southeast Asia. While the SMP was modeled on the Hong Kong Police Force, which in turn was modeled after the London Metropolitan Police, the RIC also became an important policing resource around the turn of the twentieth century.³⁸ RIC Sub-Inspector Pierre B. Pattison served as Captain Superintendent of the SMP from December 1897 to December 1900. Pattison's posting in Shanghai was part of an effort to improve the caliber of the SMP's officers, who also began to attend courses at the RIC Depot in Dublin.

The SMP also illustrates the important role of Irish recruits as intermediaries within colonial police forces. Like other colonial constabularies, the SMP was racially and ethnically stratified, with a 'Foreign' component of British police supervising a rank and file of Chinese beat constables and sergeants, as well as Sikhs engaged in traffic duties, and Chinese and Indian watchmen.³⁹ In 1904 the Foreigners section of the SMP was understaffed

due to illnesses and death, while at the same time the police ‘had to deal with an increased number of cases of crime committed by foreigners, the Russo-Japanese war having had the effect of sending a large number of unemployed foreigners to Shanghai’. In response, the SMP turned to the RIC to bolster the foreign ranks of the police.⁴⁰

Nine members of the RIC were sent to Shanghai in November 1904, and, soon afterwards, the SMP requested another 18 men from the RIC’s Inspector General. With these additional Irish policemen, the SMP hoped to maintain ‘a thorough foreign supervision of all street work’.⁴¹ The SMP was unable to obtain the number of recruits it had hoped for, but another nine members of the RIC arrived in April 1905. The Irish at this time constituted a substantial presence in the Shanghai police. Twenty-nine Irishmen were in service in the SMP in 1905, including two who died during the year. At the end of 1904, there were 95 foreigners in the SMP, so Irishmen comprised close to 30 percent of the force. By 1906, the number of Irish had reached 33; the numbers declined somewhat in subsequent years, although in 1911 some 28 Irishmen still formed part of the force.⁴² As late as 1932, Dublin-born police officer Barney Wall found that half of the police stations in Shanghai were run by Irishmen, a number of whom had come to China as part of the pre-war influx of the RIC.⁴³

A similar influx of RIC men occurred in both Singapore and Hong Kong in the same period. In 1902 alone, no fewer than 23 members of the RIC chose service in Singapore; 11 were personally recruited by the Inspector General of the Singapore Police, Lt Col. Edward Graham Pennefeather, a veteran of the Inniskilling Fusiliers who was at home on leave.⁴⁴ During an era in which several of Hong Kong’s governors, as Stephanie Barczewski discusses in her chapter in this volume, had Irish roots, District Inspector Thomas Andrew Howe was lent for a year by the RIC in 1897 to reorganize the colony’s police force.⁴⁵ Howe’s posting came in the wake of a major corruption scandal, in which a number of European, Chinese and Indian policemen, including senior officers, were dismissed while 22 others were forced to resign after their names were discovered as bribe recipients in a police raid on a gambling syndicate.⁴⁶ One of those forced to resign was the aforementioned Inspector George Hennessey, who had previously assisted the Police Commissioner with the recruitment of Irishmen from Co. Cork.⁴⁷ Howe served as Acting Deputy Superintendent of the Hong Kong Police for a year and won ‘golden opinions’ from the European members of the force, who presented him

with several mementos of his time in Hong Kong, including a claret jug, a bowl, a cigarette case and a miniature rickshaw and coolie, all made of silver.⁴⁸

While Irishmen thus played an important role in the coercive aspects of colonial power in locales such as Hong Kong and Shanghai, the presence of overseas Irish communities helped to foster a continuing sense of Irish identity among policemen.⁴⁹ Service in the RIC formed a continuing bond among veterans of the force who entered colonial police services. At the end of March 1903, a police football match was played in Singapore between two teams: 'the European Police Force', composed of ex-members of the RIC, versus 'the rest of the Force'.⁵⁰ At the 1907 funeral of Shanghai police constable R. J. Morrow, an RIC veteran shot dead by armed robbers, the pall-bearers were eight policemen who had also served in the Irish Constabulary.⁵¹ Although the Irish formed less of a distinct group in multiethnic and multilingual Trinidadian society, they nonetheless established their own cultural institutions such as Port of Spain's Shamrock Club, and maintained links with Ireland. Both Catholic and Protestant Irish policemen in Trinidad tended to marry into French creole families rather than English ones. Some sent their children to be educated in Ireland, but more commonly enrolled their sons at St Mary's College and their daughters at St Joseph's Convent in Port of Spain, where the teachers were predominantly Irish priests and nuns.⁵²

In Shanghai, Irish members of the SMP played a prominent role in cultural institutions which fostered a sense of Irish identity among expatriates. The St Patrick's Society hosted an annual gala, in common with other locales around the Empire. In 1909, rather than the customary dinner and ball, the Society held a concert at the Palace Hotel. The *North China Herald* reported that illuminated green lights over the hotel's main entrance on the Nanking Road spelled out 'Coed millt faulte' [sic] (*cead mile fáilte*), which 'attracted considerable attention from passers-by'.⁵³ One member of the organizing committee was police officer John O'Toole, an RIC recruit who had joined the SMP in 1900. Another Irish officer, T. P. Givens of Tipperary, played an even more prominent role in the St Patrick's Society. Over the course of his 21-year career in the SMP, Givens, who retired as Deputy Commissioner and head of the Special Branch, was involved in 'the investigation of practically every subject of Government and police interest'.⁵⁴ As Honorary Secretary of the St Patrick's Society, he was also praised for his role in 1924 in one of the largest and grandest balls held in honor of the Irish patron saint.⁵⁵

The involvement of the Irish in colonial policing additionally illustrates the professionalization of policing within the British Empire. In the mid-nineteenth century, policing was an unskilled and low-status occupation.⁵⁶ Within port cities of colonial India, such as Calcutta, it was a common practice to recruit European seamen, who occupied a position on the lower fringes of white colonial society, as police constables and sergeants. These ‘white subalterns’ represented not only a disorderly threat to colonial government but also an important military and disciplinary resource.⁵⁷

This was the experience of a mid-nineteenth century Irish seaman named Alexander Douglas Larymore. Larymore, who grew up in counties Louth and Monaghan, ran away to sea at the age of 15, inspired by tales of nautical adventure.⁵⁸ He first arrived in India in 1857, when his ship docked at Calcutta. Larymore’s initial experience with the police was a typical one for European seamen in mid-nineteenth century India: he was a disorderly ‘white subaltern’ subject, rather than an upholder of the law.⁵⁹ Larymore and his fellow seamen ran over an Indian man while driving their traps through the streets of Calcutta en route to a grog shop. When Indian constables arrived to arrest them, the seamen assaulted the police and stabbed one constable; Larymore fled and narrowly escaped arrest and imprisonment.⁶⁰ He returned to Calcutta four years later, tired of a maritime life with men whom he regarded as his social inferiors and tempted by sailors’ accounts of lucrative government posts available in India. The only position which the Irishman was able to obtain, however, was as a guard on a railway. Larymore commented that being ‘brought up in the wilds of Ireland, miles away from any railway station, I had hardly ever seen a train, and as to what a guard’s duties might be in connection with one, I had not the faintest notion’.⁶¹ After several months, he was able to obtain an appointment as an Assistant Superintendent of Police from a government official who frequently traveled on the railway and was intrigued by the Irishman’s life history.

Larymore entered the Indian Police in 1862, one year after the force had been reorganized in the aftermath of the Indian Rebellion. In his early years as a colonial policeman, Larymore enjoyed a reputation as a ‘wild Irishman’, more talented at stunts such as substituting for a jockey in a horse race (while officially on duty) than at his police duties.⁶² Yet in many respects, his police career differed little from that of his British counterparts, and his experiences were those of a typical late-nineteenth-century servant of the Raj. Looking back over his career, he described

himself as 'one of the many thousand infinitesimal cog-wheels in the machinery of that huge administrative engine by which our great Empire in the East is governed'.⁶³ His memoirs devote many pages to both the 'endemic' Indian crime of dacoity, or gang robbery, and to Raj hunting tales such as a search for a man-eating leopard. Larymore's prejudices were also typical of British colonial officers. Obligated to learn Bengali as an Assistant Superintendent, he detested the time spent in an office studying the 'barbarous language' while 'surrounded by perspiring natives'.⁶⁴

After a quarter-century of colonial service, Larymore was described as having 'great experience of native life and character', and he was singled out several times for commendation.⁶⁵ In Hooghly District near Calcutta, Larymore was praised for breaking up dacoit gangs 'which [had] made that district notorious'.⁶⁶ He clearly enjoyed his duties as a colonial police officer; his decision to abandon what he described as 'the free, open-air life in the police' for a career in Bengal's jail service was made largely because of financial considerations. In 1864 Larymore married Margaret Amelia Scott, who was born in Dacca in 1847; the two raised seven children.⁶⁷ The expense of his growing family prompted him to abandon the police because the jail service offered higher pay with higher and more rapid promotion.⁶⁸ Larymore ended his career as the officiating Inspector General of Jails for Bengal.

In contrast to Larymore's almost accidental choice of a career as a colonial policeman, imperial personnel networks—and in particular a family tradition of service—led Alfred E. O'Sullivan to choose a career in the Indian Police in the late-nineteenth century. O'Sullivan was born in 1875 in India where his father, Lt John O'Sullivan, was an Engineer in the Bombay Public Works Department. The young Irishman's entry into the Indian Police also reflected the increased professionalization of imperial police forces in the late nineteenth century, which included the institution of competitive examinations in 1893.⁶⁹ While a student at Blackrock College, O'Sullivan placed 18th on the police examination list for 1894, not good enough for a position. He was persistent in his pursuit of a police career, however, and was successful in the following year in his efforts to enter the Indian Imperial Police.⁷⁰

O'Sullivan rose through the ranks of the Bengal Police, from probationary Assistant Superintendent to Superintendent to Deputy Inspector General, finally becoming Inspector General in 1926. During his 35 years in the Indian Police, Indian nationalism developed as a potent political

force and the upper ranks of the Indian Police were also opened to Indians for the first time; increasingly, Indian officers were the Irishman's peers as well as his subordinates. It is difficult to discern any distinctive Irish outlook in O'Sullivan's career in the Indian Police. Rather, his career stands as an example of how under the Union Irish Catholics as well as Protestants were prominent servants of the colonial state. During Mohandas Gandhi's non-cooperation movement in 1921, a time when the Bengal Police were concerned about growing nationalist sympathies among the police, O'Sullivan wrote at length about the situation in response to a police intelligence enquiry. He noted sympathetically the 'financial worries' of officers whose salaries had not kept pace with postwar inflation, and reported that 'the majority of ... officers whom I have met are in a state of despondency with a feeling in their minds that their grievances are not receiving attention'. Yet his overriding concern was that the Government of Bengal could no longer rely on the unquestioning loyalty of the police as it had before the Great War. While O'Sullivan recognized the support for 'swaraj' or self-rule and the appeal of Gandhi to Indian members of police, he went on to observe, repeating a common colonial stereotype (and perhaps echoing contemporary concerns regarding the impact of the republican attacks on the RIC), that 'in a country where sentiment divorced from common sense holds such sway as it does in Bengal this feeling counts for much'.⁷¹

When O'Sullivan retired from the police in 1930, he settled not in Ireland, a place where he had spent little part of his life, but at Cheltenham Spa in Gloucestershire in south-west England. Cheltenham, which had developed as a fashionable spa town in the late eighteenth century, had by this time been for decades the most prominent place of settlement of returning British-Indians. There, in an atmosphere in which items of Indian news and commentary regularly appeared in the local newspaper and in which Indian Army retirees were particularly prominent, O'Sullivan likely felt more at home than in the Irish Free State.⁷²

In addition to networks of retired British-Indians in Cheltenham, O'Sullivan kept in close touch with police officers still serving in India. In November 1934, he met with Secretary of State for India Sir Samuel Hoare in order to discuss issues raised in a memorial by the Indian (Imperial) Police Association. The two discussed a number of topics, including the latitude given to Inspectors-General in spending their police budgets and medical care available to colonial servants. O'Sullivan offered a scathing critique of the government of India's reliance on

Indian physicians 'who in many instances are not properly qualified ... are almost invariably ignorant of the European constitution and often have the most rudimentary ideas of anti-septic treatment'. O'Sullivan complained that while tea plantations in Bengal and Assam provided European physicians to provide medical care for their European employees, 'the mighty Government of India value the lives of their servants and their wives and families so low as to make no provisions for adequate medical attendance for them in some of the most unhealthy parts of the Empire'.⁷³ During the following year, O'Sullivan sent a series of letters to the India Office, who were not pleased that the Irishman had taken on the role of unofficial representative of the interests of Indian Police officers. Hoare's Private Secretary commented that 'Mr. O'Sullivan is becoming rather tiresome'.⁷⁴ The Irishman's efforts to represent the Indian Police in the metropole might have had little practical result, but they nonetheless indicated not only his passionate attachment to the Indian Police, but to the colonial enterprise in India.

Finally, the life of SMP officer John O'Toole, a contemporary of O'Sullivan, offers a contrasting example of the lives which Irishmen could forge for themselves in colonial police forces. O'Toole's career in the SMP demonstrates not only the continuing importance of Irish networks to those in colonial service, but also the distinctive influence of Irish personnel and police structures on colonial policing.⁷⁵ O'Toole first came to Shanghai in 1900 as one of 10 Irish Constabulary recruits.⁷⁶ The *North China Herald* observed that his Irish police 'apprenticeship ... stood him in good stead here' as he ascended the ranks of the SMP. The RIC had a minimum height requirement of 5'9", and O'Toole's height provided a lucrative sidelight in his early years in the force. O'Toole formed part of a 'fine Celtic combination' with one Irish-American and two Scottish policemen, all of whom were tall men of similar height, and were much in demand to march in Chinese funeral processions.⁷⁷ O'Toole enjoyed a successful police career, rising—in a way that few rank and file of the 'foreign' section of the SMP did—to high police rank, in his case, Assistant Commissioner. When he retired at the end of March 1932, he was not only the oldest but the longest-serving member of the SMP, a coincidence which the *North China Herald* observed was not often achieved.

During his long and successful police career, O'Toole was commended for his role in suppressing riots in Hongkew Market following the First World War. The *North China Herald* observed that 'his reputation was such that armed robbers and criminals shunned his approach', and that

during incidents of civil unrest, the Irishman was an officer 'in whom his superiors at all times had full confidence'. O'Toole's RIC experience prepared him not only for countering protests and demonstrations in Britain's Asian empire, but also for the sporting ethos which formed an important component of the social world of colonial policemen.⁷⁸ The Irishman competed in multiple athletic competitions, and in 1923 won the hammer throw at the Far Eastern Olympics. While on leave in 1911, O'Toole married the headmistress of a Tipperary school. The couple raised a family of seven children in Shanghai, and they continued to maintain links with Ireland. Following O'Toole's retirement, they returned to Ireland to settle in Ennis, Co. Clare.

Although more comprehensive research needs to be conducted, a survey of policing in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century British Empire suggests the importance of Ireland as a prominent resource for both ideas and personnel regarding colonial policing. The legacy of Ireland, and particularly that of the RIC, was enduring. The military atmosphere and discipline of the RIC's depot at Dublin's Phoenix Park molded the outlook of Irish police recruits; in the colonial empire, RIC sergeants sought to instill a similar sense of professionalism and discipline on Asian, African and Afro-Caribbean subordinates.⁷⁹ In late-nineteenth-century Trinidad, RIC veterans recruited as non-commissioned officers 'drilled the Trinidad Police Force (TPF) into shape as a paramilitary force and ... brought it continually into conflict with the public'.⁸⁰ Near the end of the Second World War, the Police Commissioner of British Guiana observed that colonial police forces across the British Caribbean, from British Honduras to Barbados, had 'basically the same organization, being all modeled on the semi-military lines of the former Royal Irish Constabulary, and still adhere to a large extent to the Royal Irish Constabulary traditions, regulations and training methods'.⁸¹ The role of the RIC in the British Caribbean and elsewhere in the colonial world thus illustrates the nature of Ireland under the Union as a sub-imperial center, a source of both ideas and personnel for the British Empire.⁸²

Colonial use of Irish personnel and police models also illustrates how the RIC itself was in many respects a 'colonial' institution with a deeply hierarchical structure, and a policing model which could be easily applied and adapted to various colonial contexts. As Fergus Campbell has recently emphasized, the RIC's largely Protestant and Unionist officer corps shaped the professional ethos of the force, in spite of the largely Catholic rank and file, into a police force which was military in its orientation, pro-landlord

and more concerned with political surveillance and potential sedition than ‘ordinary’ crime.⁸³ Ultimately, the ‘Irish’ policing of the Empire was a matter of not simply Irish models and organizational resources but Irish personnel. The Irish sergeants of the RIC who chose to serve the British Empire in the Caribbean and Asia formed part of what one historian has termed a ‘secret diaspora’ of modern Irish history.⁸⁴ The lives these Irish policemen created in colonial locales such as Port of Spain, Calcutta and Shanghai prominently emphasized their service to the Empire but also their identities as Irishmen.

NOTES

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 21. The Indian Medical Service not only attracted considerable numbers of Irish recruits in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the training and practices of the Irish medical profession considerably influenced Indian medicine under the Raj. See Crosby, *Irish Imperial Networks*, 169–204.

22. This was true in the RIC as well, which, as Elizabeth Malcolm observes, offered 'an avenue for upward social mobility' in the way matched by few careers open to agricultural laborers in nineteenth-century Ireland. Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman*, 67.
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24. Inspector General, Trinidad Police Force, to Colonial Secretary, 25 Aug. 1904, CO 295/428/38; and CO 295/431, TNA.
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26. The *North China Herald*, for example, observed that Assistant Commissioner W. J. MacDermott had 'not lost his original brogue' in spite of more than two decades in Shanghai. 12 Oct. 1938.
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PART III

Subversion

The ‘Piniana’ Question: Irish Fenians and the New Zealand Wars

Jill C. Bender

In late 1871, Captain McDonnell embarked upon a trip through the upper Wanganui district on the North Island of New Zealand. In his trip diary, McDonnell noted two potentially exciting discoveries: first, the region held possible goldfields and, second, it included ‘two fine seams of coal’. McDonnell also recorded more unsettling news, however. Local Maori had informed him that several Europeans had already settled in the area and were living with the Maori king. Furthermore, these Europeans were ‘Irish men or Piniana’s (Fenians)’ and they had promised to provide the Maori king with 500 additional men, if needed.¹ The news generated immediate local attention. Following McDonnell’s return to the Wanganui township, local newspapers pub-

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lished excerpts from his trip diary.² Additionally, his brother, Thomas McDonnell, forwarded the same excerpts to the colony's minister of defence.³

The Fenian presence in New Zealand has also drawn attention from historians. Much of the existing scholarship has examined Fenian unrest for insight into the development of an Irish ethnic identity in the settler colonies. As early as 1974, Richard P. Davis concluded that the presence of Fenianism revealed the existence of three different Irish groups in New Zealand: 'the militant Irish nationalists, the equally militant Orangemen ... and the large body of uncommitted opinion'.⁴ More recently, scholars have agreed that Irish nationalist activities in New Zealand revealed sectarian disputes, but they have argued that these activities were too scattered and short-lived for nationalism 'to provide an adequate foundation for a durable ethnicity'.⁵ While this scholarship has highlighted questions of 'Irishness' in the settler colonies, reports of Maori-Fenian collaboration—like that noted by McDonnell—remain relatively unexplored. Even when historians have acknowledged reports of a possible alliance, they have dismissed the subject as little more than empty rumour.⁶

Contemporaries were not as quick to ignore the reports, however. During the late 1860s, New Zealand's governor, George Bowen, forwarded the news of Fenianism to the Colonial Office in London and requested assistance. This chapter examines this official response to Fenianism in New Zealand for insight into the relationship between Britain and its settler colonies at the close of the 1860s. As Máirtín Ó Catháin has noted, international Fenianism evoked fears of a "counter-empire"—an unquantifiable, unpredictable and seditious element *organised* wherever the Irish (and as a corollary, the British) find themselves in the world.⁷ As such, Fenianism offered colonial administrators an opportunity to demonstrate their concerns about the widespread and potentially infectious nature of anti-British nationalism as well as colonial isolation. In New Zealand, concerns about Maori-Fenian collaboration pushed colonial officials to reconsider the appropriate role of the metropole during moments of crisis, thereby raising questions regarding the use of imperial troops, financial responsibility for colonial defence, and the methods of warfare employed. Colonial officials recognized the Fenian threat as an opportunity to resist metropolitan retrenchment and build London support for colonial policies.

FENIANISM IN NEW ZEALAND

Fenianism first emerged in 1858, when the Irish nationalist James Stephens founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin. The members of the IRB, popularly known as Fenians, promoted the use of physical force to establish a democratic Irish republic. Although launched in Ireland, the revolutionary movement generated attention throughout the Irish diaspora and quickly became defined by its international dimension. The movement garnered support from the USA to New Zealand, and inspired anti-British acts of violence from Canada to Australia.

In New Zealand, the Fenian scare coincided with an increase in Irish settlers—indeed, with an increase in all settlers. Organized migration to New Zealand began with Britain's annexation of the colony in 1840, but initial immigration numbers were minimal. Due to New Zealand's location and the steep cost of travel, most opted to go to North America or other locations in the British Empire. Although small, New Zealand's Pakeha (European) population grew considerably during the mid-century, increasing from 30,000 to more than 250,000 settlers in less than two decades.⁸ The Irish comprised a significant, though not a dominant, percentage of these settlers. According to Angela McCarthy, Irish migration to New Zealand peaked in 1867, when 'the Irish constituted 12.8 per cent' of the colony's total population.⁹ Many of these mid-century Irish migrants arrived via Australia, to try their luck on the goldfields of Otago and the West Coast.

Recent studies have revealed New Zealand's Irish demographic and their reception in the colony to have been varied.¹⁰ Although not all Irish immigrants were Catholic, many were and many found their experience tinged with prejudice. As Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn have noted, among both 'the respectable organisers of the Wakefield settlements' and 'the largely English-born community that dominated New Zealand provincial governments', many considered Irish Catholics 'to be poor unlettered peasants likely to be unreliable workers, with few skills and a propensity to drink'. Irish Protestants, on the other hand, were openly recruited in increasing numbers.¹¹ Welcome or not, many of New Zealand's more prominent settlers and colonial officials hailed from Ireland. For example, George Bowen, the colony's governor at the height of the Fenian scare, was born in Ireland.¹² So, too, was the colony's premier, Edward William Stafford.¹³ Even McDonnell was Irish, and admitted as much to the local Maori.¹⁴ The Irish, in other words, formed both a significant and influential portion

of the colony's nineteenth-century population. While most Irish migrants did not share Fenian sympathies, the large number of Irish settlers ensured that news of Irish affairs received attention.

Reports of the 'Manchester martyrs' especially captivated settlers on New Zealand's South Island. In September 1867, British authorities in Manchester arrested two officers—Colonel Thomas J. Kelly, an Irishman, and Timothy Deasy, an Irish-American—for suspicious behaviour. The following week, 30 armed Fenians attempted to rescue the two men from a Manchester police van, and in the ensuing commotion, an unarmed policeman was shot and killed. Five men were immediately indicted for the crime; Michael O'Brien, William Allen, and Philip Larkin were later hanged for their involvement. The execution of the three 'Manchester martyrs' sparked widespread outrage among Irish Catholics. Individuals throughout Ireland organized funeral processions, complete with empty coffins, to mourn the three men.¹⁵ New Zealand's Irish migrants responded in kind. Settlers in Hokitika staged an elaborate funeral procession, culminating with the erection of a Celtic cross in the town's Catholic cemetery. The event drew some 700 people, and was well-reported in local newspapers.¹⁶

In reality, the Hokitika procession was only one of several commemorative events or political demonstrations to take place in New Zealand in 1868. In fact, it had been inspired by an earlier procession in the now-extinct South Island town of Charleston and influenced a later commemoration held in Westport. The Hokitika events, however, remain the most widely known due in large part to the response by colonial officials. Initially, colonial magistrates and police paid little attention to the procession and allowed it to take place without opposition. Weeks later, however, fuelled by reports of Fenianism in Australia and fearing a local rising, officials arrested seven men for their role in the event. As the men awaited trial, further unrest erupted and riots broke out between local Irish nationalists and members of the Orange Order. In response, authorities swore in hundreds of special constables 'to support the Magistrates', called in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment for reinforcement, requested a division of the Armed Constabulary from Patea, and sent for additional arms for the Volunteers.¹⁷ Ultimately, a jury found seven men 'guilty of assembling unlawfully', but recommended all but two 'to mercy'. As a result, five received 'light sentences of fine and imprisonment'. Only Father William Larkin, a local Catholic clergyman, and John Manning, the editor of the nationalist newspaper the *New Zealand Celt*, were indicted for 'seditious

libel'.¹⁸ Following release from prison, Manning left for California and Larkin 'slipped quietly into obscurity'.¹⁹

Fenianism did not depart with Manning or slip away with Larkin, however. Within months, Bowen reported to the Colonial Office that Irish nationalists had migrated to the North Island and were plotting to raid an Auckland-area fort. Although Fenianism had not disappeared, the fears surrounding Fenianism had changed. Colonial officials expressed little fear of Irish nationalism *per se*, reporting: 'The overwhelming majority of the people of New Zealand, as of the United Kingdom, are loyal to the Crown, and determined to support the cause of law and order'. Rumours of Fenianism left 'little room for serious consideration' as the Irish nationalists were in the minority.²⁰ Instead, colonial officials appeared increasingly concerned by the appeal of the movement's separatist message. According to Richard P. Davis, while such sentiments may have been more 'commonplace' in Irish America, in the distant Antipodes they 'aroused passionate feelings of fear and resentment'. If an Irish settler renounced his or her allegiance to the Crown, it was then 'insufficient' for the same individual 'to assert loyalty to New Zealand'.²¹ For many settlers, condemning British rule in one area of the Empire made it difficult to support it in another. With a limited number of Irish settlers, and with even fewer expressing Fenian sympathies, it was unlikely that New Zealand would play a prominent role in the establishment of a democratic Irish republic. Fenianism was not simply a pro-Irish movement, however; it was an anti-British movement, which promised to have wider appeal. From the mid-nineteenth century, Irish nationalists increasingly linked their plight to that of other colonized peoples. Frequently, such affinities remained relegated to the pages of nationalist publications, but, during the 1860s, officials expressed concerns that Irish Fenians might interfere in the New Zealand Wars.

MAORI-FENIAN COLLABORATION

Colonial officials expressed particular fear that Fenianism might find sympathy among the Maori—the time certainly appeared ripe for such linkages. Relations between the Maori and the British settlers had been tense for decades. During the late 1850s, Maori chiefs united under the King Movement and selected an aged warrior as their king.²² During the wars of the 1860s, Maori *ivi*, or tribal groups, from throughout New Zealand lent their support to the movement. According to James Belich,

Maori pan-tribalism to this extent was ‘unprecedented’. The movement, he explains, cannot simply be attributed to ‘kinship, traditional alliances or immediate self-interest’. Rather, this vague ‘sense of collective identity’ likely stemmed in part from a shared Maori recognition that they were not European.²³ Or, as the Fenians no doubt hoped, it reflected a shared recognition that they were not British.

The tensions exploded into conflict in 1860, and much of the following decade involved warfare between the settlers and the Maori of the North Island. Although the war had seemingly come to an end by 1867, any tranquillity proved to be temporary. During July and August of 1868, the settlers suffered a series of defeats at the hands of two Maori leaders: Te Kooti and Titokowaru. The fighting continued into the 1870s. As conflict with the Maori resurfaced, Governor Bowen and others conflated aspects of the Maori resistance, such as the ‘Hauhau’ movement, with Irish nationalist efforts.²⁴ Shortly after taking office, the colonial governor requested that colonial agents posted throughout New Zealand provide him with ‘a detailed report on Native Affairs’. In response, G. S. Cooper, the resident magistrate at Napier, noted a potential affinity between the two movements. According to Cooper, ‘the Hauhau movement . . . is, like Fenianism, the bond of a party of rebels who wish to overthrow the Government of the country and drive the Pakeha [Europeans] into the sea’. The Maori ‘watchword’, he continued, is ‘New Zealand for the Maori’. Furthermore, the Maori claimed to be motivated by ‘the imaginary wrongs’ they had suffered at the hands of the British. Bowen forwarded the comments to London, concluding that most resident magistrates agreed that they were in ‘a doubtful armed truce’ with the Maori.²⁵

Colonial officials worried that the Fenians might recognize this affinity themselves. In 1869, this fear heightened as reports emerged that Irish nationalists had begun to make overtures to the Maori in the hopes of fusing the two movements. In February, James Mackay, the civil commissioner and resident magistrate on the Thames goldfields near Auckland, contacted the colony’s governor with news that Fenian gold miners had ‘tampered’ with the Maori. According to Mackay, the Fenians had offered to pay £1 and a portion of any proceeds in return for the right to mine gold on Maori lands. Even more worrisome, however, the Fenians had sought to enlist Maori support for rebellion. Mackay reported that the Irish nationalists were well organized: they had ‘a Captain and other Officers, with badges, sashes etc’. Two of the group’s leaders, ‘named O’Connor and O’Niel respectively’, presented the Maori with Fenian

propaganda. 'O'Neil brought up a Fenian Flag', which was 'duly forwarded to the Maori King'. Similarly, O'Connor 'showed the Natives' a photograph of himself, dressed in a Fenian uniform. Finally, the Fenians reportedly assured the Maori that the Irish were 'a different people from the English' and the Scots. They shared the Maoris' hatred of the Queen and were willing to assist the Maori against the Queen's government.²⁶

In the end, Mackay, with the assistance of a small police force and special constables, removed the Fenians from the region.²⁷ While the event on the Thames goldfields came to nought, rumours of Maori-Fenian collaboration continued to surface. As noted earlier, in 1871, McDonnell reported that a number of Fenians—or Pinianas—were living with the Maori king. Indeed, the very possibility that the Maori referred to the Fenians in their own language suggests a Maori awareness of the movement. Furthermore, historians have found evidence of Fenian support for the Maori cause. According to James Belich, 'There are one or two signs that Fenian Irishmen supplied ammunition to resisting Maori' during the 1860s, 'and that the "renegades" fighting with the Maori had Fenian sympathies'.²⁸ Similarly, Angela McCarthy has recently shown that some Irish migrants expressed a connection with the Maori based on their shared colonial experiences—a connection that they occasionally acted upon. As one such individual reported, he had it on 'good authority' that many Irishmen were assisting the Maori.²⁹

Viewed within an imperial context, a Fenian-Maori alliance appeared a plausible and disturbing possibility. The mid-nineteenth century had been challenging for colonial officials throughout the Empire. Not only were New Zealand settlers at war with the Maori of the North Island, but a rebellion had occurred in India in 1857 and another in Jamaica in 1865. Additionally, the Fenians had plotted uprisings in North America, Britain, and Ireland during the latter half of the 1860s. Irish nationalists increasingly looked to events overseas for inspiration, and officials expressed concerns that other colonized peoples might follow their lead. As the diaspora accelerated, the Irish were particularly well positioned to encourage anti-British collaboration—a reality which those who sympathized with the Crown both recognized and feared. As noted in the conservative New Zealand newspaper the *Southland Times*: 'It is bad enough to have to contend with open and savage enemies, but if treason exists in our midst, and among those who speak our language and are indistinguishable by any outward sign from other British subjects, it must be stamped out resolutely and effectually'.³⁰

THE QUESTION OF DEFENCE

The possibility of a Maori-Fenian alliance certainly caught the attention of Bowen, the colony's governor. And, like the *Southland Times*, he argued that the colonial government needed to respond to the possibility of collaboration. In reality, the Governor's response to Fenianism was further shaped by metropolitan debates regarding imperial defence. Following the Crimean War and the 1857 Indian uprising, the role of the colonies in the Empire's defence became a sustained topic of debate. In the British Parliament at Westminster, a group of 'colonial reformers', led by the assistant under-secretary of the War Office, John Robert Godley, and the Member of Parliament for Staffordshire, C. B. Adderley, recommended withdrawing imperial troops from the self-governing colonies. The settler colonies, they argued, needed to establish and maintain local garrisons at their own expense. Furthermore, they insisted that the settler colonies be entirely responsible for any military expenditure required to suppress local conflicts.

In one sense, the colonial reformers' suggestion to withdraw imperial troops from the settler colonies reflected the belief that stationing regiments throughout the Empire was an unnecessary drain on British taxpayers. The argument, however, stretched beyond financial concerns. According to Bruce Knox, colonial reformers asserted that removing imperial assistance from the self-governing colonies would strengthen the unity of the Empire. A system that encouraged home intervention would drive the colonies toward secession and independence.³¹ By the 1860s, arguments supporting the centralization of imperial troops and the introduction of colonial 'self-reliance' dominated Westminster. In 1862, the British House of Commons resolved that all self-governing colonies needed to assume responsibility 'for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence'.³² Accordingly, two years later, the New Zealand government formally 'adopted a policy of "self-reliance"', which required colonial ministers to manage Maori affairs and 'raise a local defence force' when needed.³³ As Peter Burroughs has argued, 'This was not a defence strategy but the absence of one: colonists were somehow expected to fill the vacuum left by British military withdrawal'.³⁴ In other words, the colony was accountable for any military expenditure necessary to suppress local conflicts; imperial troops would be available for imperial conflicts only.

On the ground in the self-governing colonies, many resisted the policies and argued that metropolitan economizing would not tighten the

relationship between the colonies and the metropole, but instead would stretch it thin. Fenianism emerged as an important colonial tool in these debates, providing an international threat that could quickly make a colonial struggle an imperial conflict. Indeed, distinguishing between local and imperial conflicts could be difficult—a reality highlighted during the New Zealand Wars. Initially, the Colonial Office determined the conflict to be an imperial one. Many argued that the King Movement represented a direct challenge to British sovereignty. As a result, the Colonial Office contributed imperial regiments, and fighting took place between King and Empire. By the mid-1860s, however, the nature of the conflict changed, as both the King Movement and the British Empire began to fade into the background. The King Movement had suffered considerable losses and faced a decline in Maori support. At the same time, adhering to the policy of self-reliance, the Colonial Office recalled all but one imperial regiment from New Zealand. In 1868, fighting erupted again, this time between those Maori who resisted the Crown, those Maori who supported the British government, and the settlers. These latter years of conflict took on the nature of a civil war, and the Colonial Office did not send additional reinforcements.³⁵ In response, the colonial governor, among others, clung tightly to the 18th Royal Irish, the remaining imperial regiment in New Zealand.

Individuals throughout the colonies protested against the policy of self-reliance, and they did so for numerous reasons. Certainly, the withdrawal of troops raised concerns about defence. Bowen and others continuously warned the Colonial Office that removing imperial regiments would encourage the rebellious Maori to continue their efforts and frustrate settler expansion. In addition, however, the proposal also created financial concerns. According to Richard A. Preston, the withdrawal of imperial troops placed a 'burden on the colonial taxpayer', while simultaneously removing 'a social and economic asset'. The regiments were not only a symbol of 'home', but their presence stimulated economic growth and trade in the colonies.³⁶ Finally, the withdrawal of troops threatened to destroy the connection between Britain and the colonies. In 1869, New Zealand's legislature dispatched a group of commissioners to Britain to plead the colony's case. Bowen reported that the colonial premier had instructed the commissioners to 'explain to Her Majesty's Government' that the colony wished to retain an imperial regiment in order 'to impress the Native mind with the feeling that the Imperial Government still extends its protection to the Colony and recognises it as a part of the

British Empire'.³⁷ Withdrawing troops would send a message of imperial neglect and isolate the colony from the metropole; the very opposite of what colonial reformers wanted.

The fear of metropolitan abandonment was not unique to New Zealand. Throughout the Empire, the emergence of Fenianism coincided with and fuelled colonial opposition to the removal of imperial troops. In Canada, colonial officials pointed to the possibility of future Fenian border raids to argue for the continued presence of British regiments. When negotiating with the Colonial Office, Canada's postmaster general, Sir Alexander Campbell, explained that the trouble stemmed from imperial, not Canadian causes. As a result, he argued that the British government needed to either offer Canada protection or compensate the colony for any expenses incurred.³⁸ In New Zealand, the colonial governor made similar claims. In fact, Bowen did little to keep his larger agenda hidden. As early as 1868, he confided to the colony's former governor and future premier, Sir George Grey: 'we've as yet heard nothing officially about the destination of the Single Regiment still in the Colony. Perhaps the Fenian movements, wh[ic]h were directed more against the Imperial than against the Colonial Govt, may have the effect of causing this Regt to be left here a little longer'.³⁹ In reality, Bowen had reason to believe that the Fenians were the key to convincing the Home government of the continued need for troops. During the Hokitika riots, the Colonial Office had agreed that Fenianism represented an imperial conflict. After all, the Fenians themselves claimed that their quarrel was with 'the Imperial authorities rather than with the Colonial Government'. As a result, the governor deemed it proper to deploy imperial troops 'to assist in repressing Fenian disturbances in New Zealand as in all other parts of the British Empire' and his response was approved by officials in London.⁴⁰

One year later, Mackay's report of a Fenian-Maori alliance on the Thames goldfields allowed Bowen to continue his plea for the retention of imperial troops in the colony. The New Zealand Parliament dismissed Mackay's report as a 'cock-and-bull story'—one that was offensive to the colony's Irish population.⁴¹ Indeed, the vast majority of the miners had opposed the Fenians, and Mackay, with the help of a small police force and special constabulary, had quickly suppressed any possibility of a collaborative rising. Rather than dismiss the report, however, Bowen used Fenianism to needle the Colonial Office. The governor reminded London officials that the affair could have easily erupted into a much larger con-

flict. While the event proved insignificant, it was still 'unfortunate' that it had occurred at all.⁴²

Furthermore, the timing was bad; Mackay's report surfaced on the eve of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to New Zealand.⁴³ One year earlier, Henry James O'Farrell had attempted to assassinate the Queen's son during his visit to Sydney. O'Farrell claimed Fenian sympathies, but acted alone. Now, as the Duke contemplated a trip to New Zealand, the Fenians again surfaced. To make matters worse, the Maori were also growing restless. According to Bowen, the rebellious Maori were excited by the removal of imperial regiments and had seized upon the opportunity to call 'the entire Maori race to arms against the English'.⁴⁴ Outbreaks had been reported across the North Island and future 'guerrilla warfare' was anticipated.⁴⁵ Two different groups stood discontented with British rule in New Zealand; and the two were contemplating joining forces, just as the Queen's son was scheduled to arrive on the islands. This, Bowen argued, was not the time to withdraw the Queen's troops from the settler colonies.

METROPOLITAN SUPPORT

As the Colonial Office moved forward with its plan to withdraw the final remaining regiment, Bowen warned London officials that the settlers would likely adopt their own methods of counter resistance. Furthermore, in the absence of imperial troops, he could not guarantee that the settlers or their Maori allies would adhere to policies of 'civilized' combat.⁴⁶ Tired of the continued fighting, both colonial authorities and settlers criticized policies of conciliation and instead called for the use of force to conquer the Maori. Again, Bowen turned to Fenianism to explain colonial opinion and garner support for the New Zealand response. In July 1869, he claimed that habeas corpus had not been suspended in the entire nine years of fighting in New Zealand. Yet, he continued, it had been suspended in Ireland, during 'the far less bloody and dangerous' Fenian outbreaks. According to Bowen, the failure to suspend habeas corpus in New Zealand had encouraged Maori supporters—whether Maori themselves or 'European Philo-Maori'—to question the legality of the detention of prisoners.⁴⁷ The failure to suspend habeas corpus, in other words, had encouraged negotiation with the Maori and allowed the New Zealand Wars to drag on. What was needed in New Zealand, the governor argued, was a firm response comparable to that which had been implemented in Ireland.

In reality, Bowen was incorrect. The Suppression of Rebellion Act (1863) had implemented courts martial and limited habeas corpus in New Zealand; and Bowen and his administration faced the implications of these wartime policies. In July 1868, the Maori leader Te Kooti escaped from the Chatham Islands, where he had been exiled two years earlier under suspicion of aiding the Maori rebels. Te Kooti had been held without trial and, following his escape, he immediately requested that the government pardon him. The request was denied. Instead, the colonial militia, under the leadership of Captain Reginald Biggs, pursued Te Kooti relentlessly. In retaliation, Te Kooti and his men attacked several Poverty Bay settlements during the early morning hours of 10 November 1868. Approximately 50 people were killed (including Biggs), and, within a few hours, Te Kooti had gained control of the district.⁴⁸

Biggs had pursued Te Kooti without direction from the Colonial Office. While Bowen and others found the captain's decision to do so 'unfortunate', they defended him. Furthermore, the governor called on London officials to put themselves in the place of the colonists. Paraphrasing colonial opinion, he asked:

If a party of two hundred Fenian prisoners, during the recent disturbances in Ireland, had overpowered their guards, murdering those who attempted to prevent their escape, and plundering a quantity of rifles and ammunition from the Queen's Magazines; had then forcibly seized a ship, throwing overboard those of the crew and of their own number who were not prepared to go all lengths with them in their bloody and desperate schemes; had then landed in one of the disaffected districts in Munster or Leinster, and marched up the country to join other bodies of rebels in arms against the Crown;—had further, when challenged by the local magistrates and Police to surrender the stolen rifles in their possession, attacked them and killed several of them;—would not the escaped Fenians, guilty of such conduct, have been pursued with the whole strength of the Government in Ireland until they had been either re-captured or destroyed?⁴⁹

In other words, Bowen argued that had Fenian prisoners in Ireland committed the same alleged crimes as Te Kooti and his men, the government in Ireland would have used all of its resources to pursue and soundly punish the rebels. According to the governor, London officials could not blame the settlers for doing the same thing in New Zealand—especially in the absence of imperial troops. Bowen's July 1869 complaints were likely less about habeas corpus specifically, and more about Colonial Office

support for New Zealand policies. According to the governor, whether a Fenian rising in Ireland or a Maori rebellion in New Zealand, challenges to British sovereignty demanded a response. Furthermore, the Colonial Office needed to back its colonial representatives on the ground.

Bowen's argument was part of a larger debate regarding the use of violence in the colonies that involved both the colonists and the 'colonized'.⁵⁰ In fact, the Fenians later adopted a similar argument to justify new departures in armed resistance. By the 1870s, as Niall Whelehan has demonstrated, Fenian leaders, including Patrick Ford and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, encouraged 'skirmishing', or the use of explosives and small-scale violence, to resist British rule. The practice proved to be controversial, even among the Fenians. According to Whelehan, in an effort to raise support, Ford and Rossa framed skirmishing 'as a response to British misrule, not only in Ireland, but throughout the empire'. While promises to fight the British across the Empire appear far-fetched, Whelehan continues, Fenian organizations did 'seriously' consider 'sending men and arms to aid the Afghans, the Zulus, and the Boers'.⁵¹ Fenianism was no longer simply a movement to advance a republican state in Ireland. Rather, just as New Zealand officials had feared, the 'Pinianas' threatened to fight British rule throughout the Empire.

CONCLUSION

If Bowen hoped to use the Fenian threat to retain troops and draw the war to a close, his efforts proved futile. The last imperial regiment left New Zealand in 1870, two years before the fighting formally came to an end. Even after the 18th Royal Irish Regiment departed, settlers continued to pursue Te Kooti relentlessly and without success. Furthermore, reports of Maori-Fenian alliances continued to surface into the 1870s—as evidenced by McDonnell's aforementioned diary. Regardless, Bowen's response to Fenianism in New Zealand provides insight into the relationship between the Colonial Office and the far corners of the Empire. During the mid-nineteenth century, officials in London and the colonies sought to reorganize imperial defence and redefine notions of colonial responsibility. The Fenian threat played an important role in these debates, challenging distinctions between local conflicts, colonial wars, and imperial crises. Furthermore, according to New Zealand officials, Fenianism represented a transnational, diasporic 'enemy' of the Empire—one that necessitated a response from London, if only in the form of support for colonial policies and practices.

While historians have long been aware of the international impact of Fenianism, more research into the imperial reach of the movement is needed. In recent years, scholars have increasingly turned to the study of networks to examine the many connections that drew together the disparate colonies of the British Empire. Soldiers, missionaries, administrators, and others moved from one colony to the next, carrying with them ideas and experiences that shaped the formation of the colonial state and methods of governance. Fenianism, too, represented an imperial network—an imagined community that ran counter to and challenged the British Empire. As Irish settlers migrated throughout the Empire, it appeared likely that they might spread their anti-imperial sentiments and encourage separatist movements. As an Irish movement that drew support from across colonial and national borders, Fenianism walked the fine line between colonial conflict and imperial crisis. As such, Fenianism not only has much to tell us about Ireland, but it also has much to reveal about the Empire.

NOTES

1. Alexander Turnbull Library, McLean Papers, Extracts from Captain McDonnell's Diary [selected by Thos. McDonnell] Object #1002294 from MS-Papers-0032-0412 (accessed 5 September 2013).
2. 'The Wanganui River Natives', *Wanganui Herald*, 9 December 1871, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=WH18711209.2.7&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014); 'Gold in the Upper Wanganui District', *Taranaki Herald*, 16 December 1871, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TH18711216.2.17&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014); 'Gold in Upper Wanganui District', *Star*, 5 January 1872, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TS18720105.2.10&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014); 'Gold in Upper Wanganui District', *Grey River Angus*, 11 January 1872, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=GRA18720111.2.10.3&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014).
3. Alexander Turnbull Library, McLean Papers, Extracts from Captain McDonnell's Diary [selected by Thos. McDonnell] Object #1002294 from MS-Papers-0032-0412 (accessed 5 September 2013). Thomas McDonnell, or 'Fighting Mac', was a well-known

military leader. He had gained fame during the wars of the 1860s and also played a prominent role in the suppression of Fenian riots in Hokitika. He had three brothers—William, George, and Edward—all of whom were involved in New Zealand's colonial forces. It is unclear which of the three brothers authored the diary excerpts cited above. For more on 'Fighting Mac', see James Belich. 'McDonnell, Thomas', from the Dictionary of National Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012: <http://TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m33/mcdonnell-thomas> (accessed 28 September 2014).

4. Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868–1922* (Dunedin: Otago UP, 1974), 23.
5. Lyndon Fraser, *Castles of gold: a history of New Zealand's West Coast Irish* (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2007), 152. See also, Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011), 128–129.
6. Richard Davis, 'The Prince and the Fenians, Australasia 1868–1869: Republican Conspiracy or Orange Opportunity?' *The Black Hand of Republicanism: Fenianism in Modern Ireland*, ed. by Fearghal McGarry and James McConnel (Dublin, Ireland; Portland, Oregon: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 130; Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics*, 21.
7. Ó Catháin, "'The Black Hand of Irish Republicanism'? Transcontinental Fenianism and Theories of Global Terror', *The Black Hand of Republicanism*, 142.
8. Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland, and Scotland 1800–1945* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2008), 34.
9. Angela McCarthy, "'The Desired Haven'? Impressions of New Zealand in Letters to and from Ireland, 1840–1925', *The Irish Diaspora*, ed. by Andy Bielenberg (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2000), 272.
10. See Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*; Lyndon Fraser, ed. by *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 2000); Brad Patterson, ed. by *Ulster-New Zealand migration and cultural transfers* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).
11. Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, 58–59, 61, 122.

12. Bruce Knox, 'Bowen, Sir George Ferguson (1821–1899)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3036>, accessed 18 Sept 2014].
13. Although Stafford was born in Edinburgh, his father was from Co. Louth, Ireland, and his family was considered Anglo-Irish gentry. James Belich, 'Stafford, Sir Edward William (1819–1901)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004): online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36233>, accessed 28 Sept 2014].
14. In the diary excerpts forwarded to McLean, McDonnell recalled being asked if he was Irish and responding 'in the affirmative'. Alexander Turnbull Library, McLean Papers, Extracts from Captain McDonnell's Diary [selected by Thos. McDonnell] Object #1002294 from MS-Papers-0032-0412 (accessed 5 September 2013). Furthermore, according to James Belich, the McDonnell brothers' father was originally from Co. Antrim. See James Belich, 'McDonnell, Thomas', from the Dictionary of National Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012: <http://TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m33/mcdonnell-thomas> (accessed 28 September 2014).
15. Richard Davis, 'The Prince and the Fenians, Australasia 1868–1869: Republican Conspiracy or Orange Opportunity?' *The Black Hand of Republicanism*, 125.
16. See, for example, 'Fenian Demonstration', *West Coast Times*, 9 March 1868, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=WCT18680309.2.10&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014); 'Telegraphic Intelligence', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 9 March 1868, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NEM18680309.2.9&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014). Additionally, the *New Zealand Celt*, Hokitika's Irish nationalist newspaper, reported the event and regularly espoused Fenian sympathies. Excerpts from the *New Zealand Celt* were later reprinted in the *Colonist*, 6 March 1868 and the *North Otago Times*, 13 March 1868: see, 'Fenianism in New Zealand', *Colonist*, 6 March 1868, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TC18680306.2.8&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014) and 'God Rest the Souls of the "Departed Brave"', *North Otago Times*, 13 March 1868, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/papers>

- [past?a=d&d=NOT18680313.2.16&cl](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NOT18680313.2.16&cl) (accessed 28 September 2014). Similarly, the nationalist newspaper supplied Dublin's *Irishman* with news of the procession. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics*, 14–15.
17. 'Fenianism on the West Coast', *Taranaki Herald*, 18 April 1868, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TH18680418.2.31&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014).
 18. The National Archives, London (hereafter TNA) Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 209/207 G. F. Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, 1 June 1868.
 19. Fraser, *Castles of gold*, 145. For more on these events, see Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics*, 11–24.
 20. TNA CO 209/207 Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham, 3 July 1868.
 21. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics*, 14.
 22. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, vol 1: 1845–1864* (Wellington: P. D. Hasselberg, Government Printer, 1983), 150–151.
 23. James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Auckland: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1996; North Shore, New Zealand: Penguin, 2007), 232–234.
 24. The 'Hauhau' movement was a religious movement that emerged among Maori resisters during the 1860s.
 25. TNA CO 209/207 Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham, 23 July 1868.
 26. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham, 22 February 1869.
 27. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham, 22 February 1869.
 28. Belich, *Making Peoples*, 243.
 29. McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840*, 191–193; quote on p. 193.
 30. 'The Alleged Fenianism at Ohinemuri', *Southland Times*, 12 April 1869, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ST18690412.2.16&cl> (accessed 28 September 2014).
 31. Bruce Knox, 'The Concept of Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Ideas in the Colonial Defense Inquiries of 1859–1861', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15:3

- (March 1867), 248, 250. For more on these debates within an Australian context, see Sean Farrell's chapter in this collection.
32. 4 March 1862, PD, CLXV (Commons), col. 1060, quoted in Peter Burroughs, 'Defence and Imperial Disunity', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. III, *The Nineteenth Century*, (ed.) Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), p. 328.
 33. Burroughs, 'Defence and Imperial Disunity', 329.
 34. Burroughs, 'Defence and Imperial Disunity', 327.
 35. For more on the changing nature of the New Zealand wars, see James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, new and rev. ed. (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1986; Penguin Books, 1998); Belich, *Making Peoples*, 235–246; and Raewyn Dalziel, 'Southern Islands: New Zealand and Polynesia', in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. III: *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 1999), 585–587.
 36. Richard A. Preston, *Canada and 'Imperial Defense': A study of the origins of the British Commonwealth's defense organization, 1867–1919* (Durham, North Carolina: Published for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center by Duke UP, 1967), 63.
 37. TNA CO 209/213 Bowen to Granville, 20 December 1869.
 38. Preston, *Canada and 'Imperial Defense'*, p. 64. Jerome Devitt has recently noted a similar situation in Bermuda, where the colony's civil governor acknowledged the Fenian threat as an opportunity to 'reinvigorate the island's defensive system'. See Jerome Devitt, 'Fenianism's Bermuda Footprint: Revolutionary Nationalism in the Victorian Empire', *Éire-Ireland* 51:1&2 (Spring/Summer, 2016), 141–170.
 39. Auckland City Library, Grey Collection, GLNZ: B22A (13) Bowen to Grey, 25 June 1868.
 40. TNA CO 209/206, Bowen to the Duke of Buckingham, 1 May 1868.
 41. 'Fenianism at the Thames Gold Fields', *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. Fourth Session of the Fourth Parliament. Legislative Council and House of Representatives. Fifth Volume. Comprising the Period from the First day of June, to the Sixteenth Day of July, 1869.* (Wellington: G. Didsbury, 1869), 127.

42. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to Duke of Buckingham, 22 February 1869.
43. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to Duke of Buckingham, 22 February 1869.
44. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to Duke of Buckingham, 20 February 1869.
45. TNA CO 209/210 Bowen to Duke of Buckingham, 22 February 1869.
46. TNA CO 209/211 Bowen to Granville, 25 June 1869.
47. TNA CO 209/212 Bowen to Granville, 6 July 1869.
48. For more on the Poverty Bay campaign, see Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, 227–230.
49. TNA CO 209/212 Bowen to Granville, 6 July 1869.
50. See Jill C. Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016).
51. Niall Whelehan, 'Skirmishing, *The Irish World*, and Empire, 1876–1886', *Éire-Ireland* 42:1&2 (Spring/Summer 2007), 181, 190.

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A Cosmopolitan Nationalist: James J. O’Kelly in America

Paul A. Townend

In April 1873 the American Ambassador to Spain, General Dan Sickles, met the Spanish Foreign Minister, Emelio Castelar, in Madrid. At Secretary of State Hamilton Fish’s urging, Sickles did ‘all he could’ to encourage the Spanish government to spare the life of Fenian organizer James J. O’Kelly, the colorful foreign correspondent of the *New York Herald*, arrested some two weeks earlier after returning from behind *insurrecto* lines while reporting on the Cuban revolution.¹ The anxious Fish, pressured along with President Grant by a barrage of headlines from the yellow journalists at the enormously popular *Herald*, had just endured a forced public meeting between the President and O’Kelly’s brother Stephen.² There, the Secretary of State and the President vowed, awkwardly, to secure freedom for the British subject, although the exasperated Fish was heard to wonder

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if Spanish authorities might not be induced to arrest all of the *Herald's* trouble-making correspondents.³

Sickles was ideally suited to plead on behalf of rogues. A controversial hero who had lost a leg at Gettysburg and the first American to have been found innocent of murder by reason of temporary insanity (for the public execution of his first wife's lover), his diplomatic career had been checkered.⁴ He had considerable influence, but his tenure included impolitic affairs with, among others, the exiled Queen of Spain. 'The openness of O'Kelly's proceedings in Cuba', Sickles gamely reminded Castelar at their meeting, 'afforded evidence of his honorable conduct' while O'Kelly clearly only sought intelligence 'to satisfy a legitimate public curiosity'. Besides, Sickles cajoled, did not the journalist belong to a rising 'adventurous class of men' who deserved 'something of the immunities enjoyed by missionaries and public agents'? Sickles noted Castelar's promise to remember that O'Kelly 'represented the same journal which had so much distinguished itself in the discovery and relief of Dr. Livingstone'. Castelar's reference to the *Herald* reporter Henry Morton Stanley's recent celebrated 'discovery' of the missionary underscored the high profile of this new breed. Although aware of O'Kelly's revolutionary proclivities, British diplomats sought his release even while the Irishman publicly condemned British consuls in Cuba as his 'real jailers', insisting that he 'owe[d] all the consideration I received in Spain to the American government'.⁵ In the end, O'Kelly's status as a *Herald* reporter probably saved his life.

'L'Affaire O'Kelly', as rival papers dubbed it, was headline news across America. Dispatched at his own suggestion to Havana in 1873, O'Kelly had toasted '*Cuba Libre*' with Irish comrades before departure, and offered tactical advice to the rebels once on the scene. Praised for his courageous and sympathetic 'graphic letters' that 'revealed to the world the fullness of Spanish misgovernment and tyranny', his risky reporting led to his arrest.⁶ As romanticized accounts of the Fenian's life circulated, O'Kelly became famous.⁷ In New York, the excitement inspired the Bowery Theatre's rushed production of Phillip Seymour's *Cuba Libre, or O'Kelly's Mission*, featuring a lookalike rescuing señoritas from menacing Spaniards.⁸ That summer, a military coup in Spain threatened to bring to power conservatives who were inclined to execute O'Kelly as a spy for collaborating with exiled revolutionaries.⁹ In a colluded interlude between British, American, and sympathetic Spanish authorities, O'Kelly slipped out of Madrid, making his way to Paris to renew contacts among the Irish exiles and French republicans who were his ordinary associates in a

city where he and his artist brother, Aloysius, had spent a portion of their youth.¹⁰ By the following November, O'Kelly had returned to the *Herald* via Gibraltar, devising a plan, later an active plot, to return the base to Spain with the aid of Irish troops among the garrison.¹¹ O'Kelly capitalized on his fame the following year, publishing his only book, *The Mambi Land*, an entertaining, if somewhat self-serving, account of his adventures.

A childhood friend of the Fenian John Devoy, O'Kelly was the trusted associate of that most influential organizer of Irish revolutionary networks. In a burst of activity in his youth, O'Kelly, the son of a blacksmith, had been, seriatim: a Fenian recruit and then an officer; a sculptor in training; a French foreign legionary serving in Algeria and later, in Mexico, where he was captured and deserted. Returning to London on the eve of the 1867 Fenian uprising, which he opposed as doomed, he became a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) supreme council and a gunrunner (a lifelong interest), before using his French connections to become the recruiter of an Irish brigade to fight for France against Prussia. French defeat inspired a move to New York, where he broke in at the *Herald* (which already employed Devoy) as a reporter, art and drama critic, quickly rising to editor. Through the early 1870s, he encouraged Devoy and others to unite the factions of Fenianism in Clan na Gael.¹² A crack shot with a rifle, O'Kelly won shooting competitions in America.¹³ He became a leading member of the *New York Herald's* truly revolutionary brigade of globe-trotting correspondents before a public bigamy case disrupted his career.¹⁴

An early backer of Charles Stewart Parnell, O'Kelly came to serve as the crucial bridge-builder between Fenianism and Parnellism and, then, from 1880 until his death in 1916, as MP for Co. Roscommon and, effectively, the whip for the Irish Party.¹⁵ His good offices made possible much of what Parnell did in the way of gaining the support of radical nationalists.¹⁶ O'Kelly's advice and instigation were crucial to the launching of both the New Departure and the Land League.¹⁷ Imprisoned in 1881 with Parnell for his Land League activism, O'Kelly was the Irish Party leader's most reliable link to radical republican circles everywhere, but especially in Paris and New York. Certainly, he had a knack for winding up at the center of advanced nationalist activity, straddling comfortably and consequentially the worlds of 'constitutional' and 'physical force' nationalism. On the side, he remained a freelance journalist for British, Irish, French, and even Egyptian papers. Despite a reputation as a dangerous character suspected of indulging in the American habit of packing a six-shooter, O'Kelly was

also noted for his cool head for planning, and was focused on long-term strategy but also eager to pull at any loose threads that might begin to unravel empire. Egyptian Mahdists, Zulu impis, and Irish Land Leaguers were in that sense of a piece to him.¹⁸

While colorful in its broad outlines, the complicated transatlantic life of O’Kelly remains difficult to recover and assess in detail.¹⁹ He left no papers, and much of his political work was by its nature behind the scenes. His consequent obscurity is a shame, and not just because his is an entertaining story to tell. Lack of appreciation of his full significance to the development of Irish nationalism contributes to the underestimation of that movement’s global quality and the powerful influences that diasporic experience, antagonism towards empire, and ideological conviction had on the practical development of its character. O’Kelly’s physical presence at Devoy’s side for most of the 1870s in New York means that Devoy’s preserved correspondence, a crucial source for understanding the Fenian movement, contains only flashes of their constant plotting.²⁰ O’Kelly’s political perspective in these important years is best explored by considering his formative experiences at the *Herald*, noted for its advocacy of universal republican values and its international focus.

This chapter outlines O’Kelly’s decade at the *Herald*, then at the forefront of transformation of the news media taking place in in the USA and eventually in Europe. Along with his military service and his revolutionary activities, his journalistic career both shaped his perspective on Irish nationalism and considerably amplified his voice within the movement, giving it maturity and credibility. O’Kelly’s substantial if ephemeral journalism offers an itinerary of experiences and a record of opinions worth analyzing, not only for what they reveal about his cosmopolitanism, but also, given his role as the go-between par excellence between Fenianism and Parnellism, about the interrelationship between strands of nationalist thought and action. O’Kelly’s career, considered in relationship to his sustained efforts on behalf of Irish independence, underscores two important realities sometimes consigned to the periphery of our appreciations of Irish nationalism. The first of these concerns the influences of global experience in the most practical of ways on developing Irish nationalist thought. The second emphasizes the anti-imperialism that O’Kelly and many others involved in the IRB saw not as an incidental dimension of the struggle against the Anglo-Irish Union, but as a focal point, essential for the cause’s growth and success.

O'Kelly's journalistic endeavors began in the late 1860s. Always in need of funds, he contributed to the *Irishman* and other weeklies, and his friend T. P. O'Connor secured him further work.²¹ Already considering a move to New York to join Devoy and escape government scrutiny as the new decade arrived, a memorable interview opened professional doors. In May 1871 he forced a meeting with the notoriously reticent Irish American General Phil Sheridan, returning from a highly publicized tour of the battlefields of the Franco-Prussian War.²² O'Kelly leveraged his military know-how and considerable charm in securing the hearing, not allowing his subject's reluctance to engage with Irish politics prevent him from extracting guarded observations on Fenianism or from creating out of whole cloth Sheridan's imagined reaction should he visit Ireland, that 'something must be wrong with the social system of the country'.²³ The incident demonstrated O'Kelly's decisive character and talent for making connections.

No better way could have been found to impress the scoop-obsessed James Gordon Bennett Jr., the domineering managing editor of the *Herald* and one of the titanic figures of American journalism.²⁴ Bennett was an Anglophobe and a forceful if often uncouth public advocate of his version of American values, while the *Herald* had a long history of Fenian sympathy.²⁵ Devoy's position in the paper's inner circle from early in 1871 along with the Sheridan interview earned O'Kelly a place in the *Herald's* columns. His extensive, vivid, man-on-the-spot reporting of the Orange Riots in New York in July, during which some 60 people were killed, was highly regarded.²⁶ Having proven his worth, the charismatic and enterprising O'Kelly showed himself to be aggressive, even ruthless, in pursuit of copy, and became a valuable man at the *Herald*. Ultimately, he negotiated for the high salary of \$50 per week plus expenses.²⁷ His personalized style helped to create a new approach to journalism. Skilled at drawing in an audience, O'Kelly thrived in his inhabitation of the persona of the enthusiastic and hustling newsman that had already been established at the *Herald*. While often recognizable in relation to his blunt and frank style in personal letters, O'Kelly's journalistic voice, colored by the pressure of deadlines, was marked by confident authority, insider allusions, and a cool bluntness, often incorporating theatrically the reporter's own bold adventures. As the *Herald* did not make use of bylines, O'Kelly's assignments are not always known, and the paper employed several Irish-born former Fenians.²⁸ There are other frustrations. Account books for the paper that might detail expenses and whereabouts, for example, are unavailable.

There is external evidence from a variety of contemporary sources, however, for much of what O’Kelly did, particularly whom he interviewed. Even more importantly, it is clear that O’Kelly was empowered to choose assignments that brought him into contact with radicals, revolutionary movements, and military struggles against expansive states.

O’Kelly served first as a drama and art critic, taking advantage of his contacts in Paris to obtain cultural scoops, writing, for example, to John O’Leary to obtain news of the latest Parisian dramas for the *Herald*.²⁹ By 1872, he had become part of the editorial team. *Herald* reports, some no doubt written by him or Devoy, noted his involvement in the Irish convention in 1872, before his name dropped entirely out of public accounts of Clan na Gael and Irish convention meetings and social activities. This was in part because he was likely writing the *Herald’s* obfuscatory accounts of seemingly innocent picnics and notices of mysterious meetings, and in part because his military record and leadership position in the Fenian movement of the previous decade, known to British authorities, made it wiser for him to be a silent participant.³⁰

O’Kelly took his time returning to the *Herald* after his Cuban adventures. He visited Paris and may have stopped in Dublin on his way back to New York. The *Herald* carried close accounts by one of its own reporters from the proceedings of the Home Rule conference in Dublin in November 1873; and O’Kelly, upon his return, almost certainly offered analysis of what the *Herald’s* editorial pages referred to as the ‘barren and cruel triumphs’ of the British campaign against the Ashanti, which began in December and continued through the Spring of 1874.³¹ O’Kelly’s book on Cuba was published to strong reviews that summer, and contained plenty of republican anti-imperial posturing, including sympathetic accounts of Cuban ‘patriots’, hiding from ‘the fierce Catalan with bloodhound scent’ forming ‘little colonies of freemen’ willing to ‘suffer want, danger and death’ rather than ‘submission to slave masters’.³²

While helping plan the Catalpa Fenian rescue with Devoy and John Boyle O’Reilly that same year, he achieved another important journalistic coup when his enterprise, along with his fluent French and his familiarity with French radical politics, secured him the role of exclusive American escort for the French communard Henri Rochefort and his companions, notably Olivier Pain. Pain later accompanied O’Kelly on adventures in the Sudan in the 1880s.³³ Rochefort’s experiences, fascinating to republicans everywhere, began with an escape from New Caledonia in March followed by a visit to Australia before landing in San Francisco. O’Kelly met

the Frenchmen in Chicago and spent several weeks producing a series of exclusive and widely reprinted interviews as well as an important New York lecture series. The experience led to life-long friendships between O'Kelly, Rochefort, and his companions.³⁴ Rochefort remembered the flood of intrusive and eager American newsmen in his memoirs, but noted that O'Kelly's republican credentials, his recent victimization by Spanish colonial authorities, as well as his ability to promise the rapid mass circulation of Rochefort's ideas led him to 'jump at this splendid opportunity' for exclusive collaboration.³⁵ Over several days, Rochefort and Pain gave O'Kelly a detailed account of their trial and exile, while O'Kelly used the resources of the *Herald* to shepherd his guests around, including a visit to Niagara Falls. O'Kelly also introduced them to the New York-based Cuban revolutionary Miguel de Aldama, finally arranging for a return to Europe on a steamer bound for Queenstown, Co. Cork, where the Frenchmen were unfortunately set upon by an anti-communist stone-throwing Irish mob led by a local priest.³⁶ Intriguing follow-on reports from Ireland from an anonymous, just-arrived *Herald* reporter travelling in Rochefort's wake may have been O'Kelly's; an early Parnell speech at a Home Rule meeting in Dublin in July was noticed as coming from a 'handsome man of obvious culture and refinement'.³⁷

O'Kelly remained engaged with Irish politics at a high level, apparently visiting London and Ireland again in 1875.³⁸ The *Herald* published an interview conducted in London with O'Kelly's close friend, the former Fenian John O'Connor Power, in August 1875, and the piece editorialized about the weakness of Isaac Butt as a leader and called for the emergence of 'a second O'Connell'.³⁹ While there 'was no man in Ireland competent to the task of a real leader' and while the Irish people seemed all too willing to settle for a weak version of Home Rule, O'Connor Power was described as 'the most able, eloquent, and competent' available man. O'Connor Power came to New York a few months later, encouraging this new constitutional approach. The visit received much *Herald* fanfare, but while some were willing to consider adopting a political approach (O'Kelly remained an outspoken supporter of his friend's flexibility) many others, including John O'Leary, saw O'Connor Power as an 'unprincipled scoundrel'.⁴⁰

O'Kelly's personal success led to a marriage to the prosperous music teacher Henrietta Clarke, and he brought his bride with him on a European assignment later in 1875.⁴¹ When, in January 1876, the well-known London based Irish playwright Dion Boucicault's public plea for

Fenian amnesty earned him effusive praise over several days from the *Herald*, it most likely came from O'Kelly's pen, given the juncture of his political, artistic, and professional interests.⁴² O'Kelly's next major assignment, while both a plum and a genuine triumph, was nevertheless an odd one for a republican. He was sent, again accompanied by his wife, to launch the *Herald's* extensive coverage of the compelling, reforming Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, in advance of the latter's planned visit to America for centennial celebrations. O'Kelly spent several weeks with Dom Pedro at the emperor's summer home and then accompanied him on his farewell progress through much of Brazil.⁴³ In his interviews and reporting, O'Kelly challenged the 'belief of some that his ideas [were] despotic', portraying Dom Pedro as a man of 'simple and democratic' taste, with 'the best interests of the people at heart'.⁴⁴ This take on Dom Pedro made it clear that O'Kelly saw in the emperor's instincts and temperament the shortest and most likely path to greater freedom and an eventual increase in Brazilian liberty, but also revealed O'Kelly's underlying preference for strong leadership. By all accounts, the Irishman charmed Dom Pedro as well. They travelled together on the emperor's American tour, with O'Kelly providing eager *Herald* readers with reports about his political and social sentiments, and his admiring perceptions of American democracy. Press accounts of the tour often noted O'Kelly's presence as guide and travelling companion, with one jealous rival paper's headline sarcastically noting that O'Kelly had arrived in San Francisco 'attended again by his majesty the emperor of Brazil'.⁴⁵

Later in the summer of 1876, when the US army undertook the Sioux campaign, O'Kelly was the crucial *Herald* reporter on the scene in the aftermath of the Custer defeat at Little Bighorn. Fellow celebrity war correspondent James 'Phocion' Howard of the *Chicago Tribune* described admiringly O'Kelly's determination, rifle in hand, to be the first to investigate Crazy Horse's abandoned camp.⁴⁶ In many ways his prominent role as a respected voice covering the great tragic event of the year marked the high point of his journalistic career. His reporting cemented O'Kelly's authoritative perspective on frontier campaigning even while it reflected his status as the *Herald's* most dependable and independent evaluator of military strategy. If Henry Stanley's dispatches from Abyssinia had been criticized for their pro-British sympathies, O'Kelly's detailed, critical post-mortems on Custer's defeat and the campaign's protracted denouement, not at all unsympathetic to the Sioux, provided widely read commentary

on the conflict, professionally assigned blame and responsibility, and remains a classic of war correspondence.⁴⁷

Even as the conflict on the frontier wound down, events were in motion that would transform O'Kelly's life, returning his center of gravity to Ireland and London. That fall, shortly after O'Kelly would have returned to New York from the West, Parnell visited America with O'Connor Power. Ostensibly there to present a centennial address from the Home Rule Confederation to President Grant, Parnell and O'Connor Power spent more than a month in the country, much of it in New York.⁴⁸ While the presentation was derailed by British diplomatic objections, the *Herald* noted a steady stream of Irish visitors, including Devoy, and (it can safely be inferred) Devoy's closest Clan na Gael co-conspirator, O'Kelly. This encounter may very well have been the first meeting between O'Kelly and Parnell. It is unclear if O'Kelly was the reporter sent to provide the extensive coverage that appeared of the remarkable Dublin funeral of New York Fenian John O'Mahony in March, but his Connecticut-based brother Stephen was one of the pall-bearers.⁴⁹

What is certain is that O'Kelly's life began to melt down in an ugly, public fashion. Returning from an unnamed assignment, he found 'the ices of March were upon me', as his wife had left their home with all of her belongings 'without even leaving a note to say goodbye'.⁵⁰ Henrietta had discovered letters revealing that O'Kelly considered himself married to, and had conceived a child with, the then 17-year-old Edith Bowes in an affair that predated his wedding to Henrietta. Further, he had established Edith in Paris with his brother Aloysius as her caretaker, continuing to write her, visit her, and even bring her to New York from Paris.⁵¹ Divorce proceedings, along with some of his love letters, were published in the rival *New York Sun* late in June.⁵² Accused of bigamy, O'Kelly resigned from the *Herald*, retreating in July to Europe, according to some sources in connection with yet another affair with the wife of a colleague.⁵³ In two disconsolate notes to Devoy sent from Canada while he waited for a transatlantic steamer, O'Kelly asked for money, wondered what Devoy could say about Bennett's reaction to his situation, and lamented that 'everything seems going wrong'.⁵⁴ He hoped for employment, if not as a freelancer for the *Herald*, then from 'English papers' covering the Balkan crisis from the Russian lines. Although Bennett would not give O'Kelly regular work in Europe, he offered him his New York job back, which O'Kelly declined. Unable to find steady employment in England, O'Kelly

briefly considered, in a note to Edith, taking up Dom Pedro's standing offer of a position on his staff.⁵⁵

The breakdown in his personal and professional life appears to have triggered a consequential reevaluation of the proper relationship of the overseas national movement to parliamentary politics and the cause of Irish independence at home. Outside of New York, O'Kelly was best connected in Ireland, Spain, London, and Paris, and he spent time in the following months in all four places. In London, he built a friendship with journalist, novelist, and Fenian empathizer Justin McCarthy, who did all he could to find O'Kelly work through his own professional network.⁵⁶ He also became reacquainted with Michael Davitt and engaged in extended speculation on the future with his brother, his Paris associates, and other old friends in the national movement.⁵⁷ Most consequentially for his and Ireland's future, his personal upheaval positioned him to begin serving as the embodiment of a growing political alliance between Parnell and physical force nationalists.

After several long interviews with Parnell in August, he urged Devoy and others to reevaluate Parliamentary action, reminding his friend that 'I have always tried to convince you of the great moral effect of having Ireland represented by men like Parnell, O'Donnell, and Biggar even if they were not prepared to advance one step further'.⁵⁸ In Madrid, meetings with William Carroll and Spanish authorities in connection with his dormant plan for seizing Gibraltar misfired. Badly in need of funds and in a state of ferment about how to advance Ireland's cause, O'Kelly decided to return to New York and the *Herald* sometime in the New Year of 1878, clearly expecting to work there with Devoy in developing the 'New Departure'.⁵⁹ When Davitt arrived in New York in August, he immediately sought him out as 'the only man I knew in that city', and O'Kelly and Devoy helped to arrange his very successful American public appearances.⁶⁰ Davitt and Parnell both agreed that O'Kelly, as 'the medium between the Revolutionary and the Moderate parties', was the best man to help Parnell organize his own American trip.⁶¹

From 1878, however, O'Kelly became increasingly frustrated with the unwillingness of other Fenians to support practical efforts, including the 'saddest blunder' of failing to arm the Afghans, Boers, and the Zulus in their struggles against the British Empire.⁶² Too many did not know how to turn ideas into action. Carroll, for instance, as O'Kelly complained to Devoy, was 'a man of excellent intentions but like a good many others not very well acquainted with the practical workings of the business'.⁶³

Personal tragedies, including the deaths in Paris of Edith Bowes and then of his young son contributed to his dissatisfaction.⁶⁴ Already threatening to resign unless he was appointed 'general agent for the Continent', O'Kelly was determined to return to Europe for good and did so in December 1879 with a mission from the Clan to get arms into Ireland as the Land War heated up.⁶⁵ He was, as Davitt acknowledged in a note to Devoy, both resolved to invigorate the cause and the 'most suitable man for the job', while his work for the *Herald* 'would be certain to give satisfaction' to those who might otherwise question his fitness for the role.⁶⁶

Difficulties collaborating with Fenian leadership in Ireland and in Paris and differences of opinion about the soundness of Parliamentary nationalists—particularly F. H. O'Donnell, O'Connor-Power, and Parnell—contributed to his decision to stand for Roscommon against The O'Connor Don in the April 1880 election.⁶⁷ Reflecting on his defection from the cause of violent revolution, Carroll, who knew O'Kelly's importance better than most, lamented to Devoy that his 'knowledge of languages, his familiarity with diplomatic and society circles, as well as with newspaper and revolutionary ways' had made O'Kelly 'a very valuable man, while his courage and ready address fitted him for sudden emergencies and such extraordinary situations as were likely to turn up in pushing the real work'.⁶⁸ Although there were a few adventurous last hurrahs, notably in Egypt in the 1880s when he worked with his French and Fenian connections to support Madhist and Egyptian anti-imperial efforts, the rest of O'Kelly's career is better known to Irish historians. He moved into the deep counsels of the Home Rule movement, as the adventurer settled down to the steady work of fomenting radical politics from within the system.⁶⁹

As both Davitt and Carroll had suggested, O'Kelly brought fame, practical know-how, and a wealth of invaluable first-hand experience in military matters and foreign affairs to his work for the party. His ongoing influence soon became manifest in strict Irish Party discipline, in its anti-imperial positioning, and in the media savvy adopted to build popular support. O'Kelly, as one critic reluctantly acknowledged, was '*au fait* for any mission involving danger and physical strength'.⁷⁰ The party's unofficial whip, he used his intimidating reputation as a man of action to keep others in line, in 1883 famously threatening, for example, to duel the mild-mannered James McCoan, Home Rule member for Wicklow, over a personal insult and breaches of party discipline.⁷¹ He served on the foreign affairs committee for the party, and was a constant parliamentary

gadfly and spokesman on international affairs, full of criticism of imperial expansion.⁷² He also served as Parnell's unofficial press secretary, arranging interviews, advocating the establishment of a Paris-based Irish media outlet, and urging William O'Brien to establish *United Ireland* as a paper controlled by the party.⁷³ O'Brien was perhaps the best informed observer of Irish politics in the 1880s to conclude that O'Kelly had 'the most potent influences on the secret counsels of the party, and enjoyed the confidence of his chief in intimate and momentous affairs to a greater degree than any of his colleagues'.⁷⁴ Parnell's biographer and confidant R. Barry O'Brien echoed him, noting that O'Kelly became 'Parnell's one personal friend in politics' and 'the one man to whom he freely opened his mind'.⁷⁵

As hectic as his formative and opportunistic years at the *Herald* may appear, they positioned O'Kelly to become one of the great influencers over Irish politics. In his apology for entering politics in 1880, written to his old friend Devoy, O'Kelly rejected charges of hypocrisy. He insisted nothing could 'make me swerve from my own path. My ideas—that is, my ultimate ideas—are unchanged ... The modifications in my personal policy are the natural outgrowth of the ideas which were freely imparted to you and others during the last ten years'.⁷⁶ O'Kelly's ultimate idea remained Irish freedom on Irish terms, but he saw his years at the *Herald*, which in the end took him all over the Atlantic world—from Gibraltar to Quebec, from Dublin to Havana and Buenos Aires—as a period of incubation that had rendered him Carroll's 'valuable man'.

O'Kelly's utility and flexibility had developed out of hard-won experience. His journalistic endeavors reinforced his sense of the value of dynamic, intelligent action in building support for the cause. He saw that, like the *Herald*, the national cause had to be appealing and marketable. O'Kelly's abandonment of the revolutionary movement was rooted in his exasperation with its repeated failures to capitalize on opportunity. At the same time, his hard life as a journalist led O'Kelly to develop a keen appreciation for the challenges inherent in coordinating transatlantic revolutionary activity. His frustration with the lack of resources and the difficulty in collaborating grew more pronounced as he became one of the crucial nodes for planning. Infighting, methodological rigidity, poor leadership with little accountability, and, even more frustratingly, little taste for well-timed action, were particularly galling to O'Kelly, who valued meeting deadlines and producing results.

If the struggle for independence had much to overcome, O'Kelly came to appreciate the premium these circumstances placed on decisive

leadership, as well as the consequences of its absence. O'Kelly's interviews with presidents, emperors, generals, diplomats, and revolutionaries amounted to a sustained study in leadership. O'Kelly's confidence in Parnell from an early stage was rooted in personal interactions, and his own opinions about the younger man's promise as a leader.⁷⁷ When O'Kelly determined that Parnell had the necessary character and resolve to inspire the people, he was more than willing to compromise on tactics.

A final critical determination spurred O'Kelly to action: his conviction that imperialism was doomed as a system. O'Kelly's travels and war correspondent work gave him authoritative perspective on, and first-hand experience of, the limits and weaknesses of the British Empire. With Devoy, he believed he had divined an ironic truth: that as empire expanded, it became more vulnerable, and independence, not only for Ireland but for other colonies, grew more feasible. He observed up close the military and logistical frustration of preserving Spanish power in Cuba and of projecting British power into Ashanti Land, and was impressed by the ability of determined Sioux and Zulu warriors to frustrate empires with the right tactics and modern weapons. He also came to appreciate the power of the American Republic to offer safe haven and resources to men like Rochefort, Davitt, and Parnell, and the tendency for imperial rivalries to breed conflict. O'Kelly became convinced that imperial power—grandiose but decaying, impressive but unsustainable—had reached its tipping point. Irish republicanism, meanwhile, for all its divisions, was ever more deeply rooted in its host societies, particularly in France and the USA, protected from the reach of Britain and better positioned to plan, organize, and arm. As Devoy put it, in the full version of his public letter explaining the New Departure (a document that should be regarded as a shared production):

That vast agglomeration of hostile races and conflicting interests, scattered all over the world, called the British Empire, has been held together up to the present by favourable circumstances that are disappearing day by day. It is filled with inflammable material within, and beset with powerful and watchful enemies without. It was constructed for commercial purposes alone, is conducted on merely commercial principles, and cannot stand a great strain. It cannot last, and the crash will come as sure as fate. It is past the summit of its glory and its infamy, and is now on the descent which leads inevitably to ruin. It is our turn now ... we will build up a nation, or sink on the ruin of the broken empires of the world.⁷⁸

In other words, Irish prospects for political progress derived from imperial conditions, even though success also depended on having domestic leadership committed to opportunistic action.

O’Kelly’s position with Michael Davitt as one of the most enterprising and methodologically ecumenical of the Fenian leaders is worth further consideration. Unlike Davitt, O’Kelly was an insider to the movements he looked to shape. T. P. O’Connor noted that O’Kelly, ‘little known to the public’, was ‘a potent force in shaping the fortunes and decisions’ of his party and ‘in fashioning the history of his country’.⁷⁹ It is worth pointing out that O’Kelly was, if unique, also a type. One must note, as others have, not just the prominence of journalists in the national movement during the formative 1870s and 1880s, but especially of foreign correspondents and editors.⁸⁰ O’Kelly, McCarthy for the *Daily News*, O’Connor for the *Daily Telegraph*, and F. H. O’Donnell for the *London Morning Post*—all were linguists, early organizers of party strategy, deeply knowledgeable about foreign affairs, and fundamentally cosmopolitan. Finally, if O’Kelly’s Flashmanesque escapades and character seem anomalous, they do provide broader insight into the rich potential for Ireland’s cosmopolitan engagement with imperial realities to integrate with and shape the developing nationalist agenda. For O’Kelly, who acknowledged privately to Devoy after his election that ‘he had grown weary to death of playing roles, and striving to roll impossible balls up impossible hills’, only the conscious and indeed the skilled mapping of that essentially parochial challenge of Irish independence onto broader global transformations could give the cause both relevance and prospects, and leverage the resources required for its success.⁸¹ Ireland’s destiny was fundamentally dependent on its relationship to the outside world. Liberty would come, in the end, because an emerging, proactive, and globally aware Irish intelligentsia came to understand and harness to the cause of revolution not just domestic grievances and the resources of the diaspora, but also the international struggle against imperialism.

NOTES

1. United States National Archives, College Park, MD, *Dispatches from the U.S. Minister to Spain, State Department Diplomatic Correspondence*, (hereafter, *DUMS*), M31/57, Sickles to Fish, 17 April 1873. Sickles was to encourage the Spanish to ‘deal leniently’ with O’Kelly. *DUMS*, M31/57, Fish to Sickles, 14 April 1873.

2. *New York Herald* (Hereafter, *NYH*), 8 April and *passim*. For an account of Stephen O'Kelly's meeting with Grant, see *NYH*, 17 April 1873 and the *Hartford Daily Courant* of the same day. The *San Francisco Bulletin* reported Fish's comment that the Spanish 'might take more' of the *Herald's* correspondents. *San Francisco Bulletin*, 25 April 1873.
3. Both O'Kelly's brother and the Secretary of State contacted the American Consul in Havana. United States National Archives, College Park, MD, *Dispatches, U.S. Consul at Havana*, T20, Fish to Torbert, 20 April 1873.
4. Thomas Keneally, *American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Dan Sickles* (New York: Knopf-Doubleday, 2003).
5. Sickles coordinated with the British ambassador Austen Layard, and British consular officials worked with Cuban officials to secure O'Kelly fair trial. *DUMS*, M31/57, Sickles to Fish, 4 July 1873. See also Peter Hulme's *Cuba's Wild East: A Literary Geography of Oriente* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2011), 44–64. For O'Kelly's criticisms of Britain, see *NYH*, 9 August and 19 November 1873.
6. Besides his own *The Mambi-Land, or, Adventures of a Herald Correspondent in Cuba* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1874) there are overviews of O'Kelly's time in Cuba in Hulme, 44–64. See also Marta Ramon's 'Shifting Alliances: James J. O'Kelly and the Spanish Government', in *Life on the Fringe? Ireland and Europe 1800–1922*, ed. by Brian Heffernan (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012), 101–116. The quoted language appeared in the *NYH*, 8 February 1873, reprinted from *La Independencia*, a publication of Cuban exiles.
7. See, for example, his biography in the *NYH*, 10 April, 1873 and the *Hartford Daily Courant*, 17 April 1873 and notices in the *Boston Herald*, 7 April 1873; his description as 'the new Stanley', *NYH*, 21 April 1873, and the extensive 'profile' in the *NYH*, 17 November 1873.
8. *NYH*, 18 May 1873.
9. *The Herald* reported Spanish suspicions that O'Kelly was in league with Cuban exiles; see for example *NYH*, 10 April 1873.
10. Although he had reassured Fish the case was no longer 'regarded as serious', Sickles worried as the government destabilized. *DUMS*, Sickles to Fish, 27 May, 17 June, 4 July, 10 July, and 24 July 1873,

- M31/57. For the O’Kelly family history, see Niamh O’Sullivan’s wonderful *Aloysius O’Kelly: Art, Nation, Empire* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010), 9–16.
11. Ramon, ‘Shifting Alliances’, 113; for O’Kelly’s take on Gibraltar, see O’Kelly to Devoy, 30 October; 8 November 1877, John Devoy, *Devoy’s Post Bag* vol. I, ed. by William O’Brien and Desmond Ryan (Dublin: C. J. Fallon, 1948), (hereafter, *DPB I*) 275–276.
 12. O’Kelly to Devoy, 12 August 1872, *DPB I*, 54 and O’Kelly to O’Donovan Rossa, n.d. [1872], *DPB I*, 58–9.
 13. He placed in shooting competitions in New York in 1874 and 1875. *Annual Reports of the National Rifle Association* (New York: National Rifle Association of America, 1877), 98, 107–109; 135. He shot for the ‘James Gordon Bennett prize’ for the *Herald* at the ‘press Match’ held on 1 October 1874.
 14. The *Herald’s* role in revolutionizing journalism has been well told. See George Douglas, *The Golden Age of The Newspaper* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999) and Richard Kluger, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune* (New York: Knopf, 1986), esp. 131–148.
 15. William O’Brien noted O’Kelly’s importance. William O’Brien, *Recollections* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905), 245.
 16. See, for example, O’Kelly to Devoy, 5 and 21 August 1877, *DPB I*, 266–271.
 17. T. W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981), 138–139 and 225.
 18. For O’Kelly’s combative character, read O’Brien’s account of his challenge to McCoan, O’Brien, *Recollections*, 247. *Punch* lampooned the affair, offering a wild-looking O’Kelly wielding two pistols, June 9, 1883, 269. T. P. O’Connor noted his preference for ‘well-calculated rather than rash courses’ despite his ‘revolutionary temperament’. T. P. O’Connor and Robert MacWade, *Gladstone-Parnell, and The Great Irish Struggle* (Philadelphia: Edgewood Pub. Co., 1886), 415.
 19. See, however, Owen McGee, ‘Originator of the New Departure’, *History Ireland* 16, no. 6 (November/December 2008); Carla King, ‘The Parliamentary Career of J. J. O’Kelly’, *Studia Hibernica* 39 (May 2014): 103–135.

20. Devoy's affectionate portrait in his *Recollections of an Irish Rebel* (Dublin: Irish UP, 1969), 340–343, provides the best biographical sketch. See also T. P. O'Connor's biographical sketch in T. P. O'Connor, *The Parnell Movement* (London: Cassell Pub. Co., 1891), 189–191. Good overviews of the Fenian movement of the era and Devoy's role in it include Owen McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood From the Land League to Sinn Fein* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); and Patrick Steward and Bryan McGovern, *The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in the Atlantic World, 1858–1876* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013).
21. Devoy, *Recollections*, 336.
22. T. P. O'Connor, with a journalist's appreciation for a scoop, recalled O'Kelly's early success, with details obviously from O'Kelly himself, but indicates that the interview took place in New York. The *Herald's* interview took place on April 27 in Dublin before Sheridan departed Europe. Sheridan was interviewed in New York by a reporter for the *New York Irish-American*, 20 May 1871; either or both interviews may have been O'Kelly's. O'Kelly was in New York by mid-Summer 1871. O'Connor, *The Parnell Movement*, 190.
23. *NYH*, 12 May and 16 May 1871.
24. James Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1989).
25. Ray O'Hanlon, 'The Writing Irish', in *The Irish American Experience in New Jersey and Metropolitan New York: Cultural Identity, Hybridity, and Commemoration*, ed. by Marta Mestrovic Deyrup and Maura Grace Harrington (New York: Lexington Books, 2013), 137.
26. Michael Gordon, *The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993). The *Herald* offered close coverage of the riot, much of it from O'Kelly.
27. Devoy, *Recollections*, 335.
28. Terry Golway, 'Introduction', in John Devoy, *Catalpa Expedition*, ed. by Philip Fennell and Marie King (New York: NYUP, 2008), 9.
29. O'Leary to O'Kelly, 8 November 1872, *DPB I*, 61–63.
30. *NYH*, 20 May 1872 notes his and Devoy's election to the Irish Convention, but O'Kelly is absent in *Herald* reporting on that organization's activity, or Clan na Gael's. Correspondence in *DPB* makes it clear that O'Kelly was involved with both organizations.

31. Devoy, *Recollections*, 340. See reports of the *Herald's* "special correspondent" at the Home Rule Conference in *NYH*, 1 December 1873. Stanley was the *Herald's* correspondent for the expedition, but editorial voices critical of Stanley's identification with British war aims likely belonged to Devoy and/or O'Kelly; see coverage in *NYH* from 15 December 1874.
32. O'Kelly, *The Mambi Land*, 109.
33. O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly*, 106. See O'Kelly's reporting, *NYH*, 30 May 1874.
34. See, for example, *The Pall Mall Gazette's* account of O'Kelly and Parnell's interview in February 1881 with Victor Hugo and Henri Rochefort in 1881; from *Littell's Living Age* 34 (April–June, 1881), 191.
35. Henri Rochefort, *The Adventures of My Life* vol. II (New York: Edward Arnold, 1897), 153–159.
36. *Ibid.*, 161–164.
37. *NYH*, 2 August 1874. O'Kelly was likely out of New York as he failed to compete in several shooting competitions. He was a top finisher in matches that fall.
38. A reference in a letter to John Devoy early in 1875 about a proposed trip to London to visit O'Connor Power later in the year provides some evidence, as does *Herald* reporting from Ireland. O'Kelly to Devoy, 10 February 1875, *DPB I*, 92–93.
39. *NYH*, 24 August 1875. See note 36; Devoy and O'Kelly discussed a visit to London to meet with O'Connor Power in February.
40. O'Leary to Devoy, 13 October 1875, *DPB I*, 121–22. See the *NYH*, 12 and 24 November 1875, for accounts of the rejection by many New York Fenians of O'Connor Power's Home Rule activism.
41. *Boston Traveler*, 11 November 1875. At the time of O'Kelly's divorce, the *New York Sun* related that his wife Edith, a soloist at St Agnes Church on 42nd Street, earned \$1,500 a year. *New York Sun*, 30 June 1877.
42. *NYH*, 17 and 22 January 17 1876.
43. Mary Williams, *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil* (London: Routledge, 1967), 187–193.
44. *NYH*, from 21 February 1876. See in particular *NYH* 16, 18, 23, and 27 April 1876.
45. See, for example, *Daily Alta California*, 25 April 1876.

46. James Mueller, *Shooting Arrows and Slinging Mud: Custer, The Press, and the Little Bighorn* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), ch. 8.
47. Stanley became a knighted Liberal Unionist MP. For an interesting take on Stanley and the 'new journalism', see Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 22–49. Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), ch. 7. Knight notes that O'Kelly was the most capable of the reporters covering the campaign, 221. See also James Donovan, *A Terrible Glory: Custer and the Little Bighorn, the Last Great Battle of the American West* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2008), esp. ch. 18; Mitchell Roth, 'O'Kelly, James J.', in *The Encyclopedia of War Journalism* (Armenia, New York: Grey House Pub., 2010), 264–265.
48. See *NYH*, 15 September and 29 October 1875. For the diplomatic story, see David Sim, *A Union Forever: The Irish Question and U.S. Foreign Relations in the Victorian Age* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2013), ch. 5. O'Carroll's correspondence makes it clear the O'Connor Power 'and the other gentleman' discussed Fenian strategy, O'Carroll to Devoy, *DPB I*, 19 October 1876, 208.
49. *NYH*, 18 March 1877.
50. O'Kelly to Edith Bowes, 14 March 1877, MS 18035 (2), (O'Kelly Correspondence, National Library of Ireland, Dublin).
51. There is an account of this complicated and tragic relationship, which involved Edith appearing to be married to O'Kelly's brother Aloysius in O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly*, 24–29.
52. *New York Sun*, 30 June 1877.
53. O'Sullivan, Aloysius O'Kelly, 26–27.
54. O'Kelly to Devoy, 6 July 1877, *DPB I*, 260–261.
55. O'Kelly to Devoy, 5 August 1877, *DPB I*, 266–268; O'Kelly to Edith Bowles, 26 October 1877, MS 18035 (2) (O'Kelly Correspondence, National Library of Ireland, Dublin).
56. *DPB*.
57. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution*, 60. Davitt and O'Kelly apparently met in England before Davitt's arrest.
58. O'Kelly to Devoy, 21 August 1877, *DPB I*, 269–270.

59. See O'Kelly to Devoy, 30 October, 8 November, and 23 December 1877. *DPB I*, 275–276; 278–279; 293–294.
60. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution*, 225.
61. Davitt to O'Kelly, 22 October 1879, *DPB I*, 456–457.
62. See Millen to Carroll, 20 November 1877; O'Kelly to Devoy, 17 February 1879; O'Kelly to Davitt, 10 March 1879, *DPB I*, 282–283; 392–393; 408–411.
63. O'Kelly to Devoy, 23 December 1877, *DPB I*, 293–294.
64. O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly*; O'Kelly to Devoy, 2 February 1879, *DPB I*, 388–389. Both Bowes and his son were often unwell.
65. *DPB I*, 463, and Davitt to O'Kelly, 22 October 1879, *DPB I*, 456–457. See also Davitt's letter to Devoy, 31 October 1878, noting that 'O'Kelly does not intend to return to New York' and that the Clan should arrange for him to operate from Ireland as a journalist'. Devoy, *Michael Davitt*, 40–41.
66. Davitt to Devoy, 31 October 1878, cited in John Devoy, *Michael Davitt (From the Gaelic American)* ed. by Carla King and W. J. McCormack (Dublin: UCD Press, 2008), 41.
67. King, 'A Whig Rebel' has an account of O'Kelly's effort to unseat The O'Connor Don in the 1880 election.
68. Carroll to Devoy, 11 May 1880, *DPB I*, 528–531.
69. King offers an overview of his parliamentary career; Conor Cruise O'Brien has appreciated his influence within the Irish Party. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and His Party* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1957), 160–162. Davitt found him 'crotchety but reliable, honest and able'. Michael Davitt, *Jottings In Solitary* ed. by Carla King (Dublin: UCD Press, 2003), 154.
70. *Cork Constitution*, 11 August 1882.
71. The incident features in memoirs, perhaps best recounted in Sir Henry Lucy's *Memories of Eight Parliaments* (London: G. P. Putnam, 1908), 302–304.
72. King, 'A Whig Rebel', 120.
73. King, 'A Whig Rebel', 117–118 and Sally Warwick-Haller, *William O'Brien and the Irish Land War* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 46.
74. William O'Brien, *Recollections*, 245–246.
75. R. Barry O'Brien, *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* vol. II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1899), 300.
76. O'Kelly to Devoy, 14 July 1880, *DPB I*, 538–539.

77. See O'Kelly's assessments of Parnell, and his urgings that Devoy take advantage of opportunities to meet with Parnell, O'Kelly to Devoy, 5 and 21 August 1877, *DPB I*, 266–267; 269–270.
78. John Devoy, *Michael Davitt*, 68–69.
79. O'Connor, *Gladstone and Parnell*, 415.
80. Felix M. Larkin, 'Parnell, Politics and the Press in Ireland, 1875–1924', in *Parnell Reconsidered*, ed. by Pauric Travers and Donal McCartney (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013), 76–91, esp. 83–84.
81. O'Kelly to Devoy, 14 July 1880, *DPB I*, 538–539.

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‘Up with the American Flag in All the Glory
of its Stainless Honor’: Anti-Imperial
Rhetoric in the *Chicago Citizen*, 1898–1902

Úna Ní Bhroiméil

The sinking of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on 15 February 1898 did more than mark the beginning of the Spanish-American War.¹ It represented a key historical moment in US history when citizens were forced to come to terms with what would become a loosely defined and divisive imperial agenda after the Spanish surrender in Cuba and the integration of Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines as ‘unincorporated territories’. These overseas conquests appeared to position the USA alongside the imperial regimes of Europe, occupying territory without the consent of the governed and, as Paul Kramer stated, racializing the USA as Anglo-Saxons while ‘tribalizing’ the occupied.²

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The press has long been credited with provoking the USA into entering into the Spanish-American War in Cuba, and the phrase ‘yellow journalism’ was coined to recognize how the rivalry of newspapers, particularly in New York, spurred public opinion into supporting the war. While this has been questioned in a nationwide context, it is nonetheless significant that the press and the written word impacted significantly the way Americans viewed the war in Cuba and the subsequent war in the Philippines.³ This chapter examines a specific Irish American newspaper—the *Chicago Citizen*—throughout the period of the Spanish-American War and the Philippines War (1898–1902) in order to capture the viewpoint of a key opinion shaper at a particular moment of historical urgency. Choosing the Midwest as a setting for this inquiry is very deliberate. Chicago was the most ethnically diverse city in the USA at the turn of the century, with Germans constituting the largest ethnic group followed by the Irish. The editor of the *Citizen*, John Finerty (who had been born in Galway), was a key political player in Irish American circles in Chicago. Portrayed in his own paper variously as a Republican and as an ex-Republican, Finerty had served one term in the 48th Congress (1883–85) as an Independent Democrat.⁴ He was President of the United Irish Societies of Chicago and became the Chairman of the United Irish League of America founded by John Redmond in 1901.⁵ His opinions were therefore not just those of an editor, but representative of the discourse of the wider Irish American associational community in Chicago at the turn of the century. Stating that ‘we were never noted for allowing other people to do our thinking or writing’, Finerty positioned himself as controlling ‘all editorial utterances’ and was the dominant voice of the paper.⁶

The *Citizen* can be counted among the collection of newspapers that constituted the ‘anti-imperialist press’. Described as the ‘senior Irish American paper of the west’ in February 1899, The *Chicago Citizen* had been founded in 1882 by Finerty, and was the official paper of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Illinois and the United Irish Societies of Chicago and Cook County.⁷ It had a circulation of 15,000 in 1898, rising to 16,000 by 1902.⁸ Its motto was ‘Europe, not England, is the Mother Country of America’, and its emblem was a harp adorned with shamrocks alongside a crest of the stars and stripes. Its upfront and unabashed anti-Britishness, evident both on the masthead and on the editorial page of the paper, can sometimes skew the reading of the editorial exchange and suggest that Anglophobia was the only aspect of the paper’s ideological position. But in an editorial in August 1900, Finerty outlined a more

nuanced version of what the *Citizen* stood for at that time: ‘The *Chicago Citizen* is published for the defense of the popular institutions of America and to advance, as far as in it lies, the cause of Irish independence’.⁹ Because the *Citizen* supported Irish independence, it was opposed to the old enemy England, and vehemently objected to any alliance between the USA and the British Empire. It vigorously condemned imperialism on the grounds that its canon of conquest was incompatible with republican self-determination and the principle of the consent of the governed. When the Boer War broke out in 1899, the *Chicago Citizen* immediately took a pro-Boer stance, opened a subscription fund to equip an Ambulance Corps of Irish Americans and ship them overseas, and took a public position for republicanism against imperialism.¹⁰

Although Phillip Ablett has pointed out that readership of the anti-imperialist press was narrower than the expansionist press, this chapter suggests that the rhetoric used in the reporting of the Spanish-American and the Philippines Wars in the *Chicago Citizen* reveals how Irish Americans saw themselves and their political position within the ideology of imperialism that was current at the turn of the century.¹¹ A close reading of the rhetoric used renders visible a range of tropes that drew on American principles of democracy, republicanism and consent of the governed, and that formed a pattern of repetition in the *Citizen* throughout the period 1898–1902.

ANGLO-SAXON DISCOURSE

With the proliferation of an Anglo-Saxon discourse throughout the 1890s and the practical beginnings of a diplomatic friendship between Britain and the USA, the *Citizen* was forced to deal with not just its inherent anti-Britishness (verging on Anglophobia) in support of Ireland, but also its American-ness and its citizenship of the republic.¹² This was not a new dilemma for Irish Americans—the question of the relationship between a continued Irish-ness and American citizenship was a long-standing one.¹³ But as the USA became increasingly imperially oriented at the turn of the century, the dialogue altered. Paul Kramer suggests that the rationalizing of the war in the Philippines led to a ‘racialization’ of the US population as ‘Anglo-Saxons whose overseas conquests were legitimated by racial historical ties to the British empire’.¹⁴ The discourse of Anglo-Saxonism suggested that Americans, as inheritors of Anglo-Saxon virtues, were particularly suited to self-government and fitted for empire building. This racial exceptionalism was anathema to the *Citizen*, which pointed out

the fiction and folly of the Anglo-Saxon blood argument, claiming that while America was mainly a 'Celtic Germanic nation', it was essentially 'an American nation, independent, powerful and free from all responsibilities attached to alliances with foreign powers'.¹⁵ The practical expression of Anglo-Saxon ties as exemplified in an Anglo-American alliance was denounced on the front page of the *Citizen* in September 1898 when the resolutions of a mass meeting called by a German committee were reported on and printed in full. The resolutions welcomed the providential fact that 'only 700,000 Anglo Saxons' resided in America as they were a 'menace to republican institutions'. Moreover, the resolution condemned the British government as the instigator of an Anglo-American alliance, believing that England was anxious to secure friendship with a powerful USA in the wake of the latter's victory over Spain. But, the resolutions continued, the response of the 'people of Chicago, assembled here tonight, composed of native Americans as well as Germans, Bohemians, Swedes, Poles, Irish and others' was to protest against any and all treaties 'with any power or nation, more especially with the British government, having well in mind her treachery and unfaithfulness.'¹⁶

The Irish Americans in Chicago were not leading the opposition to the Anglo-American alliance, which reflected the multi-ethnic nature of the city. It was, however, a signal that the dislike and disdain of Americans for the Anglo-Saxon discourse was not confined to committed Anglophobes like the Irish Americans; and, indeed, Kramer stated that British observers pointed out that American Anglo-Saxonism was compromised by immigrants who were granted a voice by America's 'overly democratic traditions'.¹⁷ It was these very democratic traditions that the *Citizen* feared would be contaminated by any kind of union with Britain. Thus, Finerty countered the 'blood of government' argument on the grounds that British monarchical government was opposed to American republicanism:

The blood of 50,000,000 Americans is so 'thick' that it will never mingle with the English gore, except in an inimical sense, on the field of battle. English 'blood' breaks out in boils on the American body politic. We call these 'boils' Anglo-Maniacs, and we will, God aiding, drive them from the fair person of Columbia before they can do much to imperil or disfigure her.¹⁸

Finerty maintained that Americans had a very specific role to play in resisting the language and the practice of Anglo-Saxonism gaining a foothold

in the USA. Firstly, for Americans to have self-respect, they should not 'belly crawl before the British' and show their 'intense Americanism' by 'despising' the English as a nation'. More specifically, any Irish American who would support England, even by complimenting the dead Queen Victoria in 1901, would betray his constituents and reveal himself to be a deadly, vindictive foe of both 'Ireland and America', and must be 'either very shameless, very stupid or very ignorant'.¹⁹ Joseph Chamberlain, the British government's Secretary of State for the Colonies, backed an Anglo-American alliance in Britain, and was derided in the *Citizen* as the 'Birmingham arch traitor' and repugnant to good Irishmen in arms in defense of the Stars and Stripes.²⁰ It was, Finerty maintained, particularly incumbent upon the American Irish to lead the way in demonstrating the treachery, deceitfulness and duplicity of the English as they, because of the nature of Ireland's relationship with England, best understood the old enemy.

In spite of the ties of language, and of what Kramer suggests was a growing 'imagined community' of literate, English-speaking Americans and Britons connected by a racial exceptionalist bridge, the *Citizen* maintained that Englishmen misunderstood the motives and the temper of the American people.²¹ This lack of understanding was particularly evident after the outbreak of war in Cuba even as the British press printed friendly expressions of support for the USA which were reprinted in American newspapers.²² These friendly overtures were dismissed by the *Citizen*, which cited the absence of a common understanding between the Americans and the British. While 'Americans, in general, are Celtic in this respect—they are usually deluded by expressions of pretended, or interested friendship', the English Tory opinion papers such as the *Times*, the *St James Gazette* and the *Spectator* were coarse and insulting, describing the Americans as an unprincipled and ill-mannered people.²³ Even the left-leaning *Reynolds'* misunderstood the motives of the USA in entering into the war, according to the *Citizen*, as this war was being waged for a 'just and honorable cause' which would unite all parties in the USA behind it.²⁴

IRISH AMERICAN LOYALTY

With the sinking of the *Maine*, there was no question but that there would be war with Spain and that Irish Americans would be required to enlist. Still calling the situation a 'crisis' between the USA and Spain, the *Citizen* carried a speech from Colonel Kavanagh of the 7th Infantry of the Illinois

National Guard, which listed the Irish victims of the Maine as ‘thirty five natives of Ireland and forty two of Irish descent’. Should war break out, the editorial suggested that many more thousands of Irish American men would enlist ‘to guard the honor of the starry flag’.²⁵ On 30 April, the *Citizen* printed line drawings of Colonel Kavanagh and his staff on the front page when they marched to their training Camp at Springfield, and throughout the summer, it carried reports from the training camp. Two key aspects of these reports stand out. First, the soldiers and Finerty linked the cause of Cuba with that of Ireland and suggested that the war would be a good preparation for fighting for Ireland.²⁶ This was demonstrated by creating a streetscape in the camp in which there was a Free Cuba Avenue, a Wolfe Tone Avenue, a Vinegar Hill, and a Never Surrender Boulevard as well as spaces honoring Emmet, Parnell and Dewey. This ethnic dualism was encapsulated in a very Irish way in a poem by P. T. McG. entitled ‘Our Gallant Irish Seventh’, which was printed in July 1898:

Though fair Columbia be your bride,
You’re still your mother Ireland’s pride,
For both your manly sires have died—
Our gallant Irish Seventh.²⁷

Second, the *Citizen* asserted that Irish soldiers would fight fearlessly in this war as they had fought before, would add another chapter to ‘Irish valour’ and then ‘Ho for Cuba, the Philippines or wherever else Uncle Sam may need us’.²⁸

In the event, the 7th was not called upon to fight, although many Irish regiments, including the 69th, did.²⁹ The *Citizen* initially welcomed the war with Cuba, believing that it was a duty for the USA to release Cuba from a ‘cruel destiny ... to declare the island independent’.³⁰ In August, it proudly acclaimed the ‘prompt manner with which the Irish American citizens responded to the President’s call to arms’.³¹ The intervention of the USA was, according to Finerty, ‘a moral obligation’.³² When Admiral Dewey crushed the Spanish fleet at Manila, the paper carried a headline banner stating ‘Victory is ours’ and printed images and drawings of Dewey, gunboats and cruisers and maps of the Philippine Islands.³³ By July, the *Citizen* was thanking God, along with ‘our invincible sailors and heroic soldiers for the glory they have won for our beloved country’, and pointing out that they ‘have impressed deeply on the minds of Europeans that the American is a “bad man to monkey with”’.³⁴ The ‘great naval

achievement’ of Dewey in Manila and of Admiral Sampson off Santiago de Cuba was compared to Gettysburg and would forever, according to the editorial, be memorable in American annals.³⁵

Yet, even as he hailed these victories over Spain, Finerty was warning of the damaging consequences of doing any more than liberating the Cubans from the shackles of Spain. If the USA were to annex Cuba, it would lose the respect of mankind, apart from the fact that the Cubans deserved liberty. Avowals of allegiance were qualified by the caveat ‘that the Irish are willing soldiers on any field when liberty is the object of the conflict’, a core ideological position espoused by Finerty that assigned moral right to the Irish, as, having experienced conquest themselves, they could not be seen to suppress others.³⁶ As early as June, the *Citizen* had been warning that ‘we should finish up in Cuba before we do much, beyond threatening, in Puerto Rico’.³⁷ It was ultimately the ratification of the peace treaty with Spain, which granted permanent occupation of the Philippines to the USA, that caused the *Citizen* to become an outspoken and forthright critic of US foreign policy.

As the war went on, the *Citizen* continued to applaud the service of Irish American soldiers. Now, however, the paper maintained that they were fighting in a bad cause. All the Irish American soldiers had enlisted to ‘fight against Spanish oppression and not Filipino liberty’, but as soldiers they had no choice but to obey. By July 1899, the *Citizen* was forced to differentiate between regular soldiers and volunteers and the duties of both. Colonel Thomas L. Hartigan of the 7th Illinois had been offered and had taken up a position in one of the regular regiments. Justifying the decision taken by Colonel Hartigan, Finerty stated:

The regular, whether officer or enlisted man, may be ordered on home duty, or to Cuba, or Porto Rico [sic] or to Hawaii. He is not certain of being sent to the Philippines, whereas the volunteer who enlists for that purpose is. The regular is a professional soldier whose trade is war, and who is not much concerned about the cause he fights for or against. The volunteer ... is a citizen in uniform ... whose trade is not war—particularly war for conquest and oppression—and to whom soldiering is often irksome, unless he is defending the honor and integrity of his country or repelling foreign invasion.³⁸

This suggests a discomfort and unease with the question of Irish American loyalty as Finerty was criticizing the policy of annexation and expansion regularly in his newspaper. Yet, he did not flinch from criticism and was

crystal clear when he stated that if Colonel Hartigan was ‘a volunteer officer seeking to lead a body of Irish American volunteers into an uncalled for war against a people struggling to be free, he would be wrongly placed’.³⁹ The fact that men were foreign-born did not make them less loyal but more so. In a speech to 15,000 people at Kuhn’s Park in October 1900, reported in the *Citizen*, John Finerty stressed the honor of the flag which had been freed of stain when Lincoln freed the slaves. The foreign born of America:

[d]id not love the flag the less, but rather the more because they were foreign born. They loved it as the flag of the free, and therefore, they did not desire to see it changed into an emblem of aggressive conquest—they did not wish it to wave over any man, whatever his colour, creed or condition against his free and full consent.⁴⁰

The *Citizen* made no issue of a possible religious bond between Irish American Catholics and the Spanish in Cuba. The paper never addressed the issue of whether Irish American Catholics would be reluctant to fight Spanish Catholics.⁴¹ The rare mention of Catholicism in the context of the war was evident only in March 1898 when the paper proclaimed that Catholicity in Spain was ‘not Catholicity as we understand it’ and that the Catholic Church preached that loyalty to one’s country was a virtue.⁴² The question of the loyalty of Irish Americans in general became a bone of contention in June 1900 when Finerty, as the re-elected President of the United Irish Societies of Chicago, which had the largest number of delegates assembled in the 23 years of its existence (423), passed a resolution which stated:

That we view with disgust the course of our government in its dealings with the people of the Philippine islands, who simply seek for their liberty and independence, aspirations which all true Americans should sympathize with.⁴³

The *Inter Ocean* newspaper questioned the loyalty of the United Irish Societies and of Finerty, and ‘refused to believe’ that the resolution echoed the real sentiments of the United Irish Societies. As American citizens, it stated that the ‘grossly false and disloyal statements’ be corrected even as under ‘Hartigan they [The 30th Battalion of the USA] are fighting and dying to maintain American sovereignty against rebels and to establish

American liberty in the Philippines'.⁴⁴ But Finerty did not balk at the accusation; again pointing out that the 7th Infantry had not volunteered to 'slaughter Filipinos', and that 'not one fourth' of the 30th Battalion was composed of Irish Americans. But he did imply that the soldiers were mercenaries and linked them to the Connaught Rangers, the Dublin Fusiliers and the Orange Inniskillingers, all of which 'cut the throats of Freedmen for so much per diem'.⁴⁵ This was far from the rhetoric of honor and valor, and drew out the real heart of the *Citizen's* beliefs—that, even though military service in the name of the republic was honorable, the US policy in the Philippines was a crime.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S PHILIPPINE POLICY

Under a headline reading 'Our first national crime', the *Citizen* compared the USA to the British in India, the French in Madagascar and the Russians in Central Asia in its 'greed for empire'. The editorial lamented how low the American nation had fallen in its 'selfish and dishonest policy', its use of 'brazen, brute force', and castigated the majority of the daily American press which, it suggested, 'out Heroded ... the very worst organs of jingoism and "expansion" in Great Britain'.⁴⁶ The biblical references continued in April, drawing on the timely Easter scripture readings, when the paper stated that the USA was a guilty and hypocritical nation and that 'washing our fingers in bowls of water, a la the late Pontius Pilate, will not avail us anything' as the nation was humiliated by its actions in the Philippines.⁴⁷ The honor of the USA was at stake and was being stained, and this was reflected in the language used to describe its involvement in the Philippines. The 'Filipino tragedy', the 'unholy war [we are waging] in the Philippines', the 'hideous political sore', and the 'most shameless crime and stupid blunder', were plain and unmistakable condemnations of the actions of the nation in pursuing a policy of war and occupation in the islands.⁴⁸ The volte-face by the USA regarding its policy of freedom and republicanism led to the call from the *Citizen* in May 1902 for the withdrawal of troops so that a 'new republic' could be born. Finerty was under no illusion as to who to blame.⁴⁹ It was the imitation of English methods that had led to this denial of true Americanism, and the president who was undermining the nation's moral and political foundations and principles was McKinley.

The aping of England and its imperialism was shameful and humiliating for the USA, according to the *Citizen*. But it was also detrimental to American nationalism and to its independent spirit, which in the opinion

of an editorial from January 1898 was at a very low ebb and was causing ‘pulpit, press and platform’ to be ‘demoralized and denationalized’.⁵⁰ The perpetrator of the foreign policy of ‘Anglosaxonism, imperialism and expansion, which, reduced to plain English, means robbery of the weak after the fashion of the European despotisms’, was President McKinley, ‘a political hoodoo’ who ‘while in presidential office murdered the Monroe Doctrine ... caused the American nation to be dishonoured by a treacherous political policy in the Philippine islands ... innocent Filipinian [sic] blood to be shed and valuable American lives to be lost ... disgraced us everywhere except in Tory England’.⁵¹ The *Citizen* linked the imitation of British colonial policy with McKinley’s administration and openly criticized and admonished him and his policy as ‘disgraceful and dangerous to the republic’.⁵² Citing the freedom of the press and the rights of free American citizens not to be muzzled, Finerty connected and brought together the notion that both governments, British and American, were interchangeable and that McKinley, ‘not as great or wise a man as was George Washington’ could be labeled ‘William I Emperor of America and twin brother of John Bull’ and that his ‘firm title is McKinley, John Bull and Co., Benevolent Assimilators, Manila, Bombay, Washington and London’.⁵³ Expanding on this theme in November 1899, Finerty claimed that the foreign policy and government of America ‘was not from Washington but from Downing street’ and the ‘voice of William McKinley the voice of Lord Salisbury’.⁵⁴ Renominating and reelecting McKinley would be a test of the republic’s commitment to its values, and the *Citizen* set out to convince its readership of his unworthiness to represent true Americans.

Declaring that ‘we are Republicans on most American issues, but we are against Asiatic colonization, criminal expansion, foreign alliances, Anglo Saxon flunkeydom, big armies and overgrown taxes’, the *Citizen* outlined clearly the reasons for its opposition to McKinley’s renomination for president in 1900 and set out the parameters of its campaign against his bid for reelection.⁵⁵ According to Finerty, all Irish American Republicans were distancing themselves from McKinley, and he printed Patrick Ford’s anti-McKinley editorial in full on the editorial page of the *Citizen*.⁵⁶ He himself stated that he had left the Republican Party ‘on account of its imperialistic doctrines’.⁵⁷ With the nomination of McKinley and Roosevelt as Republican candidates for president and vice president, the *Citizen* parodied Rudyard Kipling’s poem ‘The White Man’s Burden’, linking McKinley to the inherent imperialistic and race sentiments by titling the news of the nomination as the ‘Repub-Man’s Burden’.⁵⁸ The paper also began to

print notices and reports of the Anti-Imperialist League and ‘sympathized deeply with their manly stand for American constitution, laws, tradition and precedents’.⁵⁹ When William Jennings Bryan was nominated by the Democratic Party, the editorial stated that the Democratic platform was the ‘more thoroughly American in sentiment’ and committed the *Citizen* to supporting Bryan’s candidacy on the grounds that ‘Bryan is for the republic. McKinley is for the empire’.⁶⁰ The *Citizen* printed a large image of Bryan on its front page in November on the eve of the election. Finerty also campaigned for the National Democratic Committee throughout New York and New Jersey in October 1900 against McKinley.⁶¹ This was a decisive election in the *Citizen’s* opinion. If McKinley won, the USA would find itself committed to the road that led to ‘imperialism, to militarism, to oppression and to doom’, and, hence, to the destruction of the republic: ‘Down with imperialism, militarism and entangling alliances. Long live the Republic and God save America!’⁶²

With the reelection of McKinley in November 1900, Finerty reiterated that the main issue, at least for the *Citizen*, had been imperialism and, since the majority had now decided to retain the Philippines, that the USA was now ‘face to face with imperial colonization’ and still further from the principles of the constitution. He stated that:

The Declaration was written in vain. The Constitution was adopted in vain. In vain was the black man liberated and enfranchised. In vain did Lincoln teach and Grant turn the sword into a ploughshare when he said ‘let us have peace’. Order reigns in Manila but it is not the order that comes of liberty.⁶³

By invoking the historical past, both recent and distant, Finerty allied the *Citizen* with the principles and beliefs of the republic and with the fight for the Union. Yet, he saw the reelection as a battle and put his faith in the long war and the change in the popular reactions of the American people: ‘four years are not long to count’. He aligned himself and the *Citizen* with the ‘lovers of the Republic’ and had no regrets about his own actions. Railing against the ‘ingratitude of the people, who preferred Caesar to Brutus’, he believed that the majority of the American people were as much to blame for the ‘compromising foreign policy’ as the President and the government, as they had elected him to serve again for four years.⁶⁴

The fact that the British press welcomed the reelection of McKinley and that Lord Salisbury was ‘gratified’ with the result of the election gave the *Citizen* the opportunity to taunt ‘Irish Republican friends’ who might

have supported McKinley.⁶⁵ Declaring that they could not be supporters of McKinley's imperial policy and be truly Irish, Finerty printed excerpts from the British press pointing out that McKinley's policy was 'proven' to be English policy, not merely by being pleased with McKinley's reelection, but by the papers' derogatory comments about Irish Americans. The *Evening News*, for example, specifically referred to Irish Americans as a corrupt gang 'who have degraded American politics so long' and linked the anti-imperialist Bryan with attempts to stir up jealousy against England, championing the Boers and 'pandering to Fenians'.⁶⁶

When McKinley declined to run for a third term as President in June 1901, the *Citizen* hailed him as 'still, at heart, an American and a patriot', even if he erred in policy. When McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, the editorial condemned it as an outrage. Suggesting that it was even more shameful than the assassinations of Lincoln and Garfield, Finerty deemed it to be treacherous and anarchic.⁶⁷ The United Irish Societies appointed a committee to prepare a suitable memorial and resolutions were passed which stressed the abhorrence, scorn and contempt of Irish Americans as 'American citizens and men of Irish birth or lineage' for persons and methods that would subvert the stability of the government, and their loyalty and faithfulness to 'the government and the flag that gave to us or to our fathers, homes to protect and a constitution to cherish'.⁶⁸ This loyalty was not blind, however, when it came to the question of American imperialism in the Philippines. While the *Citizen* acknowledged McKinley's successor Roosevelt as a 'good American who loves his country with a loyalty that cannot be challenged', and 'all right as a patriot and a man', it did challenge him on his Philippine policy. It stated that he had committed 'a most pitiable error when he mortgaged his future by pledging himself in the death-chamber of his predecessor to follow the McKinley policy'.⁶⁹ In the aftermath of his presidential address when Roosevelt proclaimed the USA to be at peace with all the world, the *Citizen* wondered whether the Filipinos would agree with this sentiment as Roosevelt was determined to hold on to their territory.⁷⁰

NATIONAL EXCEPTIONALISM

The occupation of the Philippines, in spite of the avowed 'benevolent assimilation' of McKinley was, in the opinion of the *Citizen*, un-American. It encompassed the expansion of the USA into territory that was not

contiguous to the continental USA and that therefore did not belong 'naturally' to it.⁷¹ Finerty made a distinction between the advantages of annexation for particular purposes such as 'vantage points [which] may be needful to us in the futures of our commerce' or 'securing ... by treaty, such harborage and coaling privileges as [America's] commerce may require; mercantilism and the extension of navigation laws in order to 'greatly increase the business of our merchant marine, open new ship-yards, give profitable employment to thousands of our own people, create a splendid nursery of seamen for our vast increasing navy', and outright annexation which he understood to mean governing the people.⁷² This was indeed what Kramer terms a 'limited definition of empire as overseas territorial annexation', but it was crucial to the national exceptionalist argument as expounded by the *Citizen*.⁷³

Finerty was accused by the *Times Herald* in August 1899 of being a dedicated expansionist whose sympathies had previously been with the US army when they were taking Wyoming without the consent of the Apaches. The *Herald* suggested that Finerty's posturing as an anti-expansionist was inconsistent. The *Citizen* nonetheless argued that every inch of the Louisiana Purchase was American soil, that it was bought and paid for, whereas the Philippine islands belonged to the Asiatic system and 'never were, are, or can become American soil'. Even though Spain had been paid \$20 million for the islands, it maintained that she could not deliver the goods and so America had taken up the task Spain was glad to be rid of, 'the slaying and subjugation of the Filipino people'.⁷⁴ Suggesting that the islands were unsuitable for colonization or even for use as penal settlements, Finerty maintained that there was land enough in the USA and Canada in a 'temperate zone' capable of supporting '200,000,000 of a vigorous race, with more room to spare than there is today in the "Somewhere" islands of the Philippine archipelago'.⁷⁵ He could not envisage how the USA could benefit in any way from the conquest of this colony.⁷⁶ Finerty, in fact, persistently stressed the harmful impact on America of its actions in the Philippines. Although the *Citizen* did not carry extensive reports on the atrocities of the Spanish concentration camps or of the atrocities committed against the Filipinos, editorials repeated that people were being murdered and that the war was 'unholy'. Writing of greed, lust and selfishness, the *Citizen* continually emphasized that the political demoralization of the American people would be a consequence of the imperialistic policy of the USA in the Philippines.

In spite of the *Citizen's* primary focus on the USA and on its degeneration, it supported and consistently endorsed the right of native peoples to self-government. Very few anti-imperialists, according to Kramer, declared that the Filipinos had the right to govern themselves.⁷⁷ The *Citizen* was one of those advocates. 'We are for Filipinian [sic] freedom, as we are for the freedom of all mankind, of whatever race, creed, colour or condition, and we recognize no God-given right of the white race to subjugate all other races for the gratification of their lust of empire or in the interests of their commerce'.⁷⁸ The hypocrisy of the USA and the contradiction of its own principles of democracy and consent outraged the *Citizen*. This kind of behavior was to be expected from England, but not from the land of the free which had not only fought to free itself but had fought most recently in Cuba, and indeed in the Philippines, to establish the rights of a free people against imperialist Spain. And yet the Filipinos who had been hailed as patriots, 'heroes and martyrs' were now being regarded by Americans as 'niggers, rebels and bandits', and statements that the rebellion must be put down were likened to those of 'that mild personage George III of the American uprising a century and a quarter gone by'.⁷⁹ The language of race and of national manhood as exemplified by Roosevelt was used by the *Citizen* in a subversive way against the supporters and advocates of manly imperialism:

At the risk of being called 'over-civilized' ... we believe in peace and order and in pursuing a humane and enlightened policy towards those with whom we have come either temporarily or permanently under our sway. Cuba, we must let go as a matter of national compact with the Cubans. Porto Rico [sic], we have gobbled and most people say she was willing to be swallowed. Hawaii came in peacefully—but the Philippines! There we must stop short and hold our noses, for, across the Pacific comes the carnage odor of the victims, American and Filipinian [sic], of wanton, wicked warfare, for which we and not the Filipinos are responsible. Our duty in the Philippines is to tell the Filipinos at once that we don't mean their final conquest, but desire to see an independent, native government established at as early a date as possible.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

The *Citizen* consistently positioned Irish Americans throughout the period 1898–1902 as citizens who would fight when needed, but also as thinking, politicized Americans with a stake in the country and in its

government and policies. The *Chicago Citizen* helped to shape a language that Irish Americans could use to express and represent their American-ness in political terms rather than in religious ones. It was not a qualified patriotism; rather it expounded a critical patriotism akin to what Mark Hampton has identified in the *Manchester Guardian's* contemporaneous coverage of the Boer War.⁸¹ More than just a condemnation of Anglo-Saxonism, the *Citizen's* rhetoric declared its American credentials and familiarized Irish Americans with a political discourse of constitutional citizenship that focused on the primacy of the republic and of the consent of the governed. For all its talk about 'home', what the editorials in the *Citizen* suggest is that Irish Americans had an ease and a fluency in American political discourse that located them first and foremost, in political and patriotic terms, in the USA.

There is no doubt that the *Citizen* was Anglophobic. Many articles criticized and castigated Britain and its empire and indeed any Americans who toadied to or imitated the English. Any mention of an Anglo-American alliance called forth vociferous condemnation from the *Citizen* and presented an opportunity for the editor to quote the founding fathers, the Revolution, the Monroe Doctrine and the support of England for the Confederacy as historical evidence that England was not to be trusted. But Anglophobia was not the sole reason that the *Citizen* was anti-imperialistic. Kramer argues that Anglophobia was a venerable ideological weapon in the arsenal of anti-imperial national exceptionalism.⁸² Although it is reasonable to believe that Anglophobia preceded or at least anticipated the ideology of anti-imperialism among Irish Americans, the *Citizen's* rhetoric was consistently more than mere Anglophobic posturing. It took very seriously the question of the consent of the governed, and indeed saw for itself how that consent and citizenship had empowered the Irish in America, not least politically.⁸³ The question of acquiring colonies and subjugating non-Americans was one that exercised the editor, who could not abide the contradiction of supporting an American policy of colonization while also agitating for the independence of Ireland from England with the support of the US government.

There was now, however, a complexity around an ideology of anti-imperialism which may have been black and white in the past, directed as it was primarily against the British Empire. Cultivating the concept of national exceptionalism allowed the encompassing of support for Ireland within the context of American citizenship. Ireland would be modeled on the American republic, but only if the republic maintained its revered

ideals. The espousal of anti-imperialist rhetoric helped to define a particular kind of hyphenated citizenship. As Kramer points out, even though anti-imperialists may have lost their battle at the turn of the century, they won the rhetorical war. National exceptionalism came to dominate representations of US colonialism—the special mission of the USA was to serve as a republican and anti-imperial beacon to the world.⁸⁴ This too was the stated aim of Finerty and the *Chicago Citizen*, having ‘led and still keeping up the fight against an Anglo-American alliance and un-American imperialism’. It was, he stated, sure to win in the end.⁸⁵

NOTES

1. Some historians use the term Spanish-Cuban-American War.
2. Paul A. Kramer, ‘Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the US Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War’, *Diplomatic History*, 30:2 (April 2006): 172–210.
3. See e.g. Marvin N. Olasky, ‘Hawks or Doves? Texas Press and Spanish-American War’, *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1987): 205–208; Piero Gleijeses, ‘1898: The Opposition to the Spanish-American War’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 35:4 (November 2003): 681–719.
4. *Chicago Citizen*, 26 August 1899; 13 October, 1900.
5. *Chicago Citizen*, 9 November 1901.
6. *Chicago Citizen*, 8 April 1899.
7. *Chicago Citizen*, 4 February 1899.
8. *Ayers Newspaper Directory*, 1898; 1902, http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/news_research_tools/ayersdirectory.html, accessed September 2013.
9. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 August 1900.
10. See e.g. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 September 1899; 25 November 1899; 23 December 1899.
11. Phillip Ablett, ‘Colonialism in denial: US propaganda in the Philippine-American War’, *Social Alternatives* 23:3 (2004): 22–28.
12. See Paul A. Kramer, ‘Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910’, *Journal of American History* 88 (March 2002): 1315–1353; Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*, (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2001), 9–47.

13. See e.g. Dale T. Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in the Antebellum America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1986); David Brundage, 'Allegiance, Dual Citizenship, and the Ethnic Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy', in Ronald Bayor, (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of the History of American Immigration and Ethnicity*, (New York, NY: Oxford UP, 2014). For Irish nationalists' espousal of republican rhetoric see Timothy G. Lynch, "'A Kindred and Congenial Element": Irish-American Nationalism's Embrace of Republican Rhetoric', *New Hibernia Review* 13:2 (2009): 77–91.
14. Paul A. Kramer, 'Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire', 185. James Bryce, English barrister, academic, liberal parliamentarian and later Ambassador to Washington (1907–13), had been writing about the internationalization of empire and Anglo-Saxonism since the late 1860s: [//www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/32141](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/32141). Accessed 12 April 2014. See also Tanja Bueltmann, 'Anglo-Saxonism and the Racialization of the English Diaspora, 1500–2010', Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson, and Don MacRaild (eds), *Locating the English Diaspora*, (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2012), 118–135.
15. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 July 1898.
16. *Chicago Citizen*, 24 September 1898.
17. Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 11.
18. *Chicago Citizen*, 19 March 1898.
19. *Chicago Citizen*, 23 February 1901.
20. *Chicago Citizen*, 21 May 1898.
21. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', 1326. See also Marilyn Lake and Vanessa Pratt "'Blood Brothers". Racial Identification and the Right to Rule: the Australian Response to the Spanish-American War' *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54:1 (2008): 16–27.
22. Lake and Pratt, "'Blood Brothers". Racial Identification and the Right to Rule, 19–20. Lake and Pratt point to the extraordinary interest of Australians in the war, the significant coverage in the newspapers and the support for the USA in both the popular press and in popular cultural activities. In theaters in Perth, Sydney and Adelaide, *Yankee Doodle Dandy* and the *Star-Spangled Banner* were played to cheers from the audience.

23. *Chicago Citizen*, 30 April 1898.
24. *Chicago Citizen*, 9 April 1898.
25. *Chicago Citizen*, 5 March 1898.
26. *Chicago Citizen*, 7 May 1898.
27. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 July 1898.
28. *Chicago Citizen*, 7 May 1898; *Chicago Citizen*, 21 May, 1898.
29. *Chicago Citizen*, 21 May 1898.
30. *Chicago Citizen*, 23 April 1898.
31. *Chicago Citizen*, 27 August 1898.
32. *Chicago Citizen*, 7 May 1898.
33. *Chicago Citizen*, 7 May 1898.
34. *Chicago Citizen*, 21 July 1898.
35. *Chicago Citizen*, 9 July 1898.
36. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 April 1898.
37. *Chicago Citizen*, 25 June 1898.
38. *Chicago Citizen*, 15 July 1899.
39. *Chicago Citizen*, 15 July 1899.
40. *Chicago Citizen*, 13 October 1900.
41. Ryan D. Dye, 'Irish-American Ambivalence Toward the Spanish-American War', *New Hibernia Review* 11:3 (Fómhar/Autumn 2007): 98–113; David N. Doyle, *Irish Americans, Native Rights and National Empires: The Structure, Divisions and Attitudes of the Catholic Minority in the Decade of Expansion, 1890–1901* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 174.
42. *Chicago Citizen*, 19 March 1898.
43. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 June 1900.
44. The *Inter Ocean* (Chicago) was a Republican newspaper founded in 1872. It had a circulation of 158,000 in 1901. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vols/loc.gdc.sr.sn91012091.00143501826/page-turner.html?page=150&size=800>. Accessed 10 April 2014.
45. *Chicago Citizen*, 16 June 1900.
46. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 February 1899.
47. *Chicago Citizen*, 15 April 1899. Easter Sunday fell on 2 April 1899.
48. *Chicago Citizen*, 17 June 1899; 26 May 1900; 19 January 1901.
49. *Chicago Citizen*, 31 May 1902.
50. *Chicago Citizen*, 8 January 1898.
51. *Chicago Citizen*, 1 April 1899; 22 April 1899.
52. *Chicago Citizen*, 6 May 1899.

53. *Chicago Citizen*, 2 September 1899.
54. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 November 1899.
55. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 November 1899.
56. *Chicago Citizen*, 9 September 1899. Finerty and Ford were united in their editorial opposition to McKinley and an Anglo-American alliance, and in their support for the Boers and the Philippines. See e.g. *Irish World* 27 May 1899; 1 July 1899; 8 July 1899.
57. *Chicago Citizen*, 20 October 1900.
58. *Chicago Citizen*, 23 June 1900.
59. *Chicago Citizen*, 21 October 1899.
60. *Chicago Citizen*, 14 July 1900; 27 October 1900.
61. *Chicago Citizen*, 20 October 1900.
62. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 November 1899; 11 August 1900.
63. *Chicago Citizen*, 10 November 1900.
64. *Chicago Citizen*, 14 September 1901.
65. *Chicago Citizen*, 17 November 1900.
66. *Chicago Citizen*, 17 November 1900.
67. *Chicago Citizen*, 21 September 1901.
68. Ibid.
69. *Chicago Citizen*, 14 September 1901; 17 May 1902.
70. *Chicago Citizen*, 7 December 1901.
71. *Chicago Citizen*, 13 August 1898.
72. *Chicago Citizen*, 11 February 1899; 7 January 1899.
73. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', 1318.
74. *Chicago Citizen*, 26 August 1899.
75. *Chicago Citizen*, 13 October 1900.
76. See Piero Gleijeses, '1898: the Opposition to the Spanish American War', *Journal of Latin-American Studies* 35:4 (November, 2003): 681–791.
77. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', 1338.
78. *Chicago Citizen*, 18 February 1899.
79. *Chicago Citizen*, 23 March 1901; 2 December 1899.
80. *Chicago Citizen*, 15 April 1899; See Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT, 1998).
81. Mark Hampton, The Press, Patriotism, And Public Discussion : C. P. Scott, The *Manchester Guardian*, and the Boer War, 1899–1902, *The Historical Journal* 44:1 (2001): 177–197.

82. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', 1339.
83. Military service, particularly during the civil war, had also provided many Irish Americans with a pathway to integration and to acceptance as loyal citizens. See e.g. Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 2006).
84. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', 1353.
85. *Chicago Citizen*, 4 February 1899.

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The Shadow Metropole: The Varieties of Anticolonialism in Ireland, 1937–68

Kenneth L. Shonk Jr

On 20 February 1938, Korean nationalist and composer Eak Tai Ahn conducted Ireland's Radio Telefís Éireann Symphony Orchestra in a performance that included Beethoven's *Egmont* and two of his own works. Eak Tai, described by the *Irish Independent* as 'slight, youthful, [and] elegant', was in Ireland as part of a larger global tour intended to educate audiences about the plight of Korea, under Japanese colonial occupation since 1910.¹ The tour included stops in Philadelphia and New York in the USA, and numerous European cities, including Paris, London, Vienna, and Budapest. The first of Eak Tai's own compositions performed in Dublin was a fantasia entitled *Korea*, which had been a staple of the tour, incorporating Korean themes and instrumentation into Western musical frameworks. But the Dublin performance also featured a departure from

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his normal repertoire, as the composer led the orchestra in a new composition.² The brief tune was without title, but was referred to colloquially as an ‘Aegukga’—Korean for a patriotic song.³ Eak Tai had composed it in the hopes of rousing support amongst Korean exiles and gaining diplomatic support against the Empire of Japan.

A question thus arises: Why debut the song in Dublin? The orchestras of the USA or of larger European centers would undoubtedly have generated more publicity for his work and have exposed the song to larger audiences likely comprising people with a greater amount of economic and political influence than those in Dublin. The answer, it appears, was a sense of anticolonial kinship. One needs to bear in mind that Ireland had ratified a new constitution only months before Eak Tai’s arrival, establishing Éire as a republic in all but name. For the colonized around the world, Ireland’s moves toward independence symbolized hope and a possible blueprint for those seeking escape from colonial rule. Thus, in anticipation of the performance, the *Irish Press* noted that Eak Tai would be met ‘with a sympathetic audience ... for his Korean airs have earned him the displeasure of the Japanese, who conquered Korea about 27 years ago’.⁴ The ‘Aegukga’ did indeed capture the attention of the Korean expatriate community, and in 1948, it was performed before a Korean audience as the official anthem of South Korea—a status that it retains up through the present day.

Seen in this light, Eak Tai’s decision to debut his ‘Aegukga’ in Dublin was consistent with a trend detectable in the middle third of the twentieth century, in which outsiders utilized Ireland as a space from which to launch a rhetorical attack on what they perceived as the injustice of colonialism. In what would become a familiar pattern, the Korean visitor invoked Ireland’s history, sometimes spuriously, as in his assertion that Marco Polo ‘the far-wandering Venetian’ had brought the *Londonderry Air* to China in the fourteenth century.⁵ He also noted commonalities between the Irish experience and that of his homeland, including how both were essentially pastoral lands that had been occupied by powerful neighbors. What distinguished them was that Ireland had now secured its independence, which elevated its leaders in his eyes. Eak Tai summed up that vision by expressing his hope to see Éamon de Valera before he left the island. The composer wished ‘to tell him that the people of Korea have been encouraged by the struggle of Ireland, and that they regard Mr. de Valera as a champion of the oppressed, wherever in the world such are to be found’.⁶

On the surface, Eak Tai's decision to debut the 'Aegukga' in Dublin was derived from his desire to perform the music in front of a sympathetic and understanding audience. Symbolically, his decision anticipated Ireland's significance to the colonized world. For Eak Tai, Ireland—the shadow metropole—offered an alternative to the cosmopolitan imperial centers of the West and the ad hoc audiences of Koreans scattered across the globe. As far as can be told, throughout his tour, Eak Tai never expressed similar levels of esteem toward another host nation.⁷ Of course, other European nations had attained independence prior to 1937, oftentimes espousing justifications rooted in irredentist claims. But his perception of the Irish as a subjugated people that was now freed was shaped through transnational movements of people and information; those actions had been covered in essays, newspapers, and newsreels, both within and without the Irish Diaspora, enabling others to identify, situate, and associate the Irish cause with their own movements. Ireland—the former colony now free, the former tributary now triumphant after what could be called the negotiated 'victory' of the Economic War, the small nation entering the global community of the independent—did so before a global audience.

This vision of Ireland was constructed from without—the Ireland of Eak Tai, Nkrumah, Guevara, Kenyatta, and Mboya, among others. In many ways, it demonstrated historian Paul Thomas Chamberlin's assertion that 'indigenous non-Western peoples were active participants in the complex set of negotiations that created the modern world'.⁸ Though referencing a different set of negotiations from a later time, Chamberlin's idea was clearly often applied in practice by outsiders who defined Ireland in the period between 1937 and 1968. The Korean nationalist's brief visit to Dublin coincided with a transition point in the way that nationalists abroad viewed Ireland, as well as a shift in the types of negotiations that were held in the former member of the Union. Even after the establishment of the Irish Free State, many anticolonial nationalists considered the Irish to be beholden to and complicit in British colonial rule; however, after 1937, anticolonial activists and intellectuals more overtly aligned the Irish rhetorically with those seeking to break free from colonial subjugation.

To be sure, some of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' most notable social theorists and political activists, from Frederick Douglass to Karl Marx to Marcus Garvey, had already used oppressive Irish conditions as points of reference as they explicated the vagaries of slavery, the repression of the world's workers, or the plight of the African diaspora.⁹ Further, a great deal has been written in regards to the connections forged between

Irish and Indian nationalists in the decades preceding the independence of both nations. In many instances, Dublin, as well as Delhi, served as a space to negotiate transnational approaches to advance the cause of withdrawal from the British Empire.¹⁰ What has yet to be examined, however, is the part which Ireland *continued* to play as a space—both in the physical and the abstract—in which decolonization was negotiated, justified, and imagined by those who traveled to Ireland in the mid-twentieth century seeking to align themselves and their movements with the nascent Irish Republic.

Both symbolically and as a working document, the Constitution of 1937 functioned as a guidepost to onlookers of Ireland's continued efforts to work toward an independent state. To be sure, 'Dev's Constitution' would not have been possible without the establishment of the Irish Free State, as the latter's democratic frameworks enabled Fianna Fáil to thrive and strive toward its republican aims.¹¹ But in later years, anticolonial visitors to Dublin directed their greatest expressions of esteem to de Valera and his party as exemplars of their own causes. Their plaudits might have had much to do with the longevity of de Valera's political career and Fianna Fáil's numerous electoral victories following its formation in 1926. But the successful implementation of a republican constitution in 1937 served as a watershed in establishing precedent for nations seeking to attain independence from Britain. Thus, in his 1947 visit to Ireland, Chan Htoon, the 'Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Burma', stated 'The fact that we patterned our Constitution on yours is the greatest tribute we could pay to your country'.¹² Thus, the model offered by the Irish was recognized as seminal for those seeking recognition for their respective movements.¹³

For anticolonial nationalists from within the Empire/Commonwealth, Ireland served as a space in which the transition from colony to independence was justified and negotiated. Whereas London—the metropole—became the place for the presentation of a defiant rhetoric with both British and non-British leaders engaging in a passive-aggressive dialectic on the nature of freedom and economy, Dublin was a space in which the same leaders—usually having just come from London—affected a more collegial, yet equally anticolonial discourse while meeting with their Irish hosts. Instead of engaging in agitated arbitration, they shook hands heartily, made laudatory speeches and official state visits, took guided tours of the Irish countryside, and gave highly publicized interviews in the Irish media including the *Irish Independent*, the *Irish Press*, and RTÉ. Put

simply, if London was the place in which nationalists pushed to leave the community of empire, then Dublin—or Éire (and later the Irish Republic) writ large—was the entryway through which these same leaders sought to enter another community: that of the newly independent. In Ireland, these leaders sought to reify their nations' existence by maneuvering into the community of those successfully withdrawn from empire—a community being forged in the wake of the creation of the Irish Republic.

One of the most notable and explicit demonstrations of Ireland serving as the shadow metropole came in May of 1960, when Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah visited Dublin and was welcomed as a guest of the government.¹⁴ During his stay Nkrumah met with Taoiseach Seán Lemass and An Uachtaráin (president) Éamon de Valera, among others. While in Ireland, Nkrumah delivered a speech to the Irish UN Association, stating:

I would like to begin [this] speech ... by saluting those Irish leaders of the last century who realised that the struggle of Ireland for independence was not the struggle of one country alone, but part of a world movement for freedom The social struggle in Ireland [that] resulted in Irish independence, was essentially a struggle between a ruling minority and an under-privileged and economically exploited majority. In its essence the problem of Africa today reproduces the problem of Ireland of yesterday.¹⁵

Implicit within Nkrumah's statement was the invocation of an Ireland that served to model the path to independence through political maneuvering rather than through physical force insurgency. The Ghanaian president undoubtedly modeled much of his withdrawal nationalism on the Irish model. This particular example demonstrated one aspect of Ireland's status amid the anticolonial narrative. As such, the construction of an intellectual bond between Ghana and Ireland justified the former's existence by situating Ireland as the model for successful withdrawal from empire.

Reflecting later on his time in Ireland, Nkrumah wrote to Lemass:

On my return from my memorable visit to your capital, I am writing to express my gratitude, and the appreciation of my Government, for the warm hospitality and welcome which I and the members of my party enjoyed.

The warmth of the reception which I received and the very great sympathy which you and your colleagues showed for the aspirations of my Government for the future of Ghana and for Africa are a great source of encouragement to me. I hope that my visit will give a fresh impetus to the development of closer relations between our two countries. I am sure that

the collaboration between the Republic of Ireland and Ghana on international questions which affect particularly the continent of Africa, will be further enhanced.

I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to convey to your eminent President, Mr. de Valera, my warmest appreciation for his kindness to me. I was indeed most happy to be able at last to salute that great nationalist whose achievements have been such a great inspiration to the younger nationalists of my country.¹⁶

During his visit, Nkrumah remarked that he and de Valera had attended the same university—not Blackrock College, but prison. Nkrumah stated: ‘It is no coincidence that your President and I both attended the same University. If I may use an expression common in Ghana, we are both “prison graduates”. The difference between us is that he left college some forty years ago whilst scarcely ten years have passed since my own graduation’.¹⁷ A cynical read of Nkrumah’s visit would likely claim that the Ghanaian’s comments were reflective of an opportunist seeking to gain attention for his cause by pandering to the Irish audience. However, what could Ireland or the Irish offer in return for such a display? Ireland had neither the money nor the geo-political capital to affect any change for Nkrumah. As such, one should take Nkrumah at his word, understanding his speech as a genuine expression of esteem for Ireland’s seminal role in global decolonization. Further, Nkrumah’s statements reinforced the notion of Ireland as the shadow metropole, for his construction of the Irish past enabled him to align the cause of Ghanaian independence horizontally to the Irish movement, which had succeeded.

The present postulation of the shadow metropole offers a novel approach to understanding the transnational connections between Ireland and other parts of the British Empire. However, this concept is meant less as a constructed understanding of the past than as a discovery of a world-view held by many in the anticolonial period. Such is evident in a political cartoon from the 30 May 1963 edition of *The Evening Standard*.

The cartoon by the artist Vicky depicted Jomo Kenyatta’s parole from the ‘H.M. School for Prime Ministers’, whose previous inhabitants included Eamon de Valera, Jawaharlal Nehru, Hastings Banda, Kwame Nkrumah, Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana, and Makarios III of Cyprus. The image brought to mind Nkrumah’s allusion to the alma mater he shared with de Valera. The symbol of the prison as a school for revolutionaries has a long and estimable history amongst such figures. Most

important, however, was the ordering of the names on the plaque. De Valera, of course appeared first, for he was the first of the prison graduates to attain a leaving certificate (freedom) for his nation.

As Eak Tai Ahn had expressed, a sense of understanding of and ownership over the narrative of Irish history was central to the connections between Ireland and many anticolonial nationalists. In 1961 the Nyasaland (later Malawi) nationalist leader Hastings Banda traveled to London to take part in talks that would ultimately lead to the creation of an independent state. While there, he gave an interview to Aidan Hennigan of the *Irish Press*. In the course of the interview Banda noted that ‘The history of Ireland is a worthy history and her fight for independence is an inspiration to any country to be free’.¹⁸ Hennigan paraphrased Banda as being ‘thoroughly familiar with the history of Ireland’s struggle for freedom ... [taking] a particular interest in the Parnellite movement and in Parnell, the man’. According to Hennigan, Banda ‘displayed even keener knowledge of “absentee landlordism”, which he described as a blight on the country as a system which had contributed much to the troubles of Ireland. His knowledge of the Irish people is no less than the knowledge of the political history of the country’. That knowledge was earned in part, the reporter concluded, ‘while he practised medicine in ... London, some years ago’, when ‘many of his clients were Irish men and women’.¹⁹

This latter point regarding an understanding of the Irish and Irishness as a matter of experience was rooted in a practical familiarity with the experience of the Irish at home and abroad. Moreover, Banda’s personal connection to his Irish patients enhanced his esteem for and knowledge of the nationalist struggle in their homeland. Banda’s particular personal connection was similar to that shared by many, including as we have seen in the present volume Dadabhai Naoroji, and speaks to the importance of both the Diaspora and the significance of the Irish in helping to shape a distinctly Irish imperial culture within the wider British Empire. Like Nkrumah, Banda’s rhetoric displayed a duality. On the one hand, he was defiant, as he was speaking from London, with an explicitly anticolonial edge. On the other hand, his seeming familiarity with the Irish people and their past served to forge a stronger connection between his own cause and Ireland’s historic struggle. Such rhetoric was a key facet to those participating in the shadow metropole. Like Eak Tai and Nkrumah before him, Banda justified his actions on behalf of Nyasaland through making the explicit analogy between his efforts and those of the Irish. Though a constructed journey, Banda’s rhetorical passage from London to Dublin

was tantamount to an escape from one geopolitical status to another—from colony to free nation. For Banda, Ireland's history offered an example, if not a parallel path, to independence.

Thomas Mboya's 1962 trip to Ireland further underscored Ireland's status as a shadow metropole. In March of that year, Myboya, founder of the Nairobi People's Congress Party and de facto leader of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), arrived in Ireland to engage in a flurry of social and political activities. Just days prior to his visit in Ireland, Mboya had participated in a conference in London in which the future of Kenya was being negotiated. While there, Mboya affected a confrontational posture meant to sever ties with Britain, accusing the British of duplicity and acting in bad faith in the negotiations.

When in Ireland, however, Mboya's affectations changed from confrontational to conciliatory and joyous, while he underlined and celebrated his status as an anticolonial nationalist. Mboya's trip was built around a visit to Sligo, where he stayed as a guest of Rev. Hubert Forde, the Sligo-born Vice-President of the Kenya National Union of Teachers, and was 'accorded a civic welcome and reception by the Mayor Ald. James Gannon at Sligo Town Hall'. Forde had met Mboya while serving as a missionary in Kenya some three years earlier.²⁰ As with Banda and Eak Tai, Mboya's connections to Ireland were very personal in nature, as they were rooted in both real-world encounters with the Irish *and* in an understanding of Ireland's nationalist history. In a statement of support that exhibited the hallmarks of the Cold War, Frank J. Wynne, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Ireland, expressed his hope that Mboya's 'deliberations at the Constitutional Conference in London' would be fruitful for Kenya, and that 'as long as Mr. Mboya and his colleagues are in control Communism would find no place in Kenya'.²¹ Additionally, Mboya met with Minister for External Affairs Frank Aiken, and was received by President Éamon de Valera.²² Seven years later, after Mboya's death, de Valera recalled his great esteem for the Irish and their significant role in shaping his political ideologies. Additionally, journalist Tom Moore noted, Mboya's 'visit to Ireland during the course of his momentous negotiations in London about Kenya's future was firstly in the way of private friendship and secondly a tribute to Ireland's own fight for independence and to her missionary endeavour for Kenya and the other countries of Africa'.²³

A related and distinctive demonstration of the shadow metropole is that of the failed effort to construct a cultural nationalist movement in

Wales. Inspired by Ireland's Gaelic Revival and the 'Panceltic' movements of the nineteenth century, there were attempts made to forge a republican nationalism along ethno-linguistic lines. This was apparent in 1950 when members of the Welsh Republican Movement penned an appeal for support from the Irish. The appeal, in part, stated:

On behalf of the Welsh Republican Movement we would appreciate an opportunity of making an appeal through the columns of THE IRISH PRESS to all Irish men and women who are stirred by the ideal which has brought this movement into being—namely, the independence and federation of the Celtic nations.

As its part in the struggle for independence the Welsh Republican Movement is seeking to establish in Wales the same tradition of resistance and patriotism which was the glory of Ireland in its darkest hours. The most fateful years of Wales' struggle are immediately before us. We know that there is no answer but to move forward to face them in the same spirit that brought Ireland her freedom.

It is with a deep consciousness of the debt of Wales and all subject nations to Ireland for the example and inspiration she has given us that the Welsh Republican Movement on behalf of the Welsh nation now earnestly asks the people of Ireland for their further assistance.²⁴

Although a federation of Celtic nations did not materialize, it is clear that for some, at least, the Irish experience offered a blueprint for separatist nationalism. While there was little that de Valera or the Irish government could do to assist the Welsh cause, it seems that some believed recognition of the movement by de Valera would add some level of legitimacy to the cause. In this regard, Ireland—through the *Irish Press*—served as space for the Welsh Republican Association to demonstrate a desire to negotiate a withdrawal from the Union. Given that Fianna Fáil was out of power by 1950, and that the Irish Republic had been declared in 1948 by a Fine Gael-led coalition, the publication of the Welsh Republican appeal in the Fianna Fáil party organ might be construed as an effort by de Valera's party to reclaim the banner of *true* republicanism.

A further example of a constructed view of Ireland is seen in Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Argentine by birth, but (partially) Irish by blood—his grandmother's surname was Lynch, and her family emigrated to Argentina from County Galway. Che's father intimated: 'The thing to note is that in my son's veins flowed the blood of the Irish rebels'.²⁵ Catholics in

Northern Ireland, where the iconic image of Che adorns murals in Ulster, have not forgotten that Guevara was Irish.²⁶ In 1965, while en route from Europe to Cuba, plane troubles forced Guevara's plane to make an unplanned stop at Shannon Airport. While in Shannon, Guevara met the artist Jim Fitzpatrick—creator of the iconic image of Che that is featured on posters and Abercrombie & Fitch t-shirts. Recalling their brief conversation, Fitzpatrick noted: 'He was curious, more from a revolutionary point of view. He had great admiration for the fact we were the first country to shake off the shackles of empire, we were the first country to start bringing down the British Empire'.²⁷

Although there is no transcript of the meeting between Fitzpatrick and Guevara, nor of the spontaneous interview the latter gave to a journalist from the *Irish Times*, Che clearly esteemed Ireland's role in beginning the decline of the British Empire. Guevara's visit offers another lens through which to view connections between the Irish story and militant organizations overseas from the 1960s onward. Although these connections are more in line with Sinn Féin militancy in Northern Ireland than with the establishment of Éire, the model of Ireland as a shadow metropole—albeit quite different from what has been presented above—still applies. This particular approach supports Alvin Jackson's assertion that 'Irish militancy, generally situated firmly within the British–Irish relationship and the struggle for Irish freedom, has now been placed within a new set of Atlantic and Middle Eastern parameters. Or, to put it another way: Irish history has now been placed within the evolving framework of terrorism studies'.²⁸ That is, in the larger context, Ireland is situated largely within the context of global terrorism, presenting the (Northern) Irish as active revolutionaries participating as part of a global trend where the Fenians were akin to the Black Hand, and part of a larger community of terrorists in the so-called 'Atlantic Community'. Such a reading implies a direct lineage from Fenian to IRA to PLO; however, as this chapter has argued, there was considerably more variety to the anticolonial experience in Ireland. Viewed from without, Ireland was seen as a model, as Guevara asserted, for both physical force insurgency and peaceful withdrawal from empire.

The visit of two South Korean politicians in June 1953 illustrates that Eak Tai's visit to Ireland was not the only connection between Ireland and East Asia and that the concept of Ireland as shadow metropole retained cachet beyond the British Empire. In June of that year, P. H. Shin Ick Hi, Chairman of the National Assembly of Korea, was joined by fellow

member of the Assembly Dong Sung Kim, and they visited Dublin one day after the truce partitioning Korea was made official. A Department of External Affairs memo described them as ‘two gentlemen ... here for [Queen Elizabeth II’s] coronation celebrations but they are both very friendly to Ireland, have a fair knowledge of Irish history and are anxious not to return to Korea without visiting Ireland which they say is held in high esteem in their country. They are very anxious if possible to be received by the Taoiseach and they would also like to meet our minister. They speak English fluently’.²⁹ Both men excused themselves from the events scheduled in London to spend the day in Dublin. Arriving on an Aer Lingus flight, the Korean politicians were met by Minister of External Affairs Frank Aiken at Dublin Airport and were shuttled around the city by J. L. MacSweeney and H. Ford of Fógra Fáilte.³⁰ Asked about his opinion of the partitioning of Ireland and Korea, Shin Ick Hi stated ‘United we stand, divided we fall’.³¹ The symbolic significance of Korean politicians speaking out against partition underscored the tendency of many outside of Ireland to see Ireland’s experiences as seminal, not to mention that, by visiting, the Koreans had abandoned *the* metropole for the shadow metropole in order to make a statement about their own nation.

In an interview with a reporter from the *Irish Press*, Shin Ick Hi later said, ‘It is a pleasure to visit your great country whose patriots have given great encouragement to our people to strive for their independence. We admire your great patriots who have worked for the independence of Ireland for so long, including your great leader, Mr. de Valera’.³² Kim added, ‘Koreans are a very peaceful people. We are a homogenous race—30,000,000 with the same language and habits. Our final goal is a united country’.³³ The article also noted, ‘Mr. Kim said they had come to Ireland to call on a friendly nation and express their thanks for support, moral and otherwise, in the time of their trouble’.³⁴ The men were afforded the opportunity to meet with de Valera, who altered his schedule so that he could meet them. Though it is unlikely that their audience with de Valera caused much excitement within Ireland, there is little doubt of the Taoiseach’s symbolic importance to the Korean politicians.

These representative examples are the result of initial research into Ireland as a symbolic shadow metropole. Though a beginning, the examples listed here encourage deeper examination into Ireland’s status amongst anticolonial leaders seeking to attain independence for their nations in the years following 1937. Prasenjit Duara defines decolonization as the ‘process whereby colonial powers transferred institutional

and legal control over their territories and dependencies to indigenously based formally sovereign, nation-states. The political search for independence often began during the inter-war years and fructified within fifteen years of the end of World War II'.³⁵ In reference to nations that fought for independence before the end of the War, Duara claims that decolonization 'refers both to the anti-imperialist political movement and to an emancipatory ideology which sought or claimed to liberate the nation and humanity itself'.³⁶ The implication is that decolonization was specific to the larger 'pan' movements after the Second World War, leaving Ireland an outsider to these dynamics. Further, if we take the words of such leaders as Nkrumah at face value, we can assume that the key events leading to the formation of the Irish Republic were a symbolic and practical touchstone, at least to those that actually engaged in acts of decolonization. By looking at Ireland as Nkrumah and others did from without, in touch with the perspectives offered by global history, we can further appreciate Ireland's place in the larger narrative of the twentieth-century world. Even though the Irish Republic from the late-1940s was actively moving toward further integration into the European Community—or, as Joe Cleary has described it, North Atlanticism—anticolonial leaders still viewed it as part of the community of nations struggling to attain independence. If London served as their point of departure, then Ireland served as a point of entry into the community of the newly free.

NOTES

1. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr Merose Hwang in helping with translations and background information on matters dealing with Korean history. There are very few works in English on the life of Ahn; thus, it is not within the scope of this paper to offer anything more than a basic biographical sketch. Ahn Eak-tai is believed to have been born in Pyongyang in December of 1905, and was educated in a Christian school, where he was trained to play Western instruments, including the cello. He left Korea to study music in Tokyo, Cincinnati, and in Germany under Richard Strauss. He later married into an aristocratic Spanish family, and lived in Spain until his death in 1965. Richard Saccone, *Koreans to Remember* (Seoul: Hollym Publishers, 1993), 177–181. There is a great deal of variety regarding the spelling of his name, including Ahn Eak-tai, Ahn Eak-tay, and in Korean it is 안익태. Eak Tai Ahn

- is consistent with the usage from 1938. Delfín Colomé's article on Ahn's time in Spain analyzes the Spanish influence of the Korean's work, as well as offering some more biographical information. Delfín Colomé, 'Ahn Eak-tai: Del País a las Isla de la Calma', in Alfonso Ojed and Álvaro Hidalgo, Coordinadores, *Corea en España. España en Corea* (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2007), 95–109; 'Famous Irish Air in China, Korean Composer's Opinion', *Irish Independent*, 15 February 1938, 10.
2. Reviews of the performance were mixed. One opined on the limitations of the symphony. Regarding Ahn's 'Symphonic Fantasie—Korea', the writer stated: 'If he judges by a "western" mind, that does not understand Korea, he will be unfair to Korea; and, the unfortunate whetch [sic] cannot employ a Korean mind. The work is somewhat loosely constructed—as the title "fantasie" [sic] denotes, and full use is made of orchestral tone colour. Asked for orchestral equivalent I would hazard "Borodin", although many things had origin further west. If one did not understand the emotional significance of much, one at least was interested'. P.T., 'Symphony Series Best Concert', *Irish Press*, 21 February 1938, 3.
 3. Up to this point, the Korean national anthem was set to the tune of Auld Lang Syne. 'Famous Irish Air', 10.
 4. *Irish Press*, 18 February 1938.
 5. *Irish Independent*, 15 February 1938. Cf. *Irish Press*, 15, 17 February 1938.
 6. *Irish Press*, 18 February 1938. An examination of the *Irish Press*, *Independent*, and various governmental documents has not provided any information that would lead me to conclude that the two men met. Given that the *Irish Press* took every opportunity to portray de Valera as sage and worldly, the absence of any material depicting a meeting of the two is likely to be indicative of the fact that the two men did not meet. Ibid.
 7. As stated earlier, very little has been written on Eak Tai outside his role in composing the Korean National Anthem. Indeed, there is a great deal that might be done in this regard.
 8. Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive, the United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 7.
 9. For an analysis of Frederick Douglass's visit to Ireland, see Patricia J. Ferreira, 'Frederick Douglass in Ireland: the Dublin Edition of

- His Narrative', *New Hibernia Review* 5:1 (Earrach/Spring 2001): 53–67. Douglass's own recollection of his visit to Ireland can be found in Frederick Douglass, *The Complete Autobiographies of Frederick Douglass—Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Start Publishing, 2012). A considerable amount of attention was given to Ireland by Marx and Engels, much of which can be found in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question, A Collection of Writings by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (New York: International Publishers, 1972). Garvey's rhetorical connections between Ireland and Pan-Africanism can be found in Marcus Garvey, *The Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, Volume I, 'The Influence of Ireland'*, ed. by Robert A. Hill (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1983).
10. See, for example, Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–1964* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2008), Caoilfhionn Ní Bheacháin, "Ireland a warning to India": Anti-imperialist solidarity in the Irish Free State', in *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire*, ed. by Tadhg Foley and Maureen O'Connor, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 268–278; Michael Silvestri, *Ireland and India, Nationalism, Empire and Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Amitav Ghosh, 'Mutinies: India, Ireland and Imperialism', in *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by Clare Carroll and Patricia King, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 122–128. For an example of how the memory of the 1916 Rising was viewed by foreign nationalists, see Daniel Leach, "Repaying a Debt of Gratitude": Foreign Minority Nationalists and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising in 1966', *Éire/Ireland* 43:3 & 4 (Fómhar/Geimhreadh/Fall/Winter 2008): 267–289.
 11. On the democratic legacy of the Free State led by Cumann na nGaedheal, see Tom Garvin, 'Unenthusiastic Democrats: The Emergence of Irish Democracy', in *Modern Irish Democracy: Essays in Honour of Basil Chubb*, ed. by Ronald J. Hill and Michael Marsh, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993); and Tom Garvin, *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1996).
 12. *Irish Press*, 1 November 1947.
 13. There is the matter of whether or not Ireland was in fact a colony. For over a century Ireland had been part of the United Kingdom, and thus it can be claimed that upon entry into the Union it ceased

to be a colony. Indeed, one can maintain the position that Ireland's independence was more a result of anti-Unionism than anticolonialism. However, Algeria, like Ireland, was not an actual colony at the time of its independence, yet the movement for Algerian independence is viewed almost exclusively as anticolonial. Thus, Ireland's place within the narrative of twentieth-century anticolonialism is a matter of perspective—a matter that warrants further exploration. For an introduction to the issue see Terrence McDonough, ed., *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005).

14. 'Official Visit to Ireland of Dr. the Rt. Hon. Kwame Nkrumah 17th–20th May, 1960'. Department of Foreign Affairs 434/623, NAI. This particular set of documents traces the machinations behind Nkrumah's visit. The Irish Department of External Affairs Press Release noted Nkrumah's visit as follows: 'Official Visit to Ireland of Dr. the Rt. Hon. Kwame Nkrumah 17th–19th May, 1960. Dr. the Rt. Hon. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, who has been attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, is expected to arrive in Dublin on 17th May for a short visit before his return to Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah will be accompanied by the Hon. Ako-Adjei, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana; His Excellency Edward O. Asafu-Adjaye, High Commissioner for Ghana in London, and Mrs. Asafu-Adjaye; Mr. T. Adamafo, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party of Ghana; Mr. A. L. Adu, Official Secretary to the Prime Minister; Mr. M. A. Mettle, Public Relations Officer of the Ghana High Commission in London'. Ibid.
15. Nkrumah, 'To the People of Ireland', in, *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah, Volume 1*. Samuel Obeng, compiler, (Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications, 1960), 57–59. Errors in the original text were confirmed and corrected, based on the text of the same speech in Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom* (London: Zed Books, 1973), 227–231. The text given in the *Irish Independent* differs slightly in the spelling of a few words, none of which, however, change the meaning of the speech. The unabridged version of Nkrumah's speech can be found in NAI DFA 434/623. Within that same file is a telegram from Mr. Iremonger in England to Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien, in which the former tendered a request for direct quotes

from Roger Casement and Charles Steward Parnell on Africa: ‘In connection with Dr. Nkrumah’s visit, Mr. Geoffrey Bing Q.C. [of Ghana] requested draft-paragraphs to illustrate the sympathy of Parnell and the Irish Party and of Roger Casement respectively for Africa and African Nationalist aspirations’. Ibid. This should not be indicative, however, of a fabricated pandering to the Irish audience. The telegram was asking for the direct quotations of which the Ghanaian delegation already had knowledge (or believed should/did exist). The usage by O’Malley of this particular quotation offers another example of the differing perspectives on Ireland’s role in the world. O’Malley uses the same quote to open his book, using it to demonstrate Ireland’s forward gaze and its role within the United Nations to secure independence for smaller states. In this, he is indeed correct and the quotation accurately serves his purpose. However, he ignores the backward gaze—that is, the recognition of Ireland’s anticolonial import to Nkrumah and the other nations of Africa seeking independence. O’Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the End of Empire*, 1.

16. Kwame Nkrumah, letter to ‘His Excellency Mr. Sean F. Lemass, Taoiseach, Republic of Ireland’, 20 May 1960. Ibid. The rest of the letter reads, ‘Please convey also to your colleagues, especially to Dr. Frank Aiken, the Minister of External Affairs, my warmest appreciation for all the arrangements made for me and the members of my party, and the great courtesy shown to us at all times. I sincerely hope that you will have time to visit Ghana in the not too distant future. You can be assured of a very warm welcome’.
17. Ibid.
18. *Irish Press*, 14 April 1961.
19. Ibid.
20. *Irish Independent*, 23 February 1962.
21. *Sunday Independent*, 4 March 1962.
22. *Irish Press*, 1 March 1962.
23. *Irish Press*, 6 March 1962.
24. *Irish Press*, May 1950.
25. *Irish Examiner*, 26 September 2014.
26. Bill Rolston, “‘The Brothers on the Walls’”: International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals’, *Journal of Black Studies* 39:3 (January 2009): 446–470.

27. Arthur Quinlan, 'Interview with Che Guevara', Society for Irish Latin American Studies, <http://www.irlandeses.org/quinlan.htm>. Accessed on 15 November 2015. *The Guardian*, 1 January 2013; *Limerick Leader*, 15 March 1965. See also *Irish Echo*, April 2012.
28. Alvin Jackson, 'Widening the Fight for Ireland's Freedom: Revolutionary Nationalism in Its Global Contexts', *Victorian Studies* 54:1 (Autumn 2011), 97.
29. 'Letter from [Irish] Ambassador [to England] to Mr. [J. T.] Horan'. FHB.4.50 PM 29/5/19553. DFA/434/343 pt. 1. Serial No. 1916. The ensuing dialogue demonstrated a keen interest in welcoming the diplomats, ensuring that they would have an opportunity to meet with the Taoiseach (though very busy) and would be shown around Dublin by Fógra Fáilte. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Irish Press*, 9 June 1953.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Prasenjit Duara, ed., *Decolonization, Perspectives from Now and Then* (London: Routledge, 2004), 2.
36. *Ibid.*

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Afterword: Imperialists, Colonisers, Settlers, and Revolutionaries

Stephen Howe

Does the name Hot Thumbs O'Reilly tug any memory strings for any reader here?

I shall not be surprised if it does not. Hot Thumbs wasn't a real Irishman, nor indeed a real person, nor even anyone's 'regular' stage name. It was the name briefly taken by an English musician and songwriter expatriated in Finland, Jim Pembroke, for a solo album released in near-total obscurity in 1972.¹ Pembroke's regular gig was with Finnish rock-jazz group Wigwam. They too languish in an obscurity which I think quite undeserved: not even much remembered it seems in Finland itself—though as of late 2015 they still exist, just about, and perform occasionally, while Pembroke released a new solo album, *If the Rain Comes*, in 2014.²

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Wicked Ivory includes two remarkable, linked songs of political protest and satire, 'The Decline of the House of Lords' and 'Grass for Blades'. You can guess the former's theme from its title. 'Grass for Blades', though, is about America in Vietnam, and is in my view a truly great, wrongly forgotten, song of anti-imperialism. I cannot discover if Jim has any Irish family roots, though coming from Northwest London as he did (and as I do), it is not at all unlikely. The Pembroke surname, which as one might expect is of Welsh origin, has been fairly widespread in Ireland since at least the seventeenth century—while long before that the name can be said to stand at the very point of origin of English imperialism in Ireland, with Earl Richard, known as Strongbow. And from Ireland in turn it migrated across the Atlantic. In the USA there are both black and white Pembrokes, descendants of slaves and slave-owners, and another Jim Pembroke wrote—under another pseudonym—one of the finer examples of the genre of slave autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, in 1849.³

I hope the idiosyncrasy of that opening may be forgiven. Its point is to suggest how far afield thinking about 'Ireland and empire' can take us: from Finnish hippies performing anti-empire songs under Irish pseudonyms, via the vagaries of a surname, back to the twelfth century, and across the Atlantic, including medieval earls, escaped African-American slaves, and North London suburbanites. It may also hint at how ideas of a global-imperial 'Irish world' and its multiple networks, as pursued by so many contributors to this volume, might perhaps be yet further expanded to embrace fictive networks and virtual worlds. A song on Jim Pembroke's new record, 'Columbus in India', prompts yet further flights of wild world-historical fancy: but perhaps one should resist the temptation to pursue him further.⁴ The investigations collected in this volume, strikingly diverse though they may be, are naturally somewhat less fanciful and more disciplined in their individual and collective focus than is the diversion above. I trust that the brief comments which follow here will also be so. Their aim is to point, in unavoidably telegraphic style, towards some of the ways thinking about empire in Irish history has developed recently, how global trends in imperial and colonial studies have recently been reshaped, and how the local and the global currents have been, may be, or should be related to one another.

I confessed, in a review article a few years back, that sometimes it is a pleasure to have one's claims refuted and one's previous intellectual positions reversed, or at least rapidly outdated. So it is with the scholarly literatures on Ireland's place in the British imperial system, Irish attitudes

to empire, Irish nationalists' contacts with anticolonial nationalists elsewhere, and related themes.⁵ Since my own first work in these fields, work on Ireland's place in the British imperial system, Irish attitudes to empire, Irish involvement in British and other global imperial formations, and related themes has flowered and multiplied with remarkable and very welcome speed and diversity. I have tried elsewhere to survey what I think are the most important strands in this, their implications, and indeed their limitations.⁶ I have also noted that in some quarters, and in regard to some specific themes, very sharp political contestation is still much in evidence—as with continuing ferocious dispute over what happened and why in a small place during a short time: Cork in the early 1920s. There, Jack Lane of the Aubane Historical Society suggested, at the Kilmichael ambush commemoration in late 2014, that: 'the War of Independence has been fought all over again ... without guns this time, fortunately, but a no less significant war because of that. It is just a different kind of war.'⁷ One well knows what Lane means, but it remains—in my eyes—a dispiriting view; and on comparative, even post-imperial perspective a fairly unusual one.

In less bellicose vein, debate continues often to revolve around perceptions of Irish history, in its relations to empire, as peculiarly hybrid, ambivalent, complex, exceptional, or anomalous. While these emphases may sometimes seem frustrating in their indeterminacy, such stress on hybridity and so on is not necessarily or always misplaced. One major upshot of the recent historiographical renewal has indeed been to trace how multiple modalities of rule and governmentality, of population movement and identity formation, were involved in the English–Irish and British–Irish relationships. Perhaps especially, what some call 'administrative colonialism', the use of public officials from outside Ireland to run its affairs, and 'settler colonialism', especially in the North East, long coexisted and indeed sometimes clashed. The emergence—again, recent and rapid—of a substantial literature arguing for the radical distinctiveness of settler colonialism, for its character and logic being wholly different from those of colonialism as such, can only accentuate relevant Irish historiographical contestation (though so far Ireland has had little place in this global florescence of settler colonial studies).⁸ From that complexity stem, among other things, recently renewed debates about chronology. In important recent interventions, for instance, Edward Cavanagh and Brendan O'Leary concur in criticizing the general field—and both explicitly include my own work in this—for failing to be clear or specific on this

front. When exactly did empire—or colonialism—begin in Ireland, and maybe more pointedly still, when (if ever) did it end? Cavanagh in particular offers a fairly substantial critique of my writing for what he thinks is a confused and inconsistent chronology of conquest. One cannot deny that his critique scores some hits—but might suggest that what he calls confusion is often instead, again, simply a necessary recognition of historical complexity.⁹

Cavanagh's and O'Leary's arguments gain force from, among other things, the powerful political charge embedded in questions of imperial endings. For Irish historians' deliberations, much of this charge grew from clashing ideas about possible 'colonial presents', including arguments that the Republic remains in some strong sense a postcolonial and/or neo-colonial state, and more particularly those viewing Northern Ireland as still subject to imperial control. Yet these too relate to global questions: When, *for whom*, did empire end? *What* ended, when? Was it a distinctively European-centred global geopolitical order; a set of ideas and practices—especially but not only in international politics and governmentality—based on ideas of racial difference and hierarchy; an ensemble of state forms, with accompanying political and cultural practices, centred on particular kinds of structural inequality; or an array of transnational networks, embracing flows of goods and capital, of migrating people, of ideas and identities, again predicated on structures of extreme inequity? Merely to sketch such a list is naturally immediately to recognise that none of these *has* clearly or definitively ended.¹⁰

As with studies of Ireland and empire, so in British imperial history more generally, it is tempting to think that we are right now in a kind of new golden age for the subject, and also for ambitious comparative studies of empire, if we think among others of the major recent works of John Darwin, James Belich, Chris Bayly, Jane Burbank and Fred Cooper, Juergen Osterhammel, Andreas Eckert, Wolfgang Reinhard, and more. It will be seen that I am alluding mainly to works in English and German, the products of British, US, and German scholars. Similarly upbeat stories can however be told (so far as my reading limits and poor language skills let me judge) for French, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Portuguese, and other historiographies. Many such scholars have been trying more than before to bring study of seaborne and land-based, ancient and modern empires together, with a new stress also on studying empires within Europe—in both senses: that is, on empire-building within the continent, from Ottomans to Nazis; and on the ways external possessions and

activities have had major effects back in the ‘mother country’. But among many, many new or renewed themes one might pick out from all this, perhaps the biggest and liveliest of all has been rethinking the ends and aftermaths of empires.

The political decolonisation of the European empires took place in the main of course, with astonishing rapidity, between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s. In a wide range of not only Irish but transnational political rhetorics during those years, Ireland came to be presented as a forerunner and standard-bearer for the process: parts of that story are told in Kenneth Shonk’s chapter here, others in a fast-swelling if scattered body of recent published work. To many, it marked the end not just of formal colonial rule, but of the era of European dominance, and of the very idea of empire. This consummation required, however, that political decolonisation be accompanied or followed by a truly global intellectual transformation, a decolonisation of minds, an end to what a current generation of Latin American writers have come to call the coloniality of being.

In relation to such ideas of intellectual decolonisation, on a global scale, here, too, we are now seeing a revitalisation, a rediscovery or reconnection of enquiry and debate in both scholarly and more agitational veins. It is perhaps in relation to settler societies, and the position of indigenous peoples within them, that the rhetoric of and debates over intellectual decolonisation are today most pervasive. It is, for instance, from among the ranks of indigenous, mostly North American scholars that a new journal has begun appearing, calling itself simply *Decolonization*. Another key site has been South-West Asia, fuelled by new imperialisms, revolutions, and civil wars across the region, by much polemic on the relations between political Islam and anticolonial thought, and by the almost uniquely high profile of the Palestinian cause as a case of (in many eyes) still unresolved colonial subjugation. But these have joined with two more global, and in part more specifically academic, trends of the very recent past. One is that we are seeing a new wave of intellectual histories of anticolonial thought. Following the great rush of global and comparative histories of colonial knowledge and its relations to imperial power, we are starting to see a parallel surge of studies in anticolonial knowledges, or what Chris Bayly calls epistemic insurgency, with their global networks of influence and interconnection.¹¹ And among other things, some of the grand simplicities of postcolonial theory’s now exhausted high-theoretical era are being replaced by more nuanced and situated investigation.¹²

Simultaneously, there is emerging a new crop of attempts to argue for a revitalisation, or a new kind of recognition, of such thought in the twenty-first century present. There may, enthusiasts urge, be indeed something of a redrawing of the global intellectual map—a shift which started during the moment of decolonisation. Besides the long-established North Atlantic and European research centres, alternative (if still so often fragile and underfunded) modes of intellectual circulation have emerged, including South-South ones. The long proclaimed de-nationalisation of thought and debate in the humanities and social studies may, though more precariously, be followed by their de-*regionalisation*, which may perhaps also be conceived of as a *decolonisation*. Major transformations in the way in which we think about global histories are thus under way.

Seeking more fully to relate Irish imperial history and related modes of writing to such global developments may not (and perhaps *should* not) wholly disarm the combatants in battle over the subject's political implications. But it may (and, again, possibly *should*) radically resituate them. The late, bitterly missed Chris Bayly, seen by many as the pre-eminent recent historian of the British Empire, notes that 'The whole field of historical writing concerned with imperialism and the expansion of Europe has always been suffused with moral judgement'.¹³ As Bayly and others also urge, at a popular level in the United Kingdom, the notion of empire as a history of virtue still has a powerful hold. Yet this too is now in flux. We may now, I think, be seeing, for instance, a growing divergence between English and Scots perceptions of the United Kingdom's international role and its relation to imperial pasts. By the same token, the imaginative after-lives of Empire in Scotland are taking paths ever more distinct from those in England.¹⁴

Not everyone is happy with the renewed and (potentially) reconfigured 'presentism' thus presaged. Veteran French historian Pierre Nora argues that a new politicisation of historical consciousness, of which dispute over colonial history has been the most notable case both in Britain and France, has very damaging effects. 'The positivist tradition of nineteenth century history', he says, dominated by the idea of the nation and based on the archive, began in the 1970s to give way to a concern with recent history, in which the historical witness became paramount. With the past ceasing to be a body of knowledge and becoming a public issue, a new form of political influence has exerted itself upon historians.¹⁵ Nora thus laments what he calls a hidden, insidious and widely disseminated instrumentalisation of history, especially in the colonial sphere. Numerous historians

of Ireland have of course similarly bemoaned an excessive politicisation, sometimes allied with commercialisation, of historical consciousness there. And the same calls are ever louder in Britain, and are now almost equally polarised. Still, there are reasons to be far more optimistic than is Nora about the effects.

For such optimism to have proper warrant, however, then we need still other new ways of linking local developments with global rethinkings of the idea of empire. Among these is that which has seen power, including imperial power, as a matter of nodes and flows rather than stable control over territories. Despite their map images of clearly drawn boundaries and territory, empires did not cover space evenly but formed a tangled, patchwork fabric. Even in the British or French late-imperial cases, an empire's spaces were politically fragmented; legally and constitutionally heterogeneous, surrounded by irregular, porous, and sometimes undefined borders. Although empires laid claim to vast stretches of territory, the nature of such claims was modified by control that was exercised mainly over corridors, enclaves and irregular zones around them. As was once said of the French Empire in West Africa, they only really controlled the roads—and then only so long as their soldiers marched on them. Though in theory empires sought to control wide swaths of undifferentiated territory, in practice they were often mainly interested in nodes and niches. The written records and maps left behind by European officials have too often blinded historians to the discrepancies between these empires' broad territorial claims and the reality of their authority on the ground. Recognising this, and perhaps linking it to Ann Laura Stoler's and others' fascinating recent arguments over degrees of imperial sovereignty (as opposed to the false presumption that even formal sovereignty, let alone real political control, is always an all-or-nothing affair) may lead us towards a more complex and nuanced historical geography of empire.¹⁶ There are, surely, intriguing potentialities here for Irish, and Irish imperial, studies: ones so far more pursued for the early-modern era than for more recent periods.

The editors of the Russian imperial studies journal *Ab Imperio* argue in their founding statement that 'no "imperiology", a universal theory of empire equally applicable to Russia, Great Britain, Ancient Rome, or the Aztecs, is possible, and the very undertaking is absurd'. This does not however mean that comparative studies of empires, or attempts at definition and theory-building, are valueless. We can seek to uncover or 'distil' shared structural features or logics of development. But we must avoid the common structuralist fallacy of reifying the objects of analysis,

granting them an unreal degree of internal homogeneity, and overlooking the extent to which shared features may be the result, not of ‘typologically similar autonomous development’ but of ‘mutual influences, common experiences, and reactions to common challenges.’ There is thus no ‘universal method for the creation of an analytical model of empire’. Instead we should view ‘empire [as] a research context rather than a structure, a problem rather than a diagnosis. Any society can be “thought of” as an empire, just as features characteristic of nation-states—indeed characteristic of entire epochs—can be discerned in any empire’.¹⁷

Only by employment of multiple models, varied research frameworks, ‘a multidimensional view of social, political, and cultural actors, and of the spaces in which they function’, can we move forward. Susan Reynolds points in a similar direction by urging that: ‘One cannot begin to make serious comparisons without deciding what comes into the category of cases one wants to compare. It is not so much a matter of defining the word “empire” as of, first, deciding which phenomena—which actual polities, past and present—that those who use the word refer to, and deciding what characteristics these phenomena share that make them a category; and second, considering whether there are other phenomena that share significant characteristics with the first group and therefore ought to be brought into the discussion even if they are not usually called empires’.¹⁸ Alexander Semyonov has thus urged—rather like Fred Cooper from another continent—that the concepts of empire and of decolonisation must be radically historicised, freed from the surreptitiously normative frameworks of ‘the nation-state as norm’, the often unavowed teleology of empire-into-nation-state narratives, and the intense politicisation which the very use of the term so often carries with it, in contemporary Russian even more than in most other instances.¹⁹ He and his *Ab Imperio* colleagues, together with a host of other researchers in many countries, have in a fairly short time carried Russia’s ‘new imperial history’ not only far towards fulfilling those essentially negative, ground-clearing tasks but a long way also in more positive, massive additions to knowledge and historical understanding. Others, in what I see as a potentially convergent move, focus less on empires than on imperial formations. They are interested less in institutions and fixed ideologies than in ‘the prevalence of blurred genres of rule and partial sovereignties. Empires may be things, but imperial formations are not. They are polities of dislocation, processes of dispersion, appropriation, and displacement. They are dependent on ever-moving categories and populations’.²⁰

Embracing analytical diversity, even eclecticism, in relation to ‘Ireland and empire’, as in more global colonial studies, is thus not just a matter of avoiding theoreticist rigidity or polemical excess. It may also aptly reflect the multiplicity of forms of empire itself: not merely variation across time, but the coexistence of very different kinds of empire within the same system, at the same time. Even where empires, especially imperial ideologies, display close family resemblances, this has sometimes reflected conscious imitation more than structural congruity. It is tempting, indeed, to urge a definitive abandonment of the singular term ‘empire’—which tends, even when its users are stressing and tracing differences, to imply that these are variations on a single essence—and to follow those who insistently and compellingly pluralise ‘modernities’ by doing the same for empires and imperialisms.

The upshot may seem to be an all too grandiose, perhaps woolly, injunction—that a way forward, now being pointed to from many different directions both within Irish history and in global-imperial contexts, might lie with thinking not ‘Ireland and empire’ but *Irelands* and *empires*, with imperial formations, degrees of imperial sovereignty, multiple kinds of transnationalisms. This may further, in new and sometimes unexpected ways, the declared aim of this volume’s editors: to ‘stake a claim to Ireland’s place on the cutting edge—sometimes as the cutting edge—of broader global developments’. And there may be more historically specific, and indeed politically pressing, potential implications too.

For example, it has been suggested all too hastily, that a ‘British World’ perspective—provided it is thought of in sufficiently inclusive, flexible, non-triumphalist and non-racialised ways, indeed ones which give full weight to the history of violence, atrocity, and even genocide associated with Angloworld settlerdom—might just offer some intriguing ways of rethinking Irish history, and perhaps especially the histories of Britishness in Ireland. In great part these will no doubt turn out to be ones which underline difference, even Irish exceptionalism, rather than similarity. But that too can be useful, for comparative and for globally integrative historical study. It just may be useful too in thinking about political presents and futures. For one ‘end’ of these stories is of course the anxious, embattled, sometime obdurate nature of the association with *Britishness*, indeed a global Britishness, which I with many others have elsewhere discussed in some detail as characteristic of Ulster Loyalism today. The affirmation of belonging is deeply fraught, in a context where those who identify as British, in the North of Ireland, are seen by so many others as a mere

settler-colonial implant, as alien. It is an old anxiety, classically explored by a great Ulster Protestant poet, John Hewitt, in such works as ‘The Colony’ and ‘Once Alien Here’.²¹ Today it may feel not only besieged, as a standard trope in Loyalist thought has always done, but stranded as the tide of global or indeed archipelagic Britishness recedes. Global Britishness, as both child and mainstay of Empire, has almost gone; the more insular version is at least in a state of unprecedented crisis and uncertainty—and it is possible to see it, too, as doomed or even already dead. Ulster Unionism has been wrestling with (or sometimes, one might unkindly say, hiding from) the consequences in a sense ever since Partition; but with ever greater urgency and under ever greater strain under a series of successive shocks over the past four decades.

The sorts of rethinking of ‘empire’ in general gestured towards here have potentially powerful implications, though, for the histories and collective identities of the formerly subaltern, as well as the locally or globally once-powerful. As this volume’s editors, and several other contributors, emphasise, Indian–Irish–imperial relations have for some time proved an especially fertile field of study.²² To this author’s knowledge, however, there has not yet appeared comparative discussion of the two countries’ fierce debates over ‘post-imperial’ national identities, in their relations to religion, and to violence. Yet as acute ‘internal’ critics have argued for both, stories of imperial, *and* of what proclaimed itself anti-imperial, violence, challenge the selective amnesia of both imperial and national grand narratives. That is then a challenge not only for the ways British, United Kingdom, or English histories are narrated, but for Irish ones too. Maybe, in that register, even the bitter little current fights over who exactly killed whom, and why, in some lonely spot in west Cork 90-odd years ago really do have a kind of global-historical significance. And maybe Jim Pembroke and his Finnish musical colleagues really can be given a meaningful place in the story.

NOTES

1. Love Records LRLP 52. There is a 2005 CD rerelease, under Pembroke’s own name: Love Records B0009SQ40S.
2. TUM Alternative B00MG9JAPO, 2014.
3. James W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; Or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849).
4. On *If the Rain Comes* op.cit.

5. Stephen Howe, 'Minding the Gaps: New Directions in the Study of Ireland and Empire', *Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37:1 (2009): 135–149.
6. In, among other places, Stephen Howe, 'On Questioning the Question: Was Ireland a Colony?', *Irish Historical Studies* XXXVI:142 (2008): 138–152; 'Minding the Gaps' op.cit; Stephen Howe, 'Coloniser and Colonised' in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. by Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014).
7. Address by Jack Lane, Aubane Historical Society, 30th November 2014; online at millstreet.ie. For my own view of the controversies and their wider significance, see Stephen Howe, 'Killing in Cork and the Historians' *History Workshop Journal* 77:1 (Spring 2014): 160–186.
8. See in particular Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); idem. *The Settler Colonial Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassel, 1999); and the forthcoming *Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini.
9. Edward Cavanagh, 'Kingdom or Colony? English or British? Early modern Ireland and the colonialism question' *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 14:2 (Summer 2013): Brendan O'Leary 'The Shackles of the State and Hereditary Animisities: Colonialism in the Interpretation of Irish History' *Field Day Review* 10 (2014): 150–187.
10. See, for further discussion of these questions, Howe 'When (if ever) did Empire End? "Internal Decolonisation" in British Culture since the 1950s', in *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?*, ed. by Martin Lynn (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 214–237; 'When—If Ever—Did Empire End? Recent Studies of Imperialism and Decolonisation' *Journal Of Contemporary History* 40:3 (2005): 585–591; 'Decolonization and Imperial Aftershocks: the Thatcher Years' in *Making Thatcher's Britain*, ed. by Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 234–251; 'Winds, Crosswinds, and Countercurrents: Macmillan's Africa in the "long view" of decolonization' in *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British*

- Decolonization*, ed. by L.J. Butler and Sarah Stockwell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 252–266.
11. At least five of the chapters here may be said in different ways to address aspects of anticolonial critique—those of Regan-Lefebvre, Farrell (albeit with here a new light on the inescapably hybrid character of Duffy’s views), Bender, Ní Bhroiméil, and Shonk.
 12. For a few recent ‘highlights’, see Timothy Brennan, *Borrowed Light: Vico, Hegel, and the colonies* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2014); Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (London, New York: Allen Lane, 2012); Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2011); Achille Mbembe, *Africa In Theory* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand UP, 2013); Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World*. (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2011).
 13. C. A. Bayly, ‘Moral Judgment: Empire, Nation and History’. *European Review* 14:3 (2006): 385–391, 385.
 14. See for instance Howe, ‘Anticolonialism in Twentieth Century Scotland’, in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan Glass & John MacKenzie (Manchester, UK: Manchester UP, 2015), 113–130.
 15. Pierre Nora, ‘Recent History and the New Dangers of Politicization’ *Eurozine* (4 May 2012): <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2011-11-24-nora-en.html>. Accessed on 5 December 2016.
 16. See for instance Stoler, ‘On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty’ *Public Culture* 18:1 (2006): 125–146.
 17. Ilya Gerasimov, Serguei Glebov, Alexander Kaplunovskii, Marina Mogilner, Alexander Semyonov, ‘In Search of New Imperial History’ *Ab Imperio* 1 (2005): 33–56. See also more generally on this theme Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber and Alexander Semyonov, eds. *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009).
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22. For some acute recent general reflections see Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland, India and the British Empire', *Studies in People's History* 2:2 (2016): 169–188.

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