

Situating Ireland: Time, Territory, and Identity in Post-Confederation Irish-Canada

Raymond Jess

A
Thesis
In
The Individualized Program

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Individualized Program in Humanities) at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

August 2020

© Raymond Jess, 2020

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Raymond Jess

Entitled: Situating Ireland: Time, Territory, and Identity in Post-Confederation Irish-Canada

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Individualized Program in Humanities)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Chair
Dr. Elizabeth Fast

_____ External Examiner
Dr. William Jenkins

_____ External to Program
Dr Ted McCormick

_____ Examiner
Dr. Daniel O’Leary

_____ Examiner
Dr. Jane McGaughey

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin

Approved by

Dr. Rachel Berger, Graduate Program Director

November 13, 2020

_____ Dr. Effrosyni Diamantoudi, Interim Dean School of Graduate Studies

Abstract

Situating Ireland: Time, Territory, and Identity in Post-Confederation Irish Canada.

Raymond Jess PhD

Concordia University, 2020

Between Canadian Confederation and the founding of the Irish Free State, Canada was the main model of political sovereignty through which British Liberals could imagine a practical form of political devolution for Ireland. This was also a period when Canada wished to populate the western prairies of the country by attracting immigrants from the United Kingdom, and it was hoped that by supporting Home Rule for Ireland, more Irish emigrants would choose Canada as a destination over the United States. But the failure of two Home Rule bills at Westminster would mean that Ireland would increasingly turn towards a cultural nationalist outlook, one that had a greater interest in Canada's linguistic identity, than its political history.

This thesis will look at how Ireland was situated with regard to three primary co-ordinates of a national imaginary: history, geography, and cultural distinctiveness. I will follow the methodology of the pioneering historian Joep Leerssen whose work on pre-twentieth century Irish-English relations showed how the categories of *Ireland* and *England* were constructed as a familiarity of foreignness. While the word *Irish* has had a long history in English textual discourse, even before the majority of the Irish became anglophone, this thesis will look at the construction of Irishness within the Irish diaspora and the British Empire at a time when the majority of Irish people both at home and abroad had become a literate anglophone population. This thesis seeks to understand how the Irish situated themselves in an anglophone modernity, against an English language history that was never very enamored of Irish cultural distinctiveness.

For many prominent anglophone Canadians, the success of the Canadian model of political sovereignty and the opportunities afforded by settling the Northwest, should have provided the Irish with fruitful routes to transcend their history. But for many francophone Canadians, Ireland was a warning about the dangers of cultural loss, as they battled against the anglicizing influence of the Irish North American Catholic Church. By situating Ireland as a mirror of Canadian politics and culture, both the Irish and the Canadians could better interpret their past and envision their future.

Acknowledgements

Without the love and support of my wife Anne I would have never had got this far in my studies. She was always ready to aid me in my work and was patient as I ploughed on through my book reading at every available free moment. Without her voice in my ear, I would never have been able to see this through. Merci, Anne.

When I approached Dr. Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin with the idea of studying the Irish-Canadian intellectual history of this period, he was very enthusiastic about the idea and has encouraged me to see this through to the end, through thick and thin. His knowledge of Irish language sources and history has been especially helpful to me in understanding Ireland's Gaelic past. Dr. Daniel O'Leary has played a similar role in opening my eyes to this historical period in terms of Canadian literature. His book recommendations were invaluable in allowing me to understand this period through the eyes of some of Canada's most important thinkers and historians. Dr. Jane McGaughey also provided me with insightful book and article recommendations that reformulated my thinking on how to approach the subject of this thesis and the discipline of History in general.

I am very grateful to the various Program Directors of the Individualized Program over the years for their help and advice, and especially Rachel Berger for her kindness and understanding about the changes in my family life which have delayed me in completing this work. I especially want to thank Darlene Dubiel for guiding me through the administrative process at the university and providing me with the information needed to complete the program. Her advice has been especially helpful during a time that I really needed a lot of support, patience, and reassurance.

I also want to thank Michael Kenneally, Matina Skalkogiannism, and the teachers, students, and staff at the School of Irish Studies for their warmth, enthusiasm, and academic insight over the years. The School has not just been an innovative space that has opened my eyes to academic perspectives I would have never encountered otherwise, it has also been a space that felt like a home away from home on numerous occasions.

Lastly, I want to thank my daughter Aoibhe, she has been most patient in waiting for me to finish this thesis, which has sometimes felt like a second child that gets more attention than the first. Merci ma belle, j'espère que un jour tu peux lire cette thèse pour comprendre ce que je voulais dire.

Table of Contents

<i>Biography Photo Credits</i>	<i>vii</i>
Introduction	1
i. Methodology	4
ii. Thesis Outline	11
iii. Situating the Time: Post-Confederation	14
iv. Situating the Territory: Canada	16
v. Situating the Identity: Irish	19
vi. Situating the International Context	21
vii. Situating the Norm	
a) <i>The uniqueness of England</i>	29
b) <i>All descriptions are judgements</i>	31
c) <i>English print and emotional self-control</i>	33
viii. Situating Difference	35
ix. Historians and Theorists	38
x. Chapter Outline	41
Chapter 1: Irish History: Putting Irish-Canadian Catholics in Their Place	45
i. English and Irish Conceptions of the Past	47
ii. Cementing Together History, Place, and Identity Through the Church	52
iii. Montreal's <i>The Harp</i>	55
iv. Teaching the New Narratives of National History	67
v. <i>The Owl and University of Ottawa Review</i>	70
Chapter 2: Home Rule: The Canadian Transcendence of Irish History	77
i. The 1882 Debates	80
ii. The Irish as Ancient Juveniles	86
iii. The 1886 Debates	90
iv. The 1887 Debates	96
v. The 1903 Debates	102
Chapter 3: The Exile's Vision: Irish-Canadian Poems of Land & Nation	107
i. Young Ireland and Irish Childhoods	111
ii. Indigenous Pasts and Canadian Futures	120
iii. Connecting the Irish and Unifying Canadians	125
iv. Blood Sacrifice on the Battlefields of the Empire	131
v. Public Bards Eschew Private Thoughts	137

Chapter 4: Against the Urban: Canadian Emigration Agents in Ireland	139
i. The Image of Canada in the Irish Press	141
ii. The Unencumbered Self and “Limitless Land”	148
iii. Escaping Parochial Britishness for Imperial Britishness	152
iv. The Facilities and the Fear of the Urban Irish	157
v. Battling the Press Outside of Ulster	160
vi. Canadian Emigration Agents, Cultural Nationalists, and the Urban Irish	166
Chapter 5: “Backward”: Language and Modernity in Ireland and Canada	174
i. Language Loss and the Loss of Identity	175
ii. The 1890 Canadian Parliamentary Debates on National Languages	179
iii. Douglas Hyde’s Case for the Gaelic League	182
iv. Reviving and Defending Language Use in Montreal and Ottawa	185
v. Defending Catholicism from “Anglo-Saxon” Materialism	193
vi. Bilingualism in North America and the Empire	200
vii. Language Preservation and National Distinctiveness	205
Chapter 6: “Their cause is our cause”: The Gaelic League and Regulation 17	210
i. The Battle Over Education in Catholic Ontario	212
ii. Bishop Michael Francis Fallon and the Background to Regulation 17	222
iii. Irish Voices Opposed to Regulation 17	230
iv. WW1, the Conscription Crises, and Exacerbating National Divisions	238
v. Supporting Irish Independence and French Language Rights	244
Conclusion	247
i. Situating Ireland in the Time of Modernity	251
ii. Situating Ireland in the Territory of the Anglosphere	254
iii. Situating Ireland in the Search for an Identity Standard	256
iv. The Individual Self and <i>Our</i> National Self	264
v. Post-War Nationalism as the New Normal	266
Bibliography	269
Appendix 1 - Home Rule Resolution Votes	292
Appendix 2 - Biographies	295

Photo Credits

All Biography photos sourced online from Library and Archives Canada, except:

Edward A. Bolger: Saint Patrick's Church, Saint Joseph MO. "Fr. Edward Bolger, Pastor 1912-1921." *The Pastors of St. Patrick Church*. Accessed Jan. 2021.

<https://www.stpatrickstj.org/contact-us/about-us/clergy/>

James V. Cleary: Ville de Montréal. "James Vincent Cleary." *Canadian Historical Portrait*.

Accessed Jan. 2021. <http://www2.ville.montreal.qc.ca/archives/portraits/fr/fiches/P0417-1.shtm>

Henry J. Cloran: Parliament of Canada. "Henry Joseph Cloran." *Parliamentarians*. Accessed

Jan. 2021. https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=5475

Isabella V. Crawford: Poeticious. "Isabella Valancy Crawford." www.poeticious.com/

Accessed Jan. 2021.

https://www.poeticious.com/system/poets/photos/000/024/505/large/Isabella_Valancy_Crawford.jpg?1463420560

Nicholas F. Davin: Archives of Manitoba. "Nicholas Flood Davin" #1, N21385.

Charles R. Devlin: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. "Charles Ramsay Devlin." *P1000,S4,D83,PD43*. Accessed Jan 2021.

<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3107681?docsearchtext=Devlin>

Edward H. Dewart: Edward S. Caswell. "Edward Hartley Dewart." *Canadian Singers and their Songs*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1919). Accessed Jan. 2021

<https://archive.org/stream/canadiansingerst00caswuoft#page/32/mode/2up>

Charles J. Doherty: Parliament of Canada. "Charles Joseph Doherty." *Parliamentarians*. Accessed Jan. 2021

https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=5423

James B. Dollard: Edward S. Caswell. "James B. Dollard." *Canadian Singers and their Songs*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2019). Accessed Jan. 2021

<https://archive.org/details/canadiansingerst00caswuoft/page/34/mode/2up>

Michael F. Fallon: La Renaissance Catholique Au Canada. "Mgr Fallon." VI. La lutte victorieuse contre le "Règlement 17." Accessed Jan. 2021

<https://crc-canada.net/etudes-speciales/oeuvre-oblats-nord-ouest-canadien/reglement-17.html>

Joseph K. Foran: J.K. Foran. *Poems and Canadian Lyrics* (Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1895). www.archive.org Accessed Jan. 2021

<https://archive.org/details/poemscanadianlyr00forauoft>

Charles J. Foy: Ancient Order of Hibernians. "C.J. Foy." *Official Journal, Provincial Convention, Ancient Order of Hibernians of the Province of Québec, at Hibernian Hall, Richmond Street, Montreal, September 10, 11, 12, 1910* (Montréal: s.n., 1910). Accessed Jan. 2021.

https://archive.org/details/cihm_86715/page/n29/mode/1up

Anthony Freeland: Canadiana.ca. "Anthony Freeland." *L'Action Francaise* 1.11 (novembre 1917). Accessed Jan. 2021. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06944_11/2?r=0&s=1

Andrew T. Herson: Canadiana.ca. "A.T. Herson Dead." *The Toronto World*, January 13, 1915. Accessed Jan. 2021. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.N_00367_19150113/3?r=0&s=4

John G. Hodgins: Théophile Hamel. "John George Hodgins, LL B, LL D." *Archives of Ontario*, no. 622701. Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://ngcr.utpjournals.press/doi/full/10.3138/ngcr.8.004>

Norah M. Holland: John B. Yeats. "Norah M. Holland." John W. Garvin, *Canadian Poets*. (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/canadianpoets00garv/page/406/mode/2up?q=Holland>

George W. Howlan: Office of the Lieutenant Governor. "The Honourable George William Howlan." *PEI Public Archives and Records Office, Reference Number 2320/60-20*. Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://www.lgpei.ca/former-governors/george-william-howlan>

Oliver A. Howland: Canadiana.ca. "O.A. Howland." John A. Cooper ed. *Men of Canada* (Montreal & Toronto: The Canadian Historical Company, 1902). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.71815/184?r=0&s=1>

Mrs. Leprohon: Archive.org. "Rosanna Eleanor Leprohon." Frances E. Willard & Mary A. Livermore, eds. *A Woman of the Century* (Buffalo, Chicago & New York: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.152162/page/n466/mode/1up?q=Mullins>

John D. Logan: Archive.org. "Dr. J.D. Logan." John W. Garvin, *Canadian Poets*. (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/canadianpoets00garv/page/264/mode/2up?q=Logan>

James McCarroll: Archive.org. "James McCarroll." James McCarroll. *Madeline and Other Poems* (Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1889). Accessed Jan. 2021. https://archive.org/details/cihm_09375/page/n3/mode/2up

Stephen J. Meany: Clare County Library. "Stephen Joseph Meany (c. 1825-1888)." *Clare People*. Accessed Jan. 2021. http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/people/stephen_meany.htm

Maurice G. Moore: Archive.org. "Col. Maurice Moore, C.B." Maurice George Moore. *An Irish Gentleman, George Henry Moore; His Travel, His Racing, His Politics*. (London: T.W. Laurie, 1913). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/irishgentlemange00moor/page/n9/mode/1up>

Cornelius O'Brien: Canadiana.ca. "Archbishop in 1883." Katherine Hughes. *Archbishop O'Brien: Man and Churchman*. (Ottawa: The Rolla L. Crain Company, 1906). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.74652/62?r=0&s=1>

Patrick A. O'Farrell: Mark Humphrys. "P.A. O'Farrell." *My ancestors – Flanagan – Contents*. Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://humphrysfamilytree.com/Flanagan/ofarrell.html>

John J. O'Gorman: Blessed Sacrament Parish, Ottawa, Ontario. "History of Blessed Sacrament Parish." www.blessedsacrament.ca. Accessed Jan. 2021. <http://www.blessedsacrament.ca/our-community-life/a-history-of-blessed-sacrament/>

Thomas O'Hagan: Edward S. Caswell. "Thomas O'Hagan. Ph.D., LL.D." *Canadian Singers and their Songs*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2019). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/canadiansingerst00caswuoft/page/106/mode/2up>

Horace C. Plunkett: Library of Congress. "Sir Horace Plunkett, 1/15/23." *Catalog: npcc.07656*. Accessed Jan. 2021. <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/npcc.07656/>

John Reade: Edward S. Caswell. "John Reade, F.R.S.C." *Canadian Singers and their Songs*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2019). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/canadiansingerst00caswuoft/page/116/mode/2up>

George W. Ross: Archive.org. Untitled. George W. Ross. *Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises*. (Toronto: Warwick & Rutter, 1893). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/patrioticrecita00ross>

Carroll Ryan: Alonzo Ryan. Untitled. Carroll Ryan, *Poems, Songs, Ballads* (Montreal: Lovell & Sons, 1903). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/poemssongsballad00ryanuoft/page/n3/mode/2up>

Joseph M. Scriven: porthopehistory.com. "Joseph Medlicott Scriven." Accessed Jan. 2021. <http://porthopehistory.com/jmscriven/>

Thomas S. Sproule: Parliament of Canada. "The Hon. Thomas Simpson Sproule, M.P., Senator." *Parliamentarians*. Accessed Jan. 2021. https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=5656

William F.P. Stockley: Aloys Fleischman. "Prof. W.F.P. Stockley." *The Fleishcman Diaries*, University College Cork. Accessed Jan. 2021. <http://fleischmandiaries.ucc.ie/portfolio/3971/>

Nathaniel Clarke Wallace: Canada, Parliament. "Hon N.C. Wallace." *Personnel of the Senate and House of Commons, Eighth Parliament of Canada, Elected June 23, 1896*. (Montreal: Lovell, 1898). Accessed Jan. 2021. <https://archive.org/details/personnelofsenat00montuoft/page/n205/mode/2up>

Introduction

‘Shortly after Lord Aberdeen's return to England when he had ceased to be Viceroy of Canada, a well-known Conservative member asked his Lordship to give his impressions of the two countries, Ireland and Canada, of which he had acted as Viceroy. His Excellency neatly summed up the situation by saying that in Canada all the people he met, official and others, always spoke of the Canadians as "we" whereas almost all the people he came officially in contact with in Ireland spoke of the Irish as "they." It would be hardly possible to more neatly summarise the different habit of mind of the Canadian and Irish official class.’

- From “*By the Way*” *Freemans Journal*, May 4, 1907, 14.

“Canada gives us a feeling of encouragement at the present time in the task we have in hand in regard to Ireland. We see that in Canada there have been many, if not indeed all, the difficulties which exist in Ireland; great differences of religion, race and language, differences of history and party groupings, even differences which have led to bloodshed. It would be affectation to suppose that all these differences have been swept away, but in the Canadian Constitution, they have been reduced to proportions which no longer threaten the integrity of Canada as a nation, or give a cause for the slightest anxiety to the Motherland.”

- From “*Canada Model for the Irish: Churchill Draws Comparison Between Problems of Both Countries*” *Toronto Globe*, October 27, 1921, 2.

Lord Aberdeen, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had been Governor-General of Canada between 1893 and 1898. His comment about how government officials spoke about the Irish in Ireland compared to how government officials spoke about Canadians in Canada, underlines the fact that the word *Irish* has had a long history as a “they” word in the English language. Dictionary definitions of the word show that at various times in English history it meant contradictory, paradoxical, and even deceitful. By the beginning of the nineteenth century in the United States and the various colonies of the British Empire, *Irish* also became a euphemism for temper, and passion.¹ The attempt therefore to make this English word *Irish* a “we” word in anglophone textual discourse, ran up against a long history of othering definitions. These attempts at textual sovereignty over this English word *Irish* became especially widespread in the second half of the nineteenth century as the vast majority of the

¹ "Irish, adj. (and adv.) and n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/99473. Accessed 4 August 2019.

Irish, both in Ireland and overseas, became an overwhelming literate anglophone population. At the same time, it was hoped by some politicians both in Britain and throughout the Empire, that now that the vast majority of the Irish were suitably educated, some kind of political sovereignty based on British constitutional norms could be devolved to Ireland. Speaking to the Canadian Club in London in October 1921, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies Winston Churchill, believed, like many of his fellow British and Canadian Liberals, that Canada and its political history provided the best roadmap of how the British government should approach the question of political devolution in Ireland. A Home Rule solution for Ireland based on the Canadian model of confederation had been a recurring feature of British imperial politics in the half century between the early 1870s and the early 1920s. In the original address of the Home Government Association to the People of Ireland in 1870, it was proclaimed that the union of two nations should not discount each nation having a parliament to run its own internal affairs, “The example of the Canadian Dominion is sufficient to establish that there is no inconsistency between a union of two countries in one parliament, and the preservation of local self-government for each.”² The traditional narrative is that Home Rule didn’t succeed due to the Easter Rising and the subsequent rise of a new generation of Irish nationalists who were more interested in forming a republic. Home Rule had failed and instead Ireland ended up with the Anglo-Irish Treaty which stated:

Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.³

It seems that after half a century of debate over how Ireland should be governed, the

² “Address of the Home Government Association to the People of Ireland” *The Nation*, September 17, 1870, 9.

³ “Final Text of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland.” *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy*, 1921, <https://www.difp.ie/docs/1921/Anglo-Irish-Treaty/214.htm>. Accessed July 28, 2020.

Canadian model ended up the preferred choice after all. Was there really any other alternative? In many historical studies of the Irish Home Rule movement, Canada is often recognized as *a* model of sovereignty that Ireland could look to, implying that it was one among many. However, British reticence over what they would cede to an Irish parliament meant that in the half century or so between Canadian Confederation and the Anglo-Irish Treaty, some sort of Canadian model was the only serious and practical way for the British to imagine any kind of Irish sovereignty.⁴ From Liberal leader William Gladstone who used the British North America Act of 1867 as a model for his first Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886, to Winston Churchill who believed that the “Canadian Constitution” should act as a model for Ireland in the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations, British Liberals were consistent supporters of a Home Rule solution for Ireland during this period. Both British and Canadian Liberals periodically cited recent Canadian history from the time of the Patriote Rebellions onward as a parallel to Irish events, and which could act as a template for resolving Irish political grievances.

This thesis seeks to investigate the construction of Irishness within Canadian political and literary discourse during this period when Canada was regarded as the preferred model for Ireland’s political future. How others see us can have a direct effect on our own self-creation,⁵ and while the English have played a dominant role in situating an Irish identity as something different from English norms, the Irish diaspora have also played a prominent role in creating the idea of Ireland and Irishness in general.⁶ Although members of the diaspora sought new lives in almost every continent, the vast majority of them ended up in the countries of what today we call the Anglosphere (which includes Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia,

⁴ Historian Jason Knirck noted that even though the Anglo-Irish Treaty debates were overwhelmingly peopled by republicans, references to the United States in the debates were few and far between. Most of the focus in the debates were on the relations between Britain and the Dominions, especially Canada. See Jason K. Knirck, “The Dominion of Ireland: The Anglo-Irish Treaty in an Imperial Context.” *Éire-Ireland*, 42.1 (Spring/Summer 2007): 246.

⁵ Maureen Whitebrook, *Identity, Narrative, and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2001), 41.

⁶ Thomas M. Wilson and Donnan Hastings, *The Anthropology of Ireland*. (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2006), 1.

New Zealand, and English-speaking South Africa), where Irish people continued to confront the legacy of Irish depictions in the English language. This thesis intends to follow the methodology of Joep Leerssen's work on pre-twentieth century Irish-English relations by investigating how Irishness was constructed within the realms of the Irish diaspora and the British Empire. It seeks to understand how various Irish-Canadian intellectual, political, and religious figures in the period between Canadian Confederation and Irish independence attempted to situate their Irish identities within an anglophone modernity, attempts that sought to create a narrative of endurance out of the Irish past, while at the same time trying to transcend the negative legacies of that same past.

Methodology

In his study of the history of Irish identity in European textual discourse, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* Joep Leerssen sought to understand how the categories of *Ireland* and *England* were constructed in opposition to each other over many centuries of encounter. The notion of the “foreign” and the “familiar” were important binaries by which to situate one's neighbour; so that the foreign became recognizably, and familiarly, foreign. Leerssen has shown that European writing culture, whether in Latin or in English, had never been very friendly to the Irish before the second half of the eighteenth century. English language descriptions of the Irish for example, continually focused on those aspects of behaviour which were considered excessive in comparison to English norms. Leerssen has shown that English writers focused on that which was most different from England as an observation worth recording, such that what was most striking and peculiar about the Irish became, in the materiality of the written archive, what was most typical and representative.⁷

⁷ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 55.

The written archive became not only a record of reality but also one of the most direct ways of bearing witness to Irish history. Since the time of the Renaissance, European dynasties had understood the power of the written language to be both a “witness of time” and a medium through which to immortalize the state.⁸ In much of the English language writing about Ireland, the medium of writing itself acted as a technology of rationality and objectivity, one that tried to bring pedantic understatement and a discriminating order to the supposed spontaneous and impulsive world that surrounded the writer. Leerssen shows many examples of such pedantic characterizations as the English observer sought to describe the conversational world of Irish people, always highlighting what was believed to be its exaggerated or embellished character. In one example from the late sixteenth century, the English traveller Fynes Moryson describes Irish complaints to the local magistrates:

And they complaynts to magistrates are commonly strayned to the highest points of Calamity, someteyes in hyperbolically tearmes, as many upon small violences offered them, have Petitioned the lord Deputy for Justice against men for murthering them while they stood before him sounde and not so much as wounded.⁹

Such derisive characterizations of Irish orality are a constant feature of English language depictions of Irish culture before the twentieth century. Complaints of “small violences” which the victims describe as “murthering them” are supposed to show how Irish orality infuses, what to English eyes are incidental and seemingly trivial aspects of events, with high drama.

For Michel Foucault, investigators are partially responsible for creating the objects they study¹⁰, and certainly Irish nationalists of all stripes have spent much time and effort refuting and challenging much of the historical accounts of the Irish written by English observers and politicians. For Geoffrey Keating, the Old English Catholic author of Irish nationalism’s first

⁸ Alan Patten, “The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism.” *History of Political Thought*, 27.2 (Summer 2006): 251-252.

⁹ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 53.

¹⁰ Peter Burke, “Cultural History,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, eds. Tony Bennett and John Frow (London: SAGE Publications, 2008), 116.

national history, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, written in 1634, the historical accounts of Ireland in Latin and English language texts became what Leerssen calls “negative source material” for the writing of Keating’s own pro-Irish history.¹¹ Keating’s work sought to challenge traditional stereotypes of the Irish by focusing on their great genealogical heritage, their celebrated history in learning and in battle, and their devotion to the Catholic faith. Keating was writing against the assumptions of an English religious and political culture that believed in its own idea of the elect. Scholars have shown that since the time of the Tudor monarchs, a myth grew in England of its religious “chosenness”, which defined Englishness in opposition to the Catholic powers of Europe, especially Spain and France.¹² In the seventeenth century this myth extended to a belief in a pure Anglo-Saxon church and Anglo-Saxon democracy that existed prior to the imposition of the “Norman yoke” in the eleventh century. Historian Linda Colley has shown that over the course of the eighteenth-century a sense of a shared Britishness between the English, the Scottish, and the Welsh was developed in war with France. Protestants in Britain defined themselves as a struggling power fighting against “the world’s foremost Catholic power.”¹³ France was important then in defining a British collective self, and in the heat of an intense francophobia which developed in England from 1740s onward, there was a strong push for the cultivation of an indigenous culture, one that expressed an ideal age of Saxon glory.¹⁴ However, this intense francophobia, along with the defeat of the Jacobite cause in the 1740s would lead to a change in English perceptions of the Irish over the course of the latter half of the eighteenth century. By that time much of the Catholic middle and upper classes no longer supported the exiled Stuarts, and many of them now gave allegiance to the Hanoverian

¹¹ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 275.

¹² Rebecca Langlands, “Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.1 (January 1999): 58.

¹³ Linda Colley. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992), 6.

¹⁴ Rebecca Langlands, “Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.1 (January 1999): 58-59.

monarchy. And while Catholics had been barred from serving in the British army due to the Penal Laws, the Seven Years War would see surreptitious recruitment of Scottish and Irish Catholics for the war in North America.¹⁵ The victory of the British in Canada would have a marked effect on English and Irish relations and the subsequent development of a British national identity. Following the Coronation of George the Third in 1760, the first King with Tory sympathies, a sustained run of positive depictions of the Irish developed.¹⁶ Leerssen has shown that from 1759 onwards several plays appeared on the London stage which contrasted the uncivilized but harmless Irishman with the overcivilized and devious Frenchman. In plays such as George Cocking's *The Conquest of Canada* (1773), the stage Irishman is shown as the loyal subject who despises the French as much as the Englishman. The lampooning of the Irish was supplanted on stage by a new sense of Irish loyalty, a loyalty that was situated "proportionate to English-French enmity."¹⁷ In the aftermath of the victory over the French in the Seven Years war, even the Irish could become part of the British club.

The English language then is not exactly a neutral medium through which to study the people of Ireland or their descendants, because the history of the use of English in Ireland is so much tied up with colonial power. In the final chapter of a recent collection of essays examining the notion of Irish difference, Michael G. Cronin poses a question, "What does it mean to ask are the Irish different?"¹⁸ Cronin notes that it is impossible to ask this question without implying that there is some sort of norm against which the Irish can be differentiated. Although the word *Irish* has Gaelic origins (from the old Irish *Ériu*), since the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland this English word *Irish* has largely been used to describe people who are

¹⁵ Thomas Bartlett, "The Emergence of the Irish Catholic Nation 1750-1850," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 519.

¹⁶ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 332.

¹⁷ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 118.

¹⁸ Michael G. Cronin, "Irish Studies between the Past and the Future" in *Are the Irish Different*, ed. Tom Inglis, (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2014), 244.

not English. Notions of Irish difference then were already inscribed in the historical propagation of the English language in Ireland. The attempt of Irish political and cultural nationalists to claim sovereignty over this English word *Irish* would reach its fulfilment with the foundation of the Irish state, allowing the Dublin government of the day to control the attribution of an Irish political identity to individuals, as well as providing an “authoritative” account of Irish national history.

However, in looking at the history of the Irish diaspora, its shifts and shapes very often do not chime with the grand narrative history of the Irish nation-state. For many Irish immigrants to Britain for example, Catholicism, working-classness and voting for the Liberals and Labour were of stronger identification than Irish nationalism.¹⁹ In much of the Irish-New Zealand correspondence studied by Angela McCarthy, Protestants were more likely than Catholics to voice something of their Irishness or Irish identity.²⁰ It is also now widely accepted that many Irish Catholics were active participants in the British Empire as soldiers, administrators, clergy and settlers. Irish-Canadian historians have continuously highlighted the diversity of Irish identities, especially in political and economic terms, questioning any idea of Irish identity as a homogenizing force.²¹ Patrick Mannion in his study of the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine has highlighted that while individuals could assert their Irish identity in response to political events both at home and abroad, most of the time for most people it was something that could just fade into the background.²² Mannion reminds us that the salience of Irish identity was different for each individual, and that while some may

¹⁹ Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 61.

²⁰ Angela McCarthy, Angela. *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840–1937: 'The Desired Haven'* (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 263.

²¹ Perhaps the most radical questioning of the uniformity of Irish identity is given by Irish-Canadian historian David A. Wilson who states that ‘Almost every sentence beginning with the words “the Irish people” is a lie.’ David A. Wilson, “Comment: Whiteness and Irish Experience in North America,” *Journal of British Studies* 44.1 (January 2005): 155.

²² Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 234.

only have thought about their Irishness on St. Patrick's Day once a year, for others it may have been a central aspect of their sense of self.²³ Mark McGowan described the situational identities of Irish-Canadian Catholics as a people who became nimble at wearing different hats for different situations, including fighting the First World War to defend the Empire, while also advocating Canadian Home Rule for Ireland.²⁴ Simon Jolivet has underscored the fluidity and flexibility of the social experiences of individual Irish-Quebecers and how they negotiated their allegiances in an Irish, Québec, Canadian, and North American context.²⁵ All of these examples prove the conclusion of cultural theorist Stuart Hall, that identities are not essences "but a positioning."²⁶

In looking at Irish-Canadian intellectual culture between Canadian Confederation and the foundation of the Irish state, there was very little uniformity of ideas with respect to Ireland, Canada, and the British Empire. Some Irish Catholics thought of themselves as loyal Canadians sympathetic to the Fenian cause, others as loyal Canadians who swore to fight that same Fenian cause. Some Irish Protestants felt part of an Anglo-Saxon Protestant civilization that sought to resist the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, while other Irish Protestants retained a great respect for individual clergy of the Canadian Church. There were the Irish-Canadian politicians who supported an active role for Canada within the British Empire, while there were others who believed that Canada should focus more on its own economic self-development. Then there were the members of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy who were regular occupants of the role Canadian governor-general, at the same time as many poverty-stricken Irish people sought food and refuge among the religious societies of Canada's cities. They were the Irish-Canadian

²³ Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 237-238.

²⁴ Mark George McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 19.

²⁵ Simon Jolivet. *Le Vert et le Bleu : Identité Québécoise et Identité Irlandaise au Tournant du XXe Siècle* (Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2011), 25.

²⁶ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 394-95.

priests educated at the University of Ottawa who lauded the Irish language revival in Ireland while at the same time insisting on the use of English in favour of French among their Catholic schoolchildren. There were the Canadian-born writers and poets who wrote extensively about Ireland and the Irish, and then there were the Irish-born writers and poets in Canada who never wrote about Ireland or the Irish. There were the Irish who joined local, national and international Irish social and cultural groups building careers in politics and letters, and then there were the many immigrants and second-generation Irish Canadians who may only have thought about their Irishness when they had to answer a census question.

In all these cases, whether the category was religion, class, politics, language or ethnicity, the term *Irish* has no defined continuity or coherence apart from some awareness (or unawareness as the case may be), of a connection with the land of Ireland and its people. A better way of trying to understand the term *Irish* as a category of identity is to investigate the motivations for ascribing or inhabiting such a term. What were some of the reasons for wanting to incorporate the positive terms associated with an Irish identity, and what were the reasons for rejecting other associations. How did Irish-Canadians come to view Canada through the cultural assumptions of an Irish lens, and how did they perceive Ireland through a Canadian political lens. In all these situations, it will be important to understand what the term *Irish* gives coherence and stability to, and what are some of the contingences and instabilities that escape its cover.

This research looks at the various writings of poets, journalists, teachers, students, politicians, cultural activists, and emigration agents to understand how Irishness was constructed through an idea of history, of place, and through identifying with others, and contra others. This will involve an analysis of various textual sources such as parliamentary debates, nationalist journals, university magazines, St. Patrick's Day speeches, poems, newspaper articles, diaries, religious pamphlets, and contemporary monographs and folklore studies of the

time. This is a study then of prominent, mostly middle-class men in the period between Canadian Confederation and the end of the Irish Civil War. Many of these figures were prime examples of the what the sociologist Rogers Brubaker would call an “ethnopolitical entrepreneur”; due to the nature of their careers as poets, journalists, politicians, and educators they tended to see the *event* of nation and nationality everywhere at work. If communication is community, then the sharing of common meanings and interpretations across a wide geographic space shows how literate anglophones at the turn of the twentieth century dwelled in a web of familiar representations about the world beyond their own personal experience. Most of these writings and publications are representations which are largely the product of information flows between major urban communication centres, such as Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Dublin, Belfast, London, and New York.

Thesis Outline

This thesis will look at three central variables in relation to describing and defining Irish nationality, i.e. history, geography, and identity. These variables are derived from the work of the historian of nationalism Umut Özkirimli, who, in his book *Theories of Nationalism*, outlines three basic interrelated claims about the discourse of nationality: temporal claims which advocate for the historical reality of the nation and its endurance through time; spatial claims which assumes a direct relationship between the nation and its natural and built environment; and finally, identity claims which emphasize distinctive characteristics that distinguish the members of one nationality from members of other nationalities.²⁷ This focus on time, space, and social relations with others, is not an original insight of Özkirimli. Benedict Anderson in his 1991 update to his famous work on nationalism *Imagined Communities*, includes an extra chapter entitled ‘Census, Map, Museum’ which outlines how national and imperial

²⁷ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 208-209.

governments sought to impose a classificatory grid on a particular region's history, geography, and people in order to make them "bounded, determinate, and therefore – in principle – countable."²⁸ Similarly the geographer Edward Soja in his 1989 work *Postmodern Geographies* developed his own brand of critical theory, one that recognized how "a triple dialectics of space, time, and social being" allowed theorists to understand how historical forces are intertwined with the production of space and human geographies.²⁹ Özkirimli, Anderson, and Soja all remark on how time, territory, and identity aid in situating the individual self in the world.

On their own, these theories would be a useful way to understand how Irish history, Irish geography, and Irish identity were conceived of and articulated by Irish-Canadians during this period. But the important confluence of this tripartite way of understanding the world was not just a product of modern theorists.³⁰ The period of history my research focuses on is post-Confederation Canada because the British North America act of 1867 became one of the single most important influences on the Irish Home Rule movement. The Canadian interpretation of Home Rule became the enduring and contentious model for how Irish sovereignty was conceived of throughout this period. It was hoped that Irish history could finally be reconciled with the British Empire through the successful example of the Canadian system. Similarly, it was also hoped that a system of peasant proprietorship would eventually prevail in Ireland, and that a distinctive Irish identity could be acknowledged and maintained, and that would not be antagonistic to British imperial feeling. As the future mayor of Toronto, Oliver A. Howland wrote in 1887 in his book *The Irish Problem*, "There is a practical or agrarian problem, there

²⁸ Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Rev ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006), 184.

²⁹ Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London; New York: Verso, 1989), 12.

³⁰ In the preface to his book *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* published in 1863, the famous French historian Hippolyte Taine declared that the three determinants of national identity were race, milieu, and moment. H. Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette 1863), XXII.

is the question of political or constitutional reform, and there is a sentimental question.”³¹ The agrarian problem (territory), constitutional reform (history), and the sentimental question (identity). Or the words of senator George McHugh from Ontario, who at a reception for the Irish Parliamentary Party MP Joseph Devlin in Toronto in 1902 moved that “our earnest sympathy and material support to the long-sustained struggle for Irish self-government, peasant proprietorship of the land, promotion of the industries and preservation of the ancient language of Ireland.”³² Here we can identify “the long-sustained struggle for Irish self-government” (history), peasant proprietorship (territory), and preservation of the Irish language (identity). Or an article in the Irish language journal *An Claidheamh Soluis* from December 1913 which reminded “Gaels” of the holy trinity of land, language, and nationality, “He [*the Gael*] cannot as much as think of a fight for nationality apart from a fight for the language, and for the land. To him the three are indivisible.”³³ The long fight for nationality (history), the land (territory), and the language (identity). Studying the nationalist discourse surrounding the Land War in Ireland between 1879 and 1882, author Anne Kane has described three interlocking elements to Irish nationalist identity, “land symbol of life to the Irish people, and of Ireland as a nation; England, oppressor of everything Irish; and Ireland’s rights to self-government.”³⁴ Here again we can pinpoint territory, identity difference, and historical claims to sovereignty. Clearly politicians and thinkers at the time were aware that this tripartite of national categorizations was at the centre of resolving the “problem” of Ireland.

This tripartite understanding of nationalism provides the co-ordinates of this thesis as outlined in the title, “Post-Confederation Irish-Canada.”³⁵ But it will also be necessary to

³¹ Oliver A. Howland, *The Irish Problem* (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 20.

³² “Canadian Interest in Ireland’s Affair” *Toronto Globe*, December 2, 1902, 1.

³³ “The Irish Psychology” *An Claidheamh Soluis*. December 20, 1913, 6.

³⁴ Anne Kane, “Narratives of Nationalism: Constructing Irish National Identity during the Land War, 1879-82.” *National Identities*, 2.3 (Nov 2000): 258.

³⁵ While it is recognized that “Irish-Canada” like “French-Canada” is not an actual place, it is assumed here that “Irish-Canada” stands for all those spaces in Canada, whether universities, political establishments, social events, books or newspapers, where Irish identities and ideas about Ireland were encountered or expressed.

situate this study within a number of historical contexts in order to better understand the cultural discourse in which many of these writers and speakers were engaged. These contexts are political, economic, and technological: they include the international context in which discourses about Canada and Ireland took place; as well as the historical context in which English linguistic and cultural norms were established.

Situating the Time: Post-Confederation

It was a desire to “Canadianize” the British Empire, to allow for more local sovereignty among its individual parts that lay behind the Canadian Liberals’ enthusiasm for Home Rule for Ireland.³⁶ Liberal party members maintained that increased devolution and the widening of the franchise were part of the spirit of the age and that it was “useless to argue at this stage of history” against the advancement of such ideas.³⁷ Support for Irish Home Rule was practically Canadian Liberal party policy. This was no accident, as historian Matthew Kelly has highlighted, the most important British Liberal politician of this era, William Gladstone, “had come to see the British connection as Irish nationalists did.”³⁸ Gladstone and his British Liberals, just like Laurier and his Canadian Liberals, believed that Home Rule for Ireland

³⁶ Canada was not only the model for Irish Home Rule during this period but was also the model for the prospective reformation of the entire British Empire. The success of Canadian Confederation led to the development of the Imperial Federation movement. It was believed that if Canada could create a federal system uniting different ethnic and religious groups over a large geographic area, then why not federate the whole empire itself? Some imperialists were willing to sanction Home Rule for Ireland if some form of Imperial Federation was established also. However, opponents of Imperial Federation pointed to the mystical superstitions of the people of India and the feudal superstitions of Irish priests as contrary to ideas of imperial progress. See Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 174.

³⁷ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1136. In the second Irish Home Rule debate in the Canadian House of Commons Liberal Richard Cartwright attacked John A. Macdonald claiming that the prime minister was not in favour of Home Rule for Ireland because as a Conservative he was never in favour of local government to begin with, not even for Canada. Macdonald’s biographer Donald Creighton observed that Macdonald had a very centralized vision for future of the Canadian nation-state, believing that Ottawa should have the same relationship to the provinces as London did to its colonies. Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1952; 1998) 403.

³⁸ Matthew Kelly, “Home Rule and its Enemies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 588.

would simply mean the devolution of British liberal ideals among the Irish populace.³⁹ Irish Home Rule politicians such as Justin McCarthy and John Redmond consistently used Canadian constitutional history as an example of how Ireland could resolve religious and political differences in Canada.⁴⁰ The Liberal *Toronto Globe* took an unapologetic pro-Home Rule stance, often in opposition to many of the citizens of Toronto. The long-reigning premier of Ontario Oliver Mowat could not understand why Ireland should not have provincial Home Rule like a Canadian province.⁴¹ Another future Liberal premier of Ontario George William Ross stated in 1897 that he could not understand how any Canadian enjoying the blessings of self-government, especially any Canadian believer in the “new imperialism” could not be a sympathizer to Irish Home Rule.⁴² Sitting prime minister Wilfred Laurier supported John Costigan’s second Home Rule Resolutions put before the Canadian Parliament in 1903 as did the Tory MP Robert Borden. The sitting Solicitor-General of Canada shared the platform with John Redmond at a Home Rule rally in Montreal in 1904.⁴³ In 1906 the Canadian prime minister stated openly that he was a Home Ruler and that he did not know any true Canadian who was not.⁴⁴

I use these examples to show how mainstream support for constitutional Irish nationalism was in Canada during this period. There have been studies done on the Irish in Canada over previous years which seek to show that Irish nationalism in Canada was more of a clandestine affair with marginal support among Canadians.⁴⁵ In the 2009 book *Irish*

³⁹ Matthew Kelly, “Home Rule and its Enemies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 588.

⁴⁰ Michael Davitt even cited the Canadian rebellions of 1837-38 as justification for the use of physical force to resolve grievances. ‘The Wrongs of Ireland: Michael Davitt Addresses Nearly 4,000 People.’ *Toronto Globe*, November 22, 1886, 5.

⁴¹ ‘Henry Norman’s Letters: Home Rule in The Light of Canadian Experience’ *Toronto Globe*, December 13, 1887, 4.

⁴² “The Irish Race Convention. Anniversary Dinner in Canada,” *Freeman’s Journal*, October 18, 1897, 5.

⁴³ “The American Mission. Remarkable Meeting in Montreal.” *Fermanagh Herald*, October 8, 1904, 6.

⁴⁴ ‘T.P. O’Conner’s Visit to Canada,’ *The Catholic Record*, October 20, 1906, 5.

⁴⁵ Support in Canada for Irish Home Rule was not just a product of Irish ethnic affiliation. Many prominent Canadian Liberal politicians proclaimed their loyalty to British political traditions as a way of critiquing the

Nationalism in Canada for instance there is no mention of the fact that a sitting Canadian prime minister was an open and vocal supporter of Home Rule for Ireland.⁴⁶ The Home Government Association began life in Ireland as a group of gentlemen MPs who hoped to reconcile Irish sovereignty with the maintenance of the British Empire, a loyalist answer to Fenian separatism or O’Connellite Repeal.⁴⁷ In Canada, this remained the ideal of Home Rule that most politicians had in mind and the higher up the political ladder one went in Canada, the greater the support for this vision of Home Rule. There was no sense as the later post-1916 revolutionaries put it, of governing Ireland according to “Irish ideals”. By the time of the 1916 Rising most Canadians in the press and among the political class were more than conscious of the difference between nationalists and republicans. The rise of Sinn Féin had simply confirmed the loyalism of Home Rulers, “If any proof were needed, the unfortunate uprising has proved that the Nationalists are loyal.”⁴⁸

Situating the Territory: Canada

The first resolutions passed in the Canadian House of Commons in favour of local government for Ireland in 1882, were part of a public relations campaign to attract more Irish emigrants to Canada. Canada needed people to settle the Northwest, that part of the country that would eventually become the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.⁴⁹

Empire. Independent Liberal Henri Bourassa tried to argue, like the American colonists of the eighteenth century that a British Empire was a contradiction in terms. For Bourassa all that was good about British ideals, including progress, human liberty, and independent self-government, were undermined by maintaining an Empire. He proclaimed that citizens of the British nations would have to choose between British ideals and British domination, and that he stood against domination in the name of British liberty. A younger William Lyon Mackenzie King also believed that imperialism was anti-British. In a letter to Wilfred Laurier in 1913 King stated that the essence of British institutions was local autonomy and that any form of imperialist centralization in London was essentially anti-British. Like many of his contemporaries King believed in defending the Empire, while at the same time calling it a day on the promotion of imperialism. See Graeme Thompson, “Reframing Canada’s Great War: Liberalism, sovereignty, and the British Empire c. 1860s–1919.” *International Journal*, 73.1 (March 2018): 85-110.

⁴⁶ See David A. Wilson, ed., *Irish Nationalism in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

⁴⁷ Matthew Kelly, “Home Rule and its Enemies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 582-583.

⁴⁸ “Current Events.” *Educational Review*, 29.12 (May 1916): 268.

⁴⁹ Manitoba was officially established as a (much smaller) province in 1870, before the establishment of its current boundaries in 1912. Saskatchewan and Alberta were established as provinces in 1905.

The Canadian government stationed emigration agents all over the United Kingdom during this period, looking to attract suitable candidates to help populate the western part of the country. Canada it was believed offered everything that many people in Ireland were searching for; Home Rule government where the Irish could play a prominent role, land ownership for all those willing to work the land, and in Ontario and Québec at least, separate Catholic schooling where children could be educated in their parents' faith. The kind of emigrants that Canadian agents were looking for were ones that would exercise Victorian values of self-reliance, self-discipline, and self-improvement. In Canada, the pioneer farmer who cleared the land became something of a national archetype in politics and literature. As Canadian historian Allan Smith explained "He was, claimed his literary friends, in the fullest sense his own master, free of all constraint and interference, quite literally able to shape his world as he wished, the heir to an abundant and fulfilling future."⁵⁰ There was also a hope that emigration would undermine political opposition by the promise of material gain in the New World.⁵¹ In speaking out against the first Home Rule bill in 1886, British Conservative Party leader Lord Salisbury stated that it would better for Ireland to get some strong and resolute government from Westminster and cheaper to resettle a million Irish people in the Canadian Northwest than it would be to buy out the landlords of Ireland.⁵² Freeing the discontented Irishman and his family from the Irish landscape would also help to free him from the bitterness of the past.⁵³

The success of the Irish in Canada in comparison to their compatriots in the United States has been a major motif of Irish-Canadian historiography. Donald Akenson has

⁵⁰ Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850–1914." *Canadian Historical Review*, 59.2 (June 1978): 192.

⁵¹ Helen O'Connell, "Improved English: And the Silence of Irish." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30.1 (Spring, 2004): 13

⁵² The then Chief Secretary for Ireland John Morley described Salisbury's speech as the "manacles and Manitoba speech." Matthew Kelly, "Home Rule and its Enemies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 591. Morley's words left a bitter taste in the mouths of Irish nationalists who began to refer to Western Canada as "British Siberia."

⁵³ As the *Toronto Globe* remarked in the aftermath of the Easter Rising 'In the United States the Irish immigrant has no correcting influence. He lives in the past when he thinks of Ireland. Not so his compatriot in Canada.' "The Loyalty of Canadian Irishmen" *Toronto Globe*, May 6, 1916, 6.

underscored how the Irish in Canada were generally not a poor underclass but in fact were one of the founding peoples of the country and the dominant anglophone group in the country before the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ This success was even recognised at the time by Dublin's pro-unionist *Irish Times*, "The Irishman in Canada is more successful than in any other country in the world. Nowhere have they made more nobler progress. There they are the pith of the population and the salt of its political and social circumstances."⁵⁵ In their comprehensive study of Irish immigration to Canada, Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth showed that significant Irish immigration to Canada began before the Famine and that between 1815 and 1845 British North America was the number one destination for emigrants from Ireland. Those that left Ireland during this period were mostly Protestant and were usually to be found from among the better off farming classes looking for a new life in the New World.⁵⁶ Houston and Smyth highlighted that Irish Protestants had a greater history of mobility than their Catholic counterparts before the Famine, the movement of Protestants from Britain to Ireland in the early seventeenth century was followed by the beginning of transatlantic mobility at the end of that same century.⁵⁷ Irish Catholics who arrived during and after the Famine were more likely to augment the population of the cities such as Saint John, Montreal, and Toronto.⁵⁸ The Famine would witness the end of large-scale emigration to Canada from Ireland (especially Catholic emigration) and by the 1860s immigration from Ireland to Canada had returned to its pre-Famine form with mostly Protestants rather than Catholics arriving. Would Irish history finally meet closure on the Canadian frontier? Studies of the Irish in nineteenth century rural

⁵⁴ See Donald Harman Akenson. *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); and *Small Differences* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

⁵⁵ Editorial, *Irish Times*, July 2, 1891, 4.

⁵⁶ Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth. *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 21.

⁵⁷ Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth. *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 45-46.

⁵⁸ Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth. *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 73.

Ontario at least, would seem to suggest so.⁵⁹

Situating the Identity: Irish

Ethnic identities in Canada before the turn of the twentieth century were largely based on the different nationalities of the United Kingdom (English, Scottish, Irish) as well as the descendants of the francophone populations that existed at the time of the British conquest (Canadiens, Acadians). The lack of a unified sense of nationality among the Canadian peoples proved to be a recurring irritation among some politicians, and each time the national census came up for debate in the period before the First World War, complaints were made that continuously identifying the “Origins” of the Canadian population as French, Irish, Scottish, and English, undermined any prospect of creating a unified national identity.⁶⁰ But by the turn of the twentieth century, after the shared experience of the Boer War, the rhetoric of British imperialism looked suspiciously similar to that of ethnic nationalism. Historian Douglas Cole has shown that although Canadian and Australian patriotism during this period was largely based around the novelty of Canada’s and Australia’s political institutions, the ethnic identity of Australia and anglophone Canada was unapologetically British “in its appeals to anthropology, linguistics, and a messianic view of British civilization.”⁶¹ Imperialism “simply meant wider nationalism”, and the proponents of the Imperial Federation movement believed that imperial unity simply meant national unity, the national union of the British peoples of

⁵⁹ “By becoming in some ways, more Irish in Canada than they had been in the homeland, Irish Protestants found common ground on new shores with their Catholic countrymen.” Brenda Hooper-Goranson, *“No earthly distinctions”: Irishness and identity in nineteenth century Ontario, 1823–1900*, (Doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 2011), 386.

⁶⁰ In the debates over the planning of the 1901 census, Ontarian Liberal Sir Richard Cartwright hoped that one day there would be no more French, English, Irish, or Scottish in Canada, but only Canadians. Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, February 6, 1900 133; Québec Tory Joseph-Gédéon-Horace Bergeron did not understand why people had to call themselves French-Canadian, Irish-Canadian, or Scottish-Canadian, why not just Canadians? Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, February 20, 1900 706.

⁶¹ Douglas Cole, “The Problem of “Nationalism” and “Imperialism” in British Settlement Colonies.” *Journal of British Studies*, 10.2 (May 1971): 176.

England, Scotland, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere.⁶² British imperialists tended not to see their own political identity as nationalist and often derided what they believed were the petty and small-minded nationalisms of the Irish, the French-Canadians, and the Afrikaners which they regarded as all equally regressive.⁶³

Pride in being Irish for example was difficult to fathom, even for many Irish people themselves. In many St. Patrick's Day speeches in Canada given in the later half of the nineteenth century by prominent civic leaders, they speak of the pride they feel in being Irish as something emotional, psychological, and sometimes inexplicable. Although history may be written by the winners, in the Irish case, history could also be sung and instrumentalized by the losers, and numerous speakers stressed the role of music in provoking involuntary and incomprehensible emotions in the body of the listener, "An Irishman's blood courses more quickly through his veins as the strains of the national airs break on his ear, and when the glories of his native land are sung his heart rises and swells, and emotions come unbidden which he can scarce command and for which he can scarce fully account."⁶⁴ Even in the aftermath of Confederation the notion of "nationality" was still something novel in anglophone Canadian circles. *The Canadian Spectator* was bemused by the Irish claim to nationhood, claiming that the word *nationality* was peculiar and that nobody really knew what it meant.⁶⁵ While the concept may have been vague, the *Spectator* knew that the Irish were marked out by their "undying love of country."⁶⁶ Canadian intellectual figures such as George Monro Grant were bewildered if not impressed by this intense national pride projected by even the lowliest

⁶² A. Gordon Dewey, *The Dominions and Diplomacy: The Canadian Contribution*. Volume 1 (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929) 13-14.

⁶³ Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester UK: Manchester University, 2006), 17. However, some Canadian intellectual figures such as the educationalist George Monro Grant believed that national unity did not depend on uniformity of language and identity, and that cultural differences should be transcended through common political objectives and sentiments. Graeme Thompson, "Reframing Canada's Great War: Liberalism, Sovereignty, and the British Empire c. 1860s-1919." *International Journal*, 73.1 (March 2018): 105.

⁶⁴: "St. Patrick's Day Banquet." *University of Ottawa Review*, 2.7 (March 1900): 428.

⁶⁵ "Ireland" *The Canadian Spectator*, September 20, 1879, 930.

⁶⁶ "In Memoriam - 1879" *The Canadian Spectator*, January 3, 1880, 4.

of Irish workers, “I have heard that true and ennobling sentiment many a time in the low-turned prayer ‘God Save Ireland,’ uttered by servant girls and ragged ditchers and delvers not worth sixpence.” Grant went on to wonder why Canadians did not have a similar sense of patriotism, one that pervaded all classes of society.⁶⁷ In constructing a new country Canadians could learn what it was to be proud of one’s nationality from the Irish, and this “transmitted passion” could flow from one to the other. In London Ontario’s *Catholic Record*, it was proclaimed that the Irishman or son of an Irishman who did not love Ireland, its history, its people and its traditions, would be incapable of loving Canada.⁶⁸ Ottawa civil servant William Pittman Lett said that it was important for Irish-Canadians to love the land of their birth for it was the only way they would be able to love the land of their adoption, “No more ennobling impulse will ever thrill in the great throbbing, expanding heart of this young and aspiring nation than that which gathers energy and inspiration from the enthusiastic spirit of the Irish Race.”⁶⁹ For writer and journalist Joseph Kearney Foran, the son of Irish parents, Canadian patriotism needed to be developed by gazing upon Canada “with the eye of a lover”, so that Irish-Canadians could aid their fellow countrymen in developing an interest in Canada’s history, landscape, and future direction.⁷⁰ Irish-Canadian Catholic students at the University of Ottawa believed that a course in Canadian history should be taught at every Catholic college in Canada, and that lessons on Irish history should eventually be integrated into college teaching programmes.⁷¹

Situating the International Context

While Irish emigration numbers to other parts of the world began to decline in the last decade of the nineteenth century, knowledge about the rest of the world in Ireland began to

⁶⁷ “Dr. Grant on the Crisis: Two Eloquent Sermons on the Duty of Patriotic Canadians” *Toronto Globe*, February 14, 1887, 8.

⁶⁸ “The Anglo-Irish” *Catholic Record*, October 4, 1884, 4.

⁶⁹ William Pittman Lett, *Address Delivered by William Pittman Lett at the Grand Opera House at the Annual entertainment of the St. Patrick’s Literary Association, on the 18th March* (Ottawa: s.n. 1878), 5.

⁷⁰ J.K. Foran, “Canadian Essays.” *The Harp*, 4.9 (July 1879): 353-354

⁷¹ “The Study of History.” *The Owl*, 3.5 (January 1890): 211.

expand due to increased levels of education and the accelerating speed of communications technology. This was a period when intellectual figures across the world were becoming steadily perturbed by the accelerating rate of social, cultural, and technological change all around them. The speed of this change was famously summarised by the French author Charles Péguy who wrote in 1913, that the world had changed less since the time of Jesus Christ than it had done in the previous thirty years.⁷² Science and technology were creating their own global communications space as news crossed the world at a faster rate, the print language of English connecting every part of the British Empire and the United States into an early global village. Events across the world could now be compared and contrasted as writers, journalists and intellectuals sought to situate their own national cultures in a shared discourse of politics, economics, and progress. In the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century it was acknowledged that the world was becoming increasingly globalized, “Toronto reads at breakfast time the debates in the British House of Commons of the evening before, looks on as well as the Londoner at all that is going on in the world, and shares in full measure the unification of humanity by the electric wire.”⁷³ Canadian Orangeman and future Toronto mayor Oliver Howland hoped that an imperial press would allow all parts of the Empire to become aware of each other’s news simultaneously, so that each part “would hear each other speaking as it were with its own voice.”⁷⁴ Irish Parliamentary MP and former Canadian Liberal leader Edward Blake believed that the technology of mass communication had allowed the Irish Home Rule movement to communicate its cause around the world, “The telegraph, the railway, the steamboat, the post-office, the printing press, each one of these inventions has been an ally in the new struggle; each one has enabled us more and more to make common knowledge to the world of the condition of our cause, and to enlist the sympathy of our scattered sons and of

⁷² Charles Péguy, *Œuvres complètes de Charles Péguy, 1873-1914, Volume 3* (Paris : Éditions de la Nouvelle revue française, 1927), 17.

⁷³ Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) 43.

⁷⁴ Oliver A. Howland, *The Irish Problem* (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 13.

civilized mankind.”⁷⁵

Nevertheless there was growing concern among European and North American intellectuals that while industry and urbanization were enriching their respective countries, they were also impoverishing their workers.⁷⁶ Industrialization was weakening the physical robustness of the population and leading to squalor and corruption among the masses.⁷⁷ In his classic work on the ideas of Canadian imperialism between Confederation and the First World War, Carl Berger highlighted the strong aversion that many Canadian intellectuals had to both the British and the North American city. Canadian imperialists such as the writer William Kirby promoted the idea of western Canada as an agrarian paradise where British freedom could grow and prosper away from the destructive urban forces that were undermining it in Britain.⁷⁸ Other Canadian imperialists felt that England’s urban poverty was weakening the physical vitality of its people, and that the growth of large towns and cities were detrimental to national life.⁷⁹ As early as the 1850s, Irish-Canadian and former Young Irelander Thomas D’Arcy McGee was warning Irish people away from the cities believing that the agricultural West would be more suitable for a rural people like the Irish.⁸⁰ Such animosity towards the rural Irish settling in cities was almost universal between the time of the Famine and the First World War. Canadian imperialists, the Irish Catholic hierarchy, British and American intellectuals, and latterly Irish cultural nationalists, all had a horror of the poor urban Irish immigrant, as he seemed to fly in

⁷⁵ Edward Blake, *Edward Blake on the Irish Question, a Masterly Speech*, (S.l.: s.n., 1894), 6.

⁷⁶ Historian Eric Hobsbawm has underscored how even the forces of Conservatism had to accept the inevitability of scientific and technological progress and had to use modern machinery to voice their concern about the future of society. E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 22.

⁷⁷ Duncan Bell *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 52.

⁷⁸ Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 179.

⁷⁹ Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 192.

⁸⁰ Jason King, "The Feminization of the Canadian Frontier: Engendering the "Peaceable Kingdom" Myth in the Writings of Mary Anne Sadlier (1820-1913) & Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1887)." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 32.1 (2006), 49.

the face of the Victorian values of the age, e.g. self-restraint, self-reliance, and self-improvement. Here was a figure tied to the tenement building and the saloon, easily led by political entrepreneurs who exploited his ignorance and naivety in order to cynically further their own careers, leaving him forever dependent on the leadership of others, and vulnerable to a life of crime, poverty, or indigence. That was the stereotype anyway. Notions of self-restraint and moderation were not just about the words and actions of Irish political leaders, but in a Victorian world obsessed with notions of progress and self-improvement, they were also about developing a sense of trust and civic responsibility in the new urban working-classes. If the Irish were going to be fit for self-government, they would have to prove their individual self-sovereignty in matters of citizenship and education. Something of the struggle that Irish Catholic immigrants faced in urban Canada during the Victorian era can be seen in John Lawrence Power O’Hanly’s defence of the Catholic League of Toronto from Protestant criticisms that it was a political organization:

Its aim, as I interpret it from its constitution, is to solidify, to consolidate and concentrate into a combined whole, the great body of our people now scattered and divided, floating on an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, tossed about without guide or rudder by every wind of political doctrine. Its mission is to bring order out of chaos, to teach, to train, to instruct, to educate its members in the fundamental principles of self-government.⁸¹

The image of a people “floating on an ocean of doubt and uncertainty” evokes the sense that many urban post-Famine Irish Catholics were yet to get off the boat emotionally and were finding it difficult to settle down in their new countries. For many patrician leaders, a newly energized Irish Catholicism was the only safe way of providing direction to these new immigrants, not only by providing education and religious comfort, but also by providing social, historical, and cultural capital that Irish Catholics could use to take encouragement and pride in, in their individual and communal relationships with others. Irish Catholic history

⁸¹ J.P. O’Hanly. *The Political Standing of Irish Catholics in Canada* (Ottawa: s.n. 1872), iv.

became a story of fortitude and endurance in the face of profound upheavals and change, an anchor of stability in dealing with an everchanging present. The power of the print media to create collective memories of the past allowed for the maintenance of a common interpretation of Irish history, one that filtered down from the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic antiquarians of the late eighteenth century to the mass of Irish people in the late nineteenth century. A shared story of origins could now be acknowledged and defended far and wide across the spaces of Ireland and the diaspora. The creation of a mass Irish nationalist consciousness was considered a primary goal of many Irish publications, a consciousness that would transcend the traditional localism of Irish life, “This intense localism marks [*the Irish*] to this hour: their patriotism is local not national – it is Munster or Ulster, the North or the South they live or cherish. It is not Ireland but Home they think of, speak of, dream of.”⁸²

In North America fear of the new immigration from outside northern Europe led many to believe that the only way of assimilating these cultures was through educating their children in the public-school system. Here they would learn traditional Anglo-Protestant values such as moral improvement, self-reliance, and active citizenship.⁸³ Between 1880 and 1924, 24 million immigrants arrived in the United States, many from southern and eastern Europe, as well as others from non-European cultures. Linguistic historian Stephanie Hackert has shown that there was a common belief among many anglophone intellectuals in the late nineteenth century that people who had acquired the English language would become “half-Saxonised,” people who spoke English would come to think like the English.⁸⁴ Writing in 1902, the American educator Percival Chubb believed that the teaching of English literature and the cultural history of Northern Europe would allow students to identify themselves in relation to others as

⁸² “Practical Patriotism” *The Harp* 3.12 (October 1878): 482.

⁸³ Allan Smith, “The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850–1914.” *Canadian Historical Review*, 59.2 (June 1978): 198.

⁸⁴ Stephanie Hackert. *Linguistic Nationalism and the Emergence of the English Native Speaker* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 2012), 229 For example, it was commonly felt that English-medium education would herald a mental “Saxonization” of the peoples of India.

Americans.⁸⁵ In Europe itself, the role of education was seen as of paramount importance in the development of national consciousness. Prominent intellectual figures of the era believed that education was the primary mode of creating national subjects.⁸⁶ National education systems fostered a form of interclass communication, where the history of the nation-state could be shared by middle-class and working-class alike.⁸⁷ Eric Hobsbawm identified a distinctive shift towards language nationalism in the twenty-five years or so before the First World War, as mass literacy and improvements in communications technology brought about a desire for national standardization.⁸⁸ It was through a shared standardized language and a shared national history that individuals could come to share a common national identity.⁸⁹ Improvements in communications technology also allowed different language groups to become aware of each other's struggles. These struggles were largely based around trying to integrate the new with the old, where the notion of the "usefulness" of a language in a practical and material sense, came up against the idea of language as the accumulated knowledge of an entire people's history and way of life. Defense of the old language signified defense of tradition against the subversion of modernity.⁹⁰ By the early twentieth century, across Europe

⁸⁵ "Harvard College has declared that its Freshmen do not know how to use those tools of speech which, more than any others, are needed daily in college work. They can express themselves neither correctly nor effectively. So Harvard has taken heroic measures through its famed Freshman course in 'daily themes' to repair the disability. Doubtless this illiteracy is due partly to the deterioration of our linguistic manners, the depression of linguistic standards, by the influence of foreign immigrants — a fact that explains why it is that this new strenuous movement for the improvement of our national tongue has its origin in America rather than in England or her colonies." Percival Chubb, *The Teaching of English in the Elementary and the Secondary School* (New York; London: MacMillan & Co., 1902), 3-4.

⁸⁶ Famed French sociologist Emile Durkheim believed that it was through a national education system that individuals became national citizens willing to put the interests of the nation ahead of their own interests, even if that meant sacrificing their lives. See Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 26-28.

⁸⁷ Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi; Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1991), 63-64.

⁸⁸ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Such a shift could be detected in Canada when comparing the New Brunswick Schools crisis of the 1870s with the Manitoba Schools crisis of the 1890s. While the New Brunswick crisis was almost exclusively focused on the religious issue of separate Catholic schooling, the Manitoba Question had the added ingredient of French language provision in the schools.

⁸⁹ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 271.

⁹⁰ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 119.

and the developed world, language nationalisms were becoming more and more vital to the expression of national distinctiveness.⁹¹ In order to meet the demands of modernity, there had to be a “return to the source.”⁹² It was this desire to return to the source that was also behind the rise of the Gaelic League in Ireland in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Gaelic Leaguers believed that the Irish language allowed Irish people to speak in the language of their ancestors and see the world as their ancestors saw it. In a speech transcribed in the journal of the Gaelic League, titled “Language: the Telephone of Time”, the lecturer used an image of modernity, the telephone, as a way of convincing people of the power of Irish language orality to connect them to the past:

Suppose that by placing your ear to a receiver here in this hall to-night you could hear distinctly at the other end of the instrument the voice of Brian Boru addressing his troops before the battle of Clontarf, or Saint Patrick preaching to King Laoighaire at Tara. Would not that be a still more marvellous instrument? Yet, such an instrument we possess in the Irish language. It is a time-telephone that carries speech not over the miles but over the centuries.⁹³

The Gaelic Revival in Ireland occurred during a time of the first mass reading audience in Irish history, and organizations such as the Gaelic League, sharing many of the same values

⁹¹ For global examples of linguistic nationalisms in the nineteenth century see: Scott Spires, “Lithuanian Linguistic Nationalism and the Cult of Antiquity.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.4 (October 1999): 485-500; Péter Maitz, “Linguistic Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Hungary: Reconstructing a Linguistic Ideology.” *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 9.1 (January 2008): 20-47; A. Aneesh, “Bloody Language: Clashes and Constructions of Linguistic Nationalism in India.” *Sociological Forum*, 25.1 (March 2010): 86-109; Frederic Michael Litto, “Noah Webster’s Theory of Linguistic Nationalism.” *Acta Semitica et Lingvistica* 5.1 (1963): 133-155; Revathi Krishnaswamy, “Nineteenth-Century Language Ideology: A Postcolonial Perspective.” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 7.1 (2005): 43-71; Karl W. Deutsch, “The Tread of European Nationalism – The Language Aspect.” *American Political Science Review*, 36.3 (June 1942): 533-541.

⁹² K.N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India* (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2002), 80. Panikkar notes that in India there was a fear among nationalists that the use of English as a medium of instruction alienated Indians from their own national culture and their fellow countrymen. Indian history had been written by English colonial administrators, leading to a sense of indigenous alienation from their own history, “native society and its past thus constructed by colonial rule and its ideologues were substantially different from what the natives knew about themselves.” In her famous essay ‘Can the Subaltern Speak’, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak reminds us that illiteracy and a lack of knowledge of history left the subaltern tied to the whims of the powerful. Without a knowledge of the past, the present had to be accepted as is. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the subaltern speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988). For Indian historian Partha Chatterjee the greater the need in colonial India to copy the West’s dominance, the greater the need to maintain India’s spiritual culture. The nationalist paradigm was not a dismissal of modernity but an attempt to modernity consistent with the nationalist project. Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 121.

⁹³ “Language: The Telephone of Time” *An Claidheamh Soluis*. May 8, 1909, 12.

as the British middle-class, hoped to act as behavioural and intellectual guides for the newly literate peasantry and urban working-class.⁹⁴ But because the notion of progress was tied to English-language literacy, Gaelic Leaguers complained that education in Ireland had turned students from believing in the idea of Ireland as a nation to an idea of Ireland as something much less culturally distinctive, “with no more national individuality than Yorkshire.”⁹⁵ The importance of this cultural distinctiveness from England was reinforced again and again during the Revival period, and after the failure of the Irish Home Rule bills, much effort was deployed to situate Ireland in opposition to British cultural norms. By the time of the First World War, the Gaelic League had no doubt where Ireland stood culturally in relation to England:

In the British Empire England stands at one extreme of political and economic freedom and Ireland, India and Egypt at the other. The semi-independent states, Australia, South Africa, Canada, come in between. The circumstances that determined their position are common knowledge. English-speaking states like Australia and British Canada are English nations. Ireland, India, Egypt, Dutch South Africa, French Canada, are not English nations, although they are politically parts of the British Empire.⁹⁶

The Irish language was not only the medium through which the Irish people could connect with the world of their ancestors, it was also a validation that their culture was not just a product of English colonialism (even though much of the expression of Gaelic culture since the time of the Norman invasion was wrapped up in a critique of said colonialism). The Irish cultural revival sought to preserve Irish distinctiveness through the maintenance of Gaelic culture while also communicating Irish difference through the medium of Irish-English orality. But what was this assumed norm by which Irishness should be differentiated?

⁹⁴ Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 180. The Gaelic League used the language of the self, individuality, and independence to talk about the nation rather than the person, “Nationality means the distinct individuality of a people, by virtue of which they act as a single self-developing organism, without any essential limitation of functions. ‘What is nationality?’ *An Claidheamh Soluis*, May 19, 1900, 152.

⁹⁵ Michael J. Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906), 421.

⁹⁶ “Mr. Devlin and the Language Movement” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, August 28, 1915, 3. In a later article in *An Claidheamh Soluis* in 1915, the writer imagines a far-off future when the civilization of the United Kingdom will have collapsed and a New Zealander will walk among the ruins of St. Paul’s Cathedral. If he finds the newspaper files of the British museum blowing in the wind, he would find it difficult to tell the difference between the *Daily Mail* and the *Irish Times*. “Guerilla Warfare” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, September 4, 1915, 3.

Situating the Norm:

a. The uniqueness of England

No, Sir, Ireland is not an exceptional country; but England is. Irish circumstances and Irish ideas as to social and agricultural economy are the general ideas and circumstances of the human race; it is English circumstances and English ideas that are peculiar. Ireland is in the main stream of human existence and human feeling and opinion; it is England that is in one of the lateral channels.⁹⁷

The father of modern Liberalism John Stuart Mill tried to remind the House of Commons at Westminster in 1866 that when asking the question why Ireland was different, his colleagues had got things topsy-turvy. It was England that was truly different from the rest of the world, not Ireland. As the head of the Industrial Revolution that was transforming the North Atlantic world, English politicians should have been more sensitive to how their recent history differed so profoundly from Ireland. Since the time of the American and French Revolutions, England had been held up as a conservative force in the North Atlantic world, but actually no country in the West has been at the head of so many revolutions in modernity as England. Beginning with the religious revolution of the Henrician Reformation in the sixteenth century, followed by the English political revolution of the mid-seventeenth century to the Glorious Revolution at the end of that same century, English religious and political life had been changed irretrievably. At the same time England played a leading role in the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century, and consequently was the major power which kickstarted the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century. Whether in the domains of religion, politics, science, or technology, England was utterly transformed between the time of Henry VIII and Queen Victoria, and in turn transformed much of the world.

Added to these modern revolutions, there was also the creation of the United Kingdom, a peculiar constitutional construction that sought to unite the historical kingdoms of England,

⁹⁷ John Stuart Mill, HC Deb 17 May 1866 vol 183 cc1053-126.

Scotland, and Ireland. All three kingdoms had a history of cultural, religious, and political enmity towards one another that played a role in the development of their individual national identities from the medieval era to the eighteenth century. The novelty of the new political union did not manage to usurp the older identities, much to the irritation of some nineteenth century political leaders. Canadian founding father John A. Macdonald once observed that “it is very unfortunate, in my opinion, that the United Kingdom has not a name. A soldier on the field of battle may say, “I will fight and die for England,” but he cannot say I will fight for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the last drop of my blood.”⁹⁸ Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries England’s population grew exponentially, from about 50% of the population of the UK in 1801 to around 84% of the population of the UK today. England’s demographic dominance of the United Kingdom has meant that there has not been any need to develop a political identity in the same way as its Celtic neighbours. By voluntarily surrendering its political sovereignty to Great Britain in 1707, and later again to the United Kingdom in 1801, England has managed to play a leading role in world affairs through its dominant role in the UK polity. And while today England, and the other nations of the United Kingdom have international sports teams that play against sovereign nation-states in soccer and rugby tournaments for example, England has no national government, no constitution, and no national defence forces. In theory, despite its enormous contribution to world culture, England has less legislative sovereignty than Prince Edward Island or Tasmania. Despite such an unusual constitutional set-up, England has been hugely successful at exporting its political values, its legal norms, and its linguistic culture all around the world.

The dominance and success of the English and their culture has tended to hide their norms in the practice of everyday life. Historians have noted that the English are always positioned within the domain of power and the fact that England had developed a national

⁹⁸ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 10, 1890, 395.

identity before its incorporation into Great Britain meant that by the nineteenth century, English emigrants to the overseas colonies did not have a national story of oppression to tell, unlike that of other cultures (including Ireland).⁹⁹ Others suggest that the English did not form collectivities like the Irish or the Scottish because by the middle of the nineteenth century, England was a culture which prized individuality. The massive success of Samuel Smiles' book *Self-Help* in England from 1859 onwards meant that a laudable sense of individualism became a credo of many English emigrants.¹⁰⁰ By the second half of the nineteenth century, England was at the forefront of propounding the ideal of progress, encouraging the idea that historical change simply meant national advancement. Eric Hobsbawm noted that progress in the nineteenth century was defined "by the ever rising curve of whatever could be measured, or what men chose to measure."¹⁰¹ The concept of "progress" was for Hobsbawm indigenous to a small part of the world, but arrived in the larger part of the world as a foreign invader.

b. All descriptions are judgements

Cultures always look more unified from the outside, even when their insiders see them as more diverse.¹⁰² By the 1770s, Irish Catholic antiquarians such as Sylvester O'Halloran had to succumb to what Geoffrey Keating had to come to terms with a century and a half earlier; he had to dive into an English history of Ireland that oversimplified and denigrated Irish culture:

Having a natural reverence for the dignity and antiquity of my native country, strengthened by education, and confirmed by an intimate knowledge of its history, I could not, without the greatest pain and indignation, behold on the one part, almost all the writers of England and Scotland, (and from them of other parts of Europe,) representing the Irish nation as the most brutal and savage of mankind, destitute of arts, letters, and legislation; and on the other the extreme passiveness and insensibility of the

⁹⁹ Donald M. MacRaild, "An Imperial, Utopian and 'Visible' Diaspora: the English since 1800," in *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies*, eds. Donald MacRaild, et al. (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2019), 162-63.

¹⁰⁰ Donald M. MacRaild, "An Imperial, Utopian and 'Visible' Diaspora: the English since 1800," in *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies*, eds. Donald MacRaild, et al. (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2019), 164.

¹⁰¹ E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 26.

¹⁰² Peter Burke, "Cultural History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, eds. Tony Bennett and John Frow (London: SAGE Publications, 2008), 119.

present race of Irish at such reiterated insults offered to truth and their country: instances of inattention to their own honour, unexampled in any other civilized nation.”¹⁰³

Later antiquarians such as Charles Vallancey promoted study of the Irish language as he believed that the language itself was “a species of historical inscription” more true to the history of the Irish people than what he termed the “hearsay” promoted by foreign writers, strangers to countries that they attempt to describe.¹⁰⁴ Even in the anglophone print culture of the nineteenth century Irish diaspora, the historical archive of English disparagement of Ireland and the Irish was constantly brought to the fore.¹⁰⁵ In giving a speech in support of Home Rule in Montreal in 1893, the prominent Irish-Canadian politician and journalist Nicholas Flood Davin stated that conquest was not just about military invasion, the conqueror also “gets hireling pens to traduce and caricature the objects of his oppression, and Irishmen have been traduced and caricatured so, that up to a recent period some persons believed they had tails.”¹⁰⁶ A year after Davin’s speech, the editor of Montreal’s *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, Joseph Kearney Foran wished to thank the British historian James Anthony Froude for all the good he had done for the Irish cause.¹⁰⁷ Foran exclaimed that some men so far overstep the mark in terms of their anti-Irish bigotry, that they awaken a strong reaction by Irish readers and writers who then become animated and roused to do their own research into Irish history to refute the negative claims of others.¹⁰⁸ Writing in the *University of Ottawa Review* in December 1898, Irish-Canadian Catholic students questioned how Irish history had been written in English up to that point, “There are two ways of writing history. One way is to get the facts

¹⁰³ Sylvester O’Halloran, *An Introduction to the Study of the Antiquities of Ireland* (London: J. Murray, 1772) 1.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Vallancey, *A Grammar of the Ibero-Celtic, or Irish Language* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1782), 2.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Equally certain is it that history or a very active department of it at least, is for the past seven centuries a conspiracy against the truth as regards our ancestral Island...in view of the perverse industry which a certain class of writers have, for centuries wrought to obscure the most brilliant pages of our country’s history.’ “Irish Intellect Culture and Schools.” *The Harp*, 5.4 (February 1880): 162.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Flood Davin, *Home Rule, a Speech: Delivered in Montreal on the 17th of May, 1893* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co, 1893), 8.

¹⁰⁷ Froude’s work on Ireland in the 18th century was specifically criticized for its anti-Irish interpretation.

¹⁰⁸ “James Anthony Froude,” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, September 26, 1894, 8.

and draw your own conclusions from them. The other way is to make your case first and search for the facts to support it. Too much Irish history has been written in the later manner.”¹⁰⁹ As the historian of emigration Donald MacRaild has pointed out, for many British, meaningful and distinct Irish meant bad Irish.¹¹⁰ Anti-Irish histories then were important “negative source material” for the development of Irish nationalist consciousness.

c. English print and emotional self-control

Much of the critique of Irish traditions and their oral expressiveness came from a culture that was increasingly disdainful of unproductive speech and ostentatious ritual and performance. The Protestant work ethic of many northern European societies favoured a sense of sober utility over any artistic impulses.¹¹¹ In Ireland the English language and English language education would play a powerful role in overcoming this Irish penchant for idle talk. Helen O’Connell has shown how early nineteenth century “improvement” discourse and literature in Ireland upheld the English language as both a rational and rationalizing language, one that conveyed ideas of enlightenment progress in the standardizing medium of the printed

¹⁰⁹ “A Notable Manuel of History.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 1.4 (December 1898): 202. Such suspicion of British modes of understanding have also been highlighted by Indian historians. Partha Chatterjee has suggested that if European analytical instruments failed to appreciate the complexity and diversity of Indian social history, then that was the fault of those European instruments rather than Indian society itself. Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 169.

¹¹⁰ Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 5.

¹¹¹ Max Weber & Anthony Giddens, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons (London; New York: 2001), 113-114. Weber’s classic sociological thesis first published in 1905 tried to show how a particular brand of Calvinist thought led its followers to see that all passions and feelings which were senseless and intemperate were sinful, as they brought Christians away from directing their lives in a rational and methodical towards the glory of God. Weber believed that such emotional self-control still distinguished “the best type of English or American gentlemen today.” However, more recent sociological thinkers believe that Weber’s thesis overemphasized Protestant theology over a simple basic fact. The Protestant Reformation raised literacy levels due to Bible-reading, and consequently economic performance rose. Political scientist James S. Mosher has shown that literacy levels rose sharply in Northern European Protestant countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. So much so that in England, adult literacy had risen to 53% by 1800. See James S. Mosher, “The Protestant Reading Ethic and Variation in its Effects.” *Sociological Forum*, 31.2 (June 2016): 397. Literacy provided greater geographic mobility, as more and more individuals could adapt their skills and learning to different jobs and professions, and as a result provided greater social mobility between classes. Reading also facilitated the development of individual leisure, as a private exercise that no longer required participation in group activities.

page. The English language was situated in opposition to the Irish language, Irish's uselessness to modernity borne out by the fact that much of its cultural signification was related to the religious and political bitterness of the past.¹¹² In her critique of the stories of William Carleton, O'Connell shows that the Irish language was usually associated with irrational outbursts of joy and grief, and always excessive in comparison to "the intrinsic restraint of English and print."¹¹³ Irish orality was often associated with the old, the melancholy and the feminine, an orality more embodied in song and performance than on the printed page. On the printed page the Irish peasantry did not speak for itself but rather was interpreted for an anglophone audience by the Anglo-Irish author, an insider-outsider between the intimacies of Irish rural life and an anglophone readership.¹¹⁴ But literacy also allowed for the development of a nationalist consciousness within a broader cognition of historical change through time.¹¹⁵ In contrast to the historical consciousness of nationalism, the Irish peasantry were often situated as being outside history, of living lives outside the onslaught of historical change, and as a consequence were more closely tied to the authenticity of "aboriginal life."¹¹⁶

Helen O'Connell notes that by the 1820s there was a marked concern on the part of the authorities that the Irish peasantry were not receiving sufficient education because of their ignorance of the English language. Knowledge of the English language would not only facilitate communication between the peasantry and the local authorities, but an English language education would also allow for the development of autonomy and self-control in individual students. Recent studies have underscored how the teaching of English as a school

¹¹² Helen O'Connell, "Improved English: And the Silence of Irish." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30.1 (Spring, 2004): 13.

¹¹³ Helen O'Connell, "Improved English: And the Silence of Irish." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30.1 (Spring, 2004): 18.

¹¹⁴ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University, 1996), 34.

¹¹⁵ David Lloyd, *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity, 1800-2000: The Transformation of Oral Space* (Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 61.

¹¹⁶ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University, 1996), 163.

subject within the United States and the British Empire was viewed as a humanist practice that would allow students to identify their personal experiences with a wider world. By studying literature as art rather than as straightforward knowledge, students would come to identify with larger truths and ideals.¹¹⁷ While general education was believed to be the pathway to increased prosperity, English language education specifically was thought to be a channel through which a youth could learn humility, moderation and the ability to govern themselves. In addition to this, by the end of the nineteenth century with both the United States and Great Britain as two of the world's most important economic powers, some linguists believed that English was not just a useful language through which students could learn about the world, but was actually a superior language that could better cope with a world of both objects and abstract ideas, and therefore was the best language for the development of science.¹¹⁸

Situating Difference:

In his study of the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto during this period, geographer William Jenkins has described the relationship between different ethnic groups as contingent and relational rather than substantive.¹¹⁹ Identities are situational because “we know who we are by agreeing who we are not.”¹²⁰ The confluence of situations that many prominent Irish-Canadians found themselves in, led them to assert different aspects of their identities in relation to different cultural groups. For example, historian Roslyn Trigger has shown how the actions of nineteenth century Irish Catholic priest Patrick Dowd was crucial to the formation of an Irish-Catholic community in Montreal; whether by asserting a Catholic identity in relation to Irish Protestants,

¹¹⁷ See Jory Brass, “Historicising English pedagogy: The Extension and Transformation of ‘the cure of souls.’” *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 19.1 (March 2011): 153-172; and Mark A. Pike, *Ethical English: Teaching and Learning in English as Spiritual, Moral and Religious Education* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).

¹¹⁸ Stephanie Hackert. *Linguistic Nationalism and the Emergence of the English Native Speaker* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 2012), 244.

¹¹⁹ William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 11.

¹²⁰ Robin Cohen, “The Incredible Vagueness of Being British/English.” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)*, 76.3 (July 2000): 581.

asserting a Canadian loyalist identity in relation to the republicanism of Irish-Americans, or asserting an Irish (or more often than not an anglophone) identity in relation to francophone Catholics, Dowd created an Irish-Catholic Canadian space in Montreal that was as much about differentiating that space from other groups as it was about bringing Irish Catholics together.¹²¹ The salience of identities then is contingent on how individuals organize their lives and the differing situations they encounter. For literary historian Richard Kirkland, identity can not only provide a narrative to our existence but also an explanation for the situations and events that we find ourselves in.¹²² Identities can reduce anxiety and fear and increase comfort and courage. Solidarity within ethnic groups comes from high levels of communication, and increased levels of interaction can lead to higher levels of cooperation. In contrast interethnic relations are often typified by low-levels of information exchange.¹²³ This is intensified where two different ethnic groups do not share a common language. A distinctive language increases group solidarity while at the same time underlines that group's estrangement from other groups who do not share that language.¹²⁴ Language not only sustains an ethnic group's cultural identity it also interprets and expresses the experiences of that group in specific ways. Thus, in linguistically heterogeneous societies such as Canada's, it may be difficult to develop a common cultural or national identity.

For the French structuralist Claude Levi-Strauss, a civilization cannot identify itself if it does not have another civilization to compare itself with. He defined the discovery of classical

¹²¹ For the division between Irish Catholics and Protestants in Montreal see Rosalyn Trigger, "The Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Journal of Historical Geography* 27.4 (2001): 553-572; for the division between Irish-Canadian nationalism and Irish-American republicanism see Rosalyn Trigger, "Clerical Containment of Diasporic Irish Nationalism: A Canadian Example from the Parnell era," in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, ed. David A. Wilson, *Irish Nationalism in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 83-96; for the division between Irish Catholics and francophone Catholics in Montreal see Rosalyn Trigger, *The Role of the Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Masters thesis, McGill University, 1997).

¹²² Richard Kirkland, *Identity Parades: Northern Irish Culture and Dissident Subjects* (Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1.

¹²³ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) 106.

¹²⁴ Andrew E. Kim, "The Absence of Pan-Canadian Civil Religion: Plurality, Duality, and Conflict in Symbols of Canadian Culture." *Sociology of Religion* 54.3 (1993): 271.

civilization in the Renaissance as a form of ethnology. By comparing civilizations writers and thinkers of the Renaissance could see what their civilization was missing.¹²⁵ For Levi-Strauss popular historical consciousness in continental Europe had begun with the French Revolution, the politics of which had come to replace myth in the modern world, acting as both a timeless lesson and a singular event which occurred some time in the past.¹²⁶ The classic example in the Anglosphere is the American Revolution, where the founding fathers are continually invoked in American public discourse as a paternalistic eye on current political developments, (what would the founding fathers say?) For many Irish nationalists, the proper comparison to make between the paucity of Irish life in the present and the cultural abundance of another civilization, was that between present Ireland and ancient Ireland, and not between Ireland and contemporary Britain.¹²⁷ Within the Anglosphere the teaching of English language and literature has often been linked to the formation of subjectivities that could identify the *self* and *others*.¹²⁸ The same idea of self-identification and difference could also be found in the teaching of history; for example, it would be virtually impossible to teach the history of Canada without

¹²⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *Structural Anthropology, Vol 2* (New York: Basic Books, 1963; 1976), 272. One of the more popular comparisons of civilizations used in political discourse is that between the intellectual culture of ancient Greece and the martial culture of ancient Rome. The British prime minister Harold MacMillan famously compared the relationship between Britain and the U.S. in the early 1960s as that between a British Greece and an American Rome. Half a century earlier Henri Bourassa compared the necessity for English-Canadians to know French as indispensable to the moral and intellectual life of the country as the Greek language was to Roman Civilization. See Henri Bourassa, "The French language and the Future of Our Race," (1912), translated in *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*, editor Ramsey Cook (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 145. A similar comparison was made by Catholic priest Michael J. Riordan when comparing industrial east Ulster and bourgeois literary Dublin: "Of literary life, there is a painful absence in wealthy Belfast, it is not produced even a respectable newspaper or magazine. Of art, they seem to have little conception...One thing is certain – Belfast is not the Athens of Ireland." Michael J. Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland* (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906), 245-246.

¹²⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *Structural Anthropology, Vol 1* (New York: Basic Books, 1963; 1976). 209-210.

¹²⁷ As John Hutchinson wrote in his work on the Irish Revival, history had become "the teacher of mankind, the interpretation of which lay in the hands of secular intellectuals." John Hutchinson. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 11.

¹²⁸ In the nineteenth century this identification of "self" and "others" had a strong basis in religious instruction; in the twentieth century it was more based around national identity; and in our own century it may have more to do with multiculturalism. Jory Brass, "Historicising English pedagogy: The Extension and Transformation of 'the cure of souls.'" *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 19.1 (March 2011): 167.

reference to the *other* of the United States.¹²⁹ Similarly, it would be impossible to teach the history of Ireland with reference to the *other* of England. Much of the national distinctiveness espoused by nationalist elites has largely been based on uncovering and identifying differences with one's national neighbours. The American historian Lloyd S. Kramer has highlighted how nationalist identities are often formed through a consciousness of difference of those closest to us, "the meaning of a nation depends on definitions of difference and on interactive relations with people in other cultures, so that the nation's imaginary essence evolves as definitions of difference and cultural boundaries also evolve."¹³⁰ Difference then is one of the establishing ideas behind nationalist consciousness, and it is the search for such difference in terms of history, geography, and identity that this thesis seeks to explore.

Historians and Theorists

In any study of the history of nationalism, the work of several sociologists and historians in the field will be essential to appreciating how nationalism has developed since the end of the eighteenth century. Benedict Anderson has already been mentioned, but the work of historian Eric Hobsbawm is also crucial to understanding the development of cultural nationalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In his book *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm showed that shared interpretations of history allowed national groups (such as the Irish) to claim that they had existed since antiquity, and that they were so natural that they required nothing other than self-assertion.¹³¹ In another work on nationalism published in 1990, Hobsbawm warns us that though we may search the national census for certainties about cultural or ethnic identity, we should be reminded that the census may have forced people to answer categorization questions about their identity that they may have never thought about

¹²⁹ Stephen Brooks, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences: Reflections on the Roots of English Canadian Nationalism," in *The Challenge of Cultural Pluralism*, ed. Stephen Brooks (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002): 41.

¹³⁰ Lloyd S. Kramer, *Nationalism in Europe and America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities Since 1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 21.

¹³¹ E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 14.

before, such as their ethnicity or mother tongue.¹³² The census then is as much about the creation of identity as it is about the recording of identity. Hobsbawm also reminds us that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a sense of crisis among the intellectual classes of the West. Throughout much of the nineteenth century there had been a strong belief in political individualism, social respectability, and property ownership. While the middle classes had stood for progress over the conservative forces of order, by the end of the century, there was a feeling by many that things had gone too far.¹³³

The eulogization of rural life that was such a feature of cultural nationalism of this period has been studied by literary critics on both sides of the Atlantic. Raymond Williams in his classic work *The Country and the City* has shown that in reaction to the Industrial Revolution, the rural world began to be seen as part of a pure golden age of premodernity.¹³⁴ History then helped to give the national community its cognitive dimension. There was an assumption that the past contained principles which the present must adhere to if the continuity of the national community was to be preserved.¹³⁵ This conservative view of history was in keeping with the Burkean view of society as a continuum of values, a view entirely consistent with the Canadian outlook of the imperial era.¹³⁶ In his work on the history of the Canada First movement of the late nineteenth century, *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*, Carl Berger has shown that numerous Canadian imperialists of that era promoted the idea of Western Canada as an agrarian paradise, where British freedom could

¹³² E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 100.

¹³³ E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 188. While education and a common language helped to provide unity and continuity, it could also alienate children from their parents. The advancement of technology in the industrialized state meant that the greater technical knowledge of the young could be of greater use and value than the traditional experience of the old. John Hutchinson. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 256.

¹³⁴ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42-43.

¹³⁵ Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 90.

¹³⁶ Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden Essays on the Canadian Imagination*. 2nd ed. (Concord, Ont.: House of Anansi, 1995), 224.

grow and prosper away from the destructive urban forces that were undermining it in Britain.¹³⁷ In much the same way, the Irish Gaelic Revival evoked peasant Ireland as the opposite of industrial Britain, standing for what the historian of nationalism John Hutchinson described as “the natural as against the artificial, the heroic against the levelling mass, for history against modernity and for a child-like simplicity and a respect for the spiritual against positivism, hedonism and a lust for power.”¹³⁸ Britishness also didn’t escape from this eulogization of the past as a way of meeting the demands of modernity. The rise of the racial idea of Anglo-Saxonism allowed for the inclusion of the United States into the cultural sphere of the British Empire. Robert Choquette’s 1975 book *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario*, shows how Irish and French-Canadian Catholics battled each other over who was best placed to defend Catholicism in the face of the enduring suspicions of Anglo-Protestant North America.

In their book *Identity Theory*, sociologists Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets have drawn together decades of work on identity showing that identities work by trying to match our actions in the real world with the identity meanings we hold within ourselves. Rather than adapting our identities to the situation, we use our everyday agency to try and influence events to match the meanings in our identity standard. Identities that are more salient to a person’s life will more likely be activated in different situations; “activation” meaning an identity is attempting to verify itself.¹³⁹ Burke and Stets note that people with more power and status have more influence in defining the identities of those around them and become less influenced by those with less power and status.¹⁴⁰ If there is a discrepancy between the identity-standard meanings and the perceived meanings of the self in the situation, then this leads individuals to bring the

¹³⁷ Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 179.

¹³⁸ John Hutchinson. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 221.

¹³⁹ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 133.

¹⁴⁰ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 191.

situation under conscious control;¹⁴¹ e.g. informing someone that their assumptions about your identity were mistaken. The greater the commitment to an identity, the higher the identity in the salience hierarchy. In an editorial in the Irish Catholic journal *The Harp* printed in 1879, the hierarchal positions of religion and nationality were made very evident, “let it float over men - men at once Catholic and Irish. As heaven is above earth so is God above the nation; hence we are Catholics first and Irish after.”¹⁴²

Chapter Outline

Today the English language is the lingua franca of world discourse, and as a linguistic community, English speakers make up probably the most culturally diverse language population in the world. But the history and current cultural dominance of the language are largely the product of two nations, England and the United States. This thesis will attempt to show some of the difficulties that members of a non-Anglo-American culture encounter when they try to situate their own identity within an international linguistic community that has historically othered that identity. This thesis is not a generalized study of an identity that is not easy to define historically, such as “the Irish.” Rather it is a discursive look at how, in the half century or so between the founding of the Canadian nation-state and the founding of the Irish nation-state, debates about this idea of “the Irish” left behind a corpus of ideas about the search for meaning within an Irish-Canadian intellectual culture. I seek to understand how Irish-Canadian individuals wanted to improve the lives of Irish people, both at home and abroad, in order to illuminate how a newly literate culture had to work against ingrained stereotypes to better situate themselves within an anglophone modernity. In the first two chapters of the thesis I will look at the uses of Irish history in Canadian political and cultural discourse. The first chapter will pay special attention to *The Harp*, an Irish Catholic journal printed in Montreal

¹⁴¹ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 164

¹⁴² “Our National Anniversary.” *The Harp*, 4.5 (March 1879): 178.

between 1875 and 1882, and *The Owl*, and the *University of Ottawa Review*, two Catholic student journals printed between 1890 and 1913. Many different articles in these journals lauded the achievements of ancient Irish history as one of the great legacies of European civilization. They turned the marginalization of Irish Catholic history in academic anglophone discourse into a story of survival and endurance. Promoting a sense of Irish Catholic cultural, religious, and political heritage allowed Irish-Canadian Catholics to be seen as important role models for the future of the Empire. In the second chapter I will look at how Irish history was situated in the debates on Irish Home Rule in the Canadian Parliament. While a minority of Canadian politicians felt that Ireland was not ready for Home Rule until most of their population were properly educated, most felt that it was not the Irish themselves that were the problem, but rather a unique history with Britain. Debates about Irish history on Parliament Hill became debates about how to transcend the past for the future good of Canada and the Empire.

In the third and fourth chapters I will examine how the land of Ireland was interpreted as the “storied land”, the land where Irish history and Irish identity endured from the past. In the third chapter I will look at how Irish-Canadian poets used their memory of home in Ireland as a forward-facing desire for settling on the Canadian landscape. Positive notions of a potential future home on the Canadian landscape could be projected by remembering how these poets once felt at home on the Irish landscape. The fourth chapter will examine the regional and national press in Ireland to understand how Canadian emigration agents such as Charles Ramsey Devlin had a tough time attracting new immigrants to Canada in the late nineteenth century. While much of the metropolitan press (e.g. the *Irish Times* and the *Belfast Newsletter*) was supportive of Irish emigration to other parts of the British Empire, much of the local press received news about Canada from Irish-America and so were heavily biased against emigration to Canada. This chapter will examine how Irish nationalist opposition to Canadian emigration

was led by a belief that further loss of the Irish population would lead to the eventual destruction of Irish cultural identity.

The fifth and sixth chapters will examine notions of language identity in both Canada and Ireland. The fifth chapter will look at how the Irish language revival was championed by Irish-Canadian intellectual figures who, along with cultural nationalists in Ireland, felt that a sense of Irish distinctiveness was being weakened by becoming overly anglophone both at home and abroad. Even though many people felt the language revival was not economically viable, many intellectual figures believed that it was part of a higher, nobler calling. The sixth chapter will again look at the nationalist press in Ireland, especially the weekly newspaper of the Gaelic League, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, to analyse why Irish language revivalists became heavily critical of the Irish-Ontarian Catholic Church for their support of Regulation 17 in 1912. By supporting Regulation 17, the Irish-Ontarian Church hoped to improve the standing of separate Catholic schooling, a central feature of their identity. In contrast, language revivalists in Ireland found French-Canadian cultural activists inspiring for how they fought to maintain their linguistic distinctiveness.

A figure who will aid me on this journey through this period of history is that of Irish-Canadian Joseph Kearney Foran. Foran was born in Aylmer Québec in 1857, ten years before Canadian Confederation and died in Montreal in 1931, ten years after the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement. His father was from Tipperary and his mother was involved with *The Nation* newspaper in the 1840s.¹⁴³ Foran wrote for *The Harp* in Montreal as a young student, and eventually went on to edit Québec's only anglophone Catholic newspaper *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*. In 1882 he helped draft the first Home Rule resolution at the House of Commons for which John Costigan was sponsor.¹⁴⁴ He became a Doctor of Letters in 1894

¹⁴³ Joseph Kearney Foran, *A Garland: Lectures and Poems* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1931), vii.

¹⁴⁴ "Foran, Joseph Kearney, K.C., Litt. D., LL.B." *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography*, edited by Hector Charlesworth, Third Edition, (Toronto: Hunter Rose Company, 1919), 280-281.

after his work on early Canadian history. Fluent in French and English he became a translator at the House of Commons from 1902, eventually becoming head law clerk in the House of Commons in 1913. He was a vocal critic of Regulation 17, and a vocal supporter of the Irish-Canadian war effort during the Great War. Foran was a figure who always maintained a strong historical awareness in his writings. He was forever conscious of writing for an audience beyond his own time, “of our own land, we may safely express our ideas and opinions upon the events, that years hence the historian sitting up on some ruined monument of the present age, may have to chronicle up on his page.”¹⁴⁵ Sitting on this monument of archives of the post-Confederation period, I hope to chronicle the Irish-Canadian intellectual culture of Foran’s era.

¹⁴⁵ “A Glance into the Future” *The Harp* 4.12 (October 1879): 484.

Chapter 1 – Irish History: Putting Irish-Canadian Catholics In Their Place

More particularly in the English-speaking world, Destiny [*sic*] has been tending to develop a larger, a more liberal, and magnanimous sentiment of nationality than the world has ever before seen. Each of the two great communities into which our race is now divided politically, may be said to be a people composed of many nations. Patriotism in such a people must be a principle rather than a passion. It seeks justification in the inheritance of noble institutions and of a useful past, and in the conscious momentum towards similar and greater moral objects in the future... The question which is being presented to the Irish people is, on which side will they place themselves? Shall they fall in with the progress of the great race to which they belong, or will they oppose it?

- *From Oliver A. Howland, The Irish Problem (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 128-133*

I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come and I dimly see the Ireland I am gazing on, become the road of passage between the two hemispheres and the centre of the world...I might picture her enjoying a degree of commercial prosperity unequalled in her history and unsurpassed in the world, with her people the leaders in society and the bankers of the nation. I might dwell on the glories of some coming Irish republic, "great glorious and free, first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea," with a magnificent array of great battles fought and won for the precious inheritance of liberty...I might predict the unrivalled achievements of her sons in literature, and the consequent glory brought on the land of their birth.

- *From "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning and Afternoon." The Owl, 10.7 (March 1897): 371.*

In his short book on the nature of the Irish Home Rule problem published in 1887, Oliver Howland wondered if the Irish would fall in with the great race to which they belonged, the English-speaking race, or would they oppose its continuing unity across the world. Howland, the son of the American-born Canadian founding father William Holmes Howland, believed that Canadian Confederation had been established to meet the demands of local (not national) autonomy and was never instituted to threaten "Imperial national allegiance." Patriotism among the English-speaking peoples had little to do with the "passions" of petty nationalisms, but rather was based on the political principles of noble institutions that had been inherited from a "useful past." The two great parts of this English-speaking race were the

British Empire and the United States (where Americans were “Englishmen in fact.”)¹ Howland berated Gladstone and the Liberals for what he saw as their retrograde violation of liberal principles by becoming the apologists of nationalism. They had brought back into the world, during a period of its enlightenment, the ancient antipathies of race and local nationality, something that “might better have been left to flourish in the congenial soil of the East of Europe.”²

Howland’s vision of the unity of the English-speaking peoples was an ideal based on a shared political inheritance and a shared belief in economic and technological progress. But although Howland situated this ideal in opposition to what he viewed as reactionary Irish nationalism, other Canadians believed that Irish nationalism offered the best route to imaging a twentieth-century Ireland. At the St. Patrick’s Day banquet at the University of Ottawa in 1897, a student by the name of Edward Bolger spoke for several minutes on Ireland’s future and imagined what Ireland would look like in one hundred years. His picture of Ireland’s future would seem somewhat accurate, with unnamed prophesies of Ireland’s place as a link between the European Union and North America, the success of the Celtic Tiger economy, the coming Irish revolution and the continuing commemoration of its main events, and the international recognition of Irish writing via four winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature.³ Not for this Irish Nostradamus some great science fiction of the future, or empires that would last a thousand years, but instead the desire to see Ireland overcome some of the abiding problems of its history, e.g. geographic marginalization, enduring poverty, political colonization, and lack of appreciation for Irish culture. In fact, these problems seemed so enduring and pervasive, that it

¹ ‘The terms English or British, in the sense in which they are here used, seems to be nearly interchangeable; a preference for the former arises from the name attaching to two the most distinguishing features of what I term the race – its language, and its political institutions.’ Oliver A. Howland, *The Irish Problem* (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 114.

² Oliver A. Howland, *The Irish Problem* (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 119.

³ William Butler Yeats (1923), George Bernard Shaw (1925), Samuel Beckett (1969) and Séamus Heaney (1995).

must have seemed straightforward to imagine what the concerns of Irish people would be in the decades and generations ahead. But why would an Irish-Canadian at the end of the nineteenth century seemingly have such prophetic insight of Ireland at the end of the twentieth century?

English and Irish Conceptions of the Past

For Bolger, as for many Irish people, any imaging of an Irish future was intimately tied to the desires and emotional legacies of Ireland's ancestral voices. Such a view of the past has often been interpreted as anachronistic, especially by many English observers. The old line that the Irish never forget their history and that the English never remember it, has led some historians to question if history is really perceived differently in each country. In his 1983 book *States of Mind*, the historian Oliver MacDonagh outlined what he believed was the main difference between Irish and English perceptions of time and modernity. MacDonagh noted that since the eighteenth century, the view of history in England has been of a linear or developmental view, one in which the march of progress would allow for imagining a future unlike that of the present, and where there was little responsibility felt for the past of previous generations.⁴ In contrast, the Irish view of history was one where the past was conterminous with the present, and a view of time as cyclical and repetitive rather than linear, one that keeps the Irish forever connected with the world of their ancestors.⁵

Other historians have highlighted the differences in this attitude to history as having its origins in the difference between an Irish oral culture and an English writing culture. In his

⁴ Oliver MacDonagh. *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780–1980* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 11.

⁵ Intellectual historian Richard Kearney noted that there was a certain type of fatalism linked to such a way of thinking, the product of a continuing inability to effect political change in the present. Richard Kearney. *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 215. Indeed, the development of the cultural revival in Ireland from the 1890s onward was directly related to the failure of Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party to get Home Rule enacted. See Declan Kiberd and P.J. Matthews. *Handbook of the Irish Revival* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), 31-32.

review of Joep Leerssen's book *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael*, historian Brian Earls highlighted how Elizabethan writers from England were struck by the power of the Gaelic poets to inject into their audiences a frenzy of emotional pride by recounting the great feats performed by their ancestors in battle. For Earls, these English writers vilified Irish speech "for its massive redundancy and for incorporating on a routine basis such strange procedures as keening, genealogical recital, extravagant praise, elaborate blessings and maledictions, vituperation and other forms of name-calling and contentiousness."⁶ Religious historian Alan Ford also highlights this contrast between the pedantic nature of writing and the drama of oral performance in studying the aftermath of the Desmond Rebellions in Munster during this period. The execution of Catholic traitors who refused to recognize the supremacy of the Protestant State Church was recorded in the "unemotional language of state papers."⁷ In contrast, Catholics viewed such executions as part of a great religious drama, where the executed became martyrs of a Christ-like heroism, unjustly killed for their faith.

Such cultural bewilderment can even be detected nearly three centuries later, on the other side of the Atlantic, as Canadian observers bore witness to Fenian meetings in the United States. A contemporary account by the *Toronto Globe* newspaper of a Fenian meeting in Michigan seemed to subtly deride this Irish desire to extoll hereditary pre-eminence, "The only really eloquent speech was that of Major Brophy, who spoke for about an hour, mainly extolling the Irish race from the flood to the present time."⁸ In 1870, John O'Connor, the Catholic MP for Essex in Ontario, published a series of letters he had written to the governor-general on Fenianism. In those letters he explained how the Fenians attracted supporters by exaggerating the historical wrongs of Ireland, and by situating present day Ireland within a

⁶ Brian Earls. "Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael." *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 68.3 (1990): 749.

⁷ Alan Ford, "Martyrdom, History and Memory in Early Modern Ireland," in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 66.

⁸ "Fenianism in the West" *Toronto Globe*, June 5, 1868, 2.

history that had already passed. He described the discourse of history in one such meeting as follows: “The internal enactments of the penal code were inveighed against, as if they were still in full force. The atrocities of former days were spoken of, as if they had just happened, and as if they were daily recurring with increased violence.”⁹

Such divergent interpretations of Irish history also bear the mark of the difference between oral folk histories of cyclical recurrence and the linear history of public institutions. In Europe it was not uncommon for distinct forms of national identity to develop out of different ways of recording and recounting historical events. The historian of nationalism Anthony D. Smith has outlined the differences between two main types of national identities that have developed in the modern era as that between “lateral” or aristocratic ethnies on the one hand, and “vertical” or demotic ethnies on the other. Smith describes lateral ethnies as those composed of the aristocracy, the higher clergy, and military leaders. This type of ethnie was able to diffuse its identity through bureaucratic incorporation, by incorporating lower social classes and outer regions into its administrative and cultural sphere. This was also aided by the development of market economies and the taming of ecclesiastical power. Smith claims that this type of lateral ethnie was most successful in western Europe, with such examples as the aristocratic cultures of England, France, and Spain. Vertical ethnies were those developed by subject communities, ones where ethnic and religious cultures overlapped. These ethnies came to political consciousness over the course of the nineteenth century where “educator-intellectuals” sought to develop a form of vernacular historical consciousness by appealing to the common people’s ethnic past. Smith give such examples as the Irish, the Basques and the Finnish as classic examples of these vertical ethnies.¹⁰ The histories of national elites tracked

⁹ John O’Connor. *Letters of John O’Connor M.P. on Fenianism: Addressed to His Excellency the Right Honourable John Young, Bart., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1870), 14.

¹⁰ See Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada press, 1991), 53-69. One figure who identified these differences back in the nineteenth century was Senator François-Xavier-Anselme Trudel from

the development of aristocratic and political institutions and their transformation through the ages, (what Howland referred to as the inheritance of noble institutions and a useful past). In contrast, oral histories were more intensely tied to the lives of the individuals who were recounting those histories. As such, the perception of time was largely based around the cycles of the day, the season, the year, or the generation.¹¹ For the intellectual historian Richard Kearney, such a view of history is closer to premodern notions of myth, conceiving of lived experience as something both timeless and repeatable, a conception of experience which promises to redeem human history.¹²

An example of this desire to redeem that history can be seen in the work of the Fenian (and former Canadian) James McCarroll. In his 1868 *Ridgeway: An Historic Romance of the Fenian Invasion of Canada*, McCarroll wrote about the importance of the name *Fenian* for the development of an Irish national consciousness:

The rarity of the name led to newspaper expositions of it, and moved the inquiring patriot to look into Irish history in relation to it; and in this manner a knowledge of much of the ancient greatness of Ireland became the common property of those who were formerly but slightly acquainted with such lore. The result was, thousands of the Irish became interested in relation to the past of their race;¹³

McCarroll goes on to state that names such as Repealers, Irish National Leagues, and United Irishmen have none of the comprehensive or characteristic features of a name like *Fenian*. The other names simply “carried their meaning upon the surface”¹⁴. In contrast *Fenian* connects the revolutionary present with the Gaelic past, unifying the course of Irish history into

Québec, who in the 1882 Home Rule debates observed that after three centuries of political evolution the people of England had been moulded after the temperament of the law, unlike in Ireland where the laws were still being moulded to the temperament of the people. Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3, 1882, 563-564.

¹¹ Paul Connerton *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 20.

¹² Richard Kearney, *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 223.

¹³ James McCarroll, *Ridgeway: An Historic Romance of the Fenian Invasion of Canada* (Buffalo: McCarroll & Co., 1868), 70.

¹⁴ James McCarroll, *Ridgeway: An Historic Romance of the Fenian Invasion of Canada* (Buffalo: McCarroll & Co., 1868), 70.

a singular narrative. For French philosopher, Paul Ricoeur, designating something with a proper name is a prerequisite for allowing narrative identity to exist. If we wish to identify an individual life as continuous from birth to death, as a unity of action contained in one body, the ascription of a proper name becomes paramount.¹⁵ McCarroll recognized the importance of ascribing a name that would unify the disparate events of Ireland's history. *Fenian* represented a deep relationship with that history that contemporary Irish nationalist nomenclature overlooked. It provided an order to the past, giving it narrative shape and therefore meaning. As Joep Leerssen has observed, such attempts to unify Irish history into a singular tellable tale provided a comprehensive narrative of continuous resistance, "never successful, but likewise never abandoned."¹⁶

But while for McCarroll and his Fenian cohorts, these mythological tales of ancient warriors and their glorious battles could inspire ethnic pride and political solidarity, for others it simply proved that the Irish were not yet ready for political government. Fear that Irish "passion" made them incapable of the more sober exercise of British administrative rule was a common thought running through much British Victorian thinking. The Fenian invasions in Canada seemed to indicate that the Irish had yet to find a moderate route to self-sovereignty. But Isaac Butt's founding of the Irish Home Rule Association in response to the Fenian scares in the United Kingdom in the late 1860s seemed to be moving things in the right direction. Irish Catholics in Canada were surely a model to follow with regard to the successful devolution of political power. The *Toronto Globe* asked the question why would something that was totally safe in Canada not be in the British islands. Once Irishmen were taught self-restraint and moderation ("which are indispensable to true freedom") then they would only have themselves

¹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative. Vol. 3* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), 246.

¹⁶ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University, 1996), 86.

to blame if their country was badly managed.¹⁷

Cementing Together History, Place, and Identity Through the Church

An important institutional channel for the teaching of moderation and restraint among the Victorian Irish was the newly reenergized Irish Catholic Church. The Church was an important established organization for the Irish abroad in the nineteenth century. It not only provided a space of communal identity, but it also provided a narrative history which spoke to a sense of endurance, fortitude, and vitality across the centuries. As Angela McCarthy and David Fitzpatrick have shown in their respective studies of Irish emigrant letters from New Zealand and Australia back to Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Irish Catholics seemed to speak much more about their Catholicism than they did about their Irishness.¹⁸ In Canada, the effects of the devotional revolution in Ireland were strongly felt by parishioners, with an increased focus on devotional practices from the 1850s onwards.¹⁹ In Toronto the fusing of religion and ethnicity created a powerful form of clerical nationalism. Brian P. Clarke has suggested that such a fusion of identities allowed for the development of a distinct ethnic subculture under clerical leadership and distinct from the rest of English-Canada. As the church of a minority religion in much of the nineteenth and twentieth century Anglosphere, it could play the role that it played in Ireland during the Penal Laws, situating itself as a space of communal cohesion and self-directed pride in an Anglo-Protestant political culture that was deeply suspicious of the Church's history and motives.²⁰ As recently as 1852

¹⁷ "Irish Home Rule" *Toronto Globe*, July 7, 1874, 2.

¹⁸ See Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'The Desired Haven'* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005), 263; and David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 554-555.

¹⁹ See Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal, Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 45.

²⁰ In her study of the development of British national identity between the 1707 Act of Union and the Great Reform Bill of 1832, Linda Colley has shown that popular Protestantism was one of the central features of uniting the English, the Scottish, and the Welsh into a British nation-state that defined itself in opposition to the power of Rome. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 23.

Benjamin Disraeli had claimed that hatred of the Pope had remained a defining feature of English public life.²¹ Despite the success of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, Irish Catholic identity was still an uncomfortable fit with British national identity. If much British history over the previous two centuries was seen as a glorious struggle and victory over the dark forces of Catholicism, where could an English-speaking Catholicism situate itself in this history? In a parliamentary debate over the capture of the Fenian W.D. O'Donoghue in Manitoba in 1877, New Brunswick M.P. John Costigan said that he felt that he had to talk up for (Catholic) Irishmen, as sometimes they were treated not as Canadians but as Irishmen in Canada.²² For Irish Catholics their religion was a barrier to a seamless integration into British, American or Anglo-Canadian life. In the same debate the Donegal-born Orangeman John White noted that unlike the English, French, and Scottish of Canada, the Irish could not stand shoulder to shoulder because of the history between them. In seeking to defend O'Donoghue, White wanted to make it known that he did so as a fellow Irishmen, believing that any Fenian sympathy was due to the nefarious influence of the United States and not anything to do with the man's Irishness.²³

The problem then for Irishmen in Canada was that they did not share the same history, or at least the same interpretation of history. For the historian David Carr, cultural communities do not arise in a social or historical vacuum. Their members do not just identify with each other as individual considerations, but rather they situate themselves in relation to a common origin and direct themselves toward the fulfilling of common projects into the future. In other words their relationship is not "instantaneous or atemporal."²⁴ Donald MacRaild has shown that for many Irish Catholics in nineteenth century Britain the Church provided rules and rituals that

²¹ William J. Smyth, *Toronto, The Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 2015) 76.

²² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 3rd Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 12, 1877, 1408-09.

²³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 3rd Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 12, 1877, 1411.

²⁴ David Carr. *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 148.

allowed for “a sense of familiar order and direction, as well as a source of mutual aid in times of crisis.”²⁵ The Catholic Church could not only provide a shared identity, but also a shared history, one of persecution, perseverance and the eventual prevailing of the Church over the obstacles in its path. It is no surprise that people thrown into social and political upheaval in the aftermath of the Great Famine would turn to the past for a sense of continuity and cultural pride that would help them face the future with a greater sense of self-worth. With the Gaelic Irish-speaking population in seemingly terminal decline, and the political lack of success in achieving even the most basic level of self-sovereignty, Irish Catholic writers and journalists would have to look to a more ancient time for a story of success.²⁶ Writing in the 1970s, cultural critic Raymond Williams described how the pastoral myth in the literature of England was part of a long and enduring history of political commentary, a critique of the prevailing social and economic order. England’s landless peasantry would look back to a time before landlords existed, a time when land was shared by all. Such retrospection in the search for foundational myths was a powerful comment on the cultural and social poverty of the present. As Williams pointed out, the myth of pre-historical unity becomes a prospective hope of better times ahead.²⁷ For Terry Eagleton nineteenth century Romantic poetry became the reserve of literary feeling and aspirations for universal truths rather than the particulates of quotidian social forms, “Things which do not exist are inevitably better than those that do, which is a fairly devastating comment on the later.”²⁸ Remembrance of a lost society was a way of anticipating a desired future. Like many of his contemporaries, the young Joseph Kearney Foran believed that Ireland’s future lay in the evocation of the greatness of Ireland’s past. As an eighteen-year-old speaking on St Patrick’s Night at the Music Hall in Québec City in 1875, he proclaimed of

²⁵ Donald M. MacRaild. *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 210.

²⁶ In 1878 *The Harp* had stated that Ireland was not as free in the nineteenth century as England had been in the thirteenth. “Chit Chat.” *The Harp*, Vol 3.1. (September 1878): 459.

²⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42-43.

²⁸ Terry Eagleton, *How to Read a Poem* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 23.

Ireland: “She was great in her ages of strife and sorrow, she will be greater still in the days of her coming regeneration.”²⁹

Montreal’s *The Harp*

Eulogizing the past in such grand terms merely underscored the insecurities felt in the present; for if the nineteenth century was the peak of British progress and civilization, reaching an apogee of influence that it had never witnessed before, the same could not be true of its sister island in the United Kingdom. Even in Canada, fine distinctions of aptitude and capability were made between different Irish groups. In 1878 the outgoing Canadian governor-general Lord Dufferin remarked that all the great Irishmen of recent years were either Protestant, or Catholics of Anglo-Norman heritage, and there was very little of those of “pure Celtic Romanist blood” who had achieved much.³⁰ Editorials in Montreal’s weekly *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* complained that there could never be a Canadian nationality as long as Irish Catholics were traduced in the press and on the pulpit and were asked to leave their history behind them in Ireland.³¹ It was in such a paranoid atmosphere that the Montreal-based journal *The Harp* was founded in 1874. Produced initially under the imprint of Callahan and Meany, and later Gilles and Callahan, the monthly journal was published by the Catholic press of D. and J. Sadlier.³² By 1876 it had a circulation of around 1,500, a not inconsiderable amount for a monthly journal.³³

²⁹ “The Emerald Isle” in Joseph Kearney Foran, *A Garland: Lectures and Poems* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1931), 3.

³⁰ “Lord Dufferin on Illustrious Irishmen” *Toronto Globe*, October 17, 1878, 2.

³¹ ‘We stand by Canada and its laws, but we shall never forget that we are Irish. And who is it that asks us to abandon our fatherland? Not an Irishman for certain. No, but some gentleman of English parentage most probably, whose policy it is to make us abandon the traditions of our race, in order to make us subservient to political tricksters and party ends.’ “The Situation” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, 28.3, August 29, 1877, p. 4.

³² Daniel O’Leary, “Irish-Canadian Identity, Imperial Nationalism: Irish Book History and Print Culture in Victorian Québec.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 33.1 (Spring, 2007): 63.

³³ By comparison, the nationwide *New Dominion Monthly* had a circulation of 3,300 and the francophone *La Revue Canadienne* (edited by Francis A. Quinn, a son-in-law of Thomas D’Arcy McGee) had an estimated circulation of 1,200. Like *The Harp*, both journals were published in Montreal. See T.F. Woods & Co’s *Canadian Newspaper Directory*. (Montreal: T. F. Wood & Co., Publishers, 1876)

The Harp sought not only to educate its middle-class readership with a knowledge of Irish Catholic history and culture, but also to inculcate a sense of bourgeois respectability that Canadian Victorian society demanded. In an article titled ‘Practical Patriotism’ the journal called on its readers to remember that in order to improve themselves, they should go about their business as if the character of the whole nation of Ireland depended on their success or failure.³⁴ Individual self-improvement and national self-improvement were one and the same as every Irish person who let him or herself down damaged all Irish people:

Let each man commence with himself. If deficient in learning let him increase his knowledge; if irregular in his habits, let him become more steady and careful in future; if intemperate, let him become sober; if wasteful and extravagant, let him practice economy. No people ever became great or prosperous without the virtue of self-denial... We of the Irish race have much to learn but we also have much to unlearn.

Irish Catholics should have all the accoutrements of a classical civilization in intellectual, artistic, and religious habits, they just lack the social graces of what is expected in a society of personal improvement and self-betterment. As *The Harp* reminded its readers “Our faults have sprung out of our misfortunes; they are not such as to make us ashamed of ourselves or our history.”³⁵ As Eric Hobsbawm noted in his history of “Mass-Producing Traditions”, this was a period when social practices trickled down between classes. The middle-classes taking on the snobbery of the upper-classes and working-class elites taking on middle-class ideas of self-improvement.³⁶ But in this anglophone Victorian world, there were but few Irish Catholic figures who could act as role models for self-improvement. Instead it was the story of the national community itself that provided such a role model. Ancient teachers of religious enlightenment, Celtic warriors of bravery, orators and bards of poetic renown, and most

³⁴ “Practical Patriotism.” *The Harp*, 3.12 (October 1878): 475.

³⁵ “Practical Patriotism.” *The Harp*, 3.12 (October 1878): 476. A later edition looked to dispel the notion that Irish Catholics were chiefly “hewers of wood and drawers of water”, claiming that 90% of teachers and students at American Catholic colleges were of Irish descent. “Irish Intellect Culture and the Schools.” *The Harp*, 5.4. (February 1880): 162.

³⁶ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 306.

importantly a community who had endured long centuries of suffering in order to maintain their faith.³⁷ In the pages of *The Harp*, Irish civilization is the oldest in northern Europe, the creators of beautiful manuscripts at a time when “the Scots were totally ignorant of letters.” When the Normans conquered England the “Saxons sank at once to the level of serfs, or traders and menials, from which they have never risen”.³⁸ All this of course published during a time in Montreal when the Scottish were far and away the most successful ethnic group in the city economically, with the English and Irish Protestants coming in second and third.³⁹

Twenty-first century political studies on nationalist identities have highlighted how individuals often look to appropriate discourses of the nation-state as a way to provide meaning and direction for their own lives in a social world in constant flux.⁴⁰ But for Irish Catholics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this relationship had special relevance as it was believed by many prominent public figures that Irish Catholics were still not well educated enough in the ways of modern political sovereignty to be trusted with some level of Home Rule. Members of the Irish Catholic diaspora, disconnected from the orality of the countryside, would need new historical narratives and political subjectivities to better situate themselves in a Victorian society that placed a high value on social distinction and cultural refinement. If imperialists lauded the British Empire as the most progressive and civilizing force of the present age, then Irish nationalists would compete by showing that Ireland was the great instructor of past ages. In the pages of *The Harp*, columnists wrote of the ancient Irish past with an imperial fervour that would not be out of place at the palace of Westminster. Between the arrival of St. Patrick and the Norman invasion, Ireland had been the “light of the North”, becoming the evangelizers of pagans and barbarians, improving the moral and intellectual life

³⁷ “Irish Miscellanies.” *The Harp*, 7.2 (December 1881): 66.

³⁸ “Irish Miscellanies.” *The Harp*, 7.11 (September 1882): 510-512.

³⁹ See Raymond Jess, *The Protestant Irish of Montreal and Canadian National Identity*. (Masters thesis, Concordia University, 2013).

⁴⁰ Phillip L. Hammack and Andrew Pilecki, “Narrative as a Root Metaphor for Political Psychology.” *Political Psychology*, 33.1 (February 2012): 84.

of their European neighbours.⁴¹ In this this desire to make the whole history of Ireland conform to a single narrative, even pre-Christian Celtic history could be adapted to the enduring story of Irish religious faith. Foran claimed that the pre-Christian Celtic druids of Ireland were early teachers of religious virtue, such that when St. Patrick finally set foot on Irish soil, he already found a people intelligent, noble and patriotic.⁴² The obsession with showing that the Irish language was older than the Greek⁴³ or that Ireland had a national existence while most of Britain was still a roman colony,⁴⁴ was all part of making Irish people aware that even if they did not have a lot of social, political, or economic capital at present, they should be aware of the great historical capital that they had inherited.⁴⁵

Pride in the achievements of the historical nation was a way of developing pride in the self, for it was by exercising sovereignty over the self that Irishmen would validate their claims for national sovereignty in the eyes of others. Writing in *The Harp* in November 1878, the former Fenian Stephen J. Meany underlined the importance of a knowledge of Irish history as an exercise in self-knowledge: “To every one it is important, for man examining the history of his kind, finds his own courage reflected, enriches his mind with the most precious treasures of wisdom, and with the material of purest enjoyment, while he acquires the most valuable knowledge of all knowledge – a knowledge of himself.”⁴⁶ Irish history then can tell someone about that aspect of themselves that has endured through time. In being cut off from the geographic surroundings that made Irishness taken for granted, Irish history provided a way of situating the self in time, if not in place. The large-scale movement of people across the Atlantic

⁴¹ “The Cross and the Harp.” *The Harp*, 7.4 (January 1882): 187-188.

⁴² “Canadian Essays – The Land of Song.” *The Harp*, 6.4 (February 1881): 166.

⁴³ “Irish Literature.” *The Harp*, 7.8. (June 1882): 368.

⁴⁴ Katherine Hughes, *Ireland* (Kingston: Canadian Freeman, 1917), 57.

⁴⁵ Various editions of *The Harp* would test readers about their knowledge of Irish historical culture, with sections entitled ‘Questions on Irish Literature’ in which readers would have to answer questions such as “Who is the greatest political philosopher in the English language?”, and “Where did Dean Swift receive his rudimentary education?” This Catholic nationalist journal had no qualms in appropriating Protestant loyalist figures as examples of shared Irish greatness. “Questions on Irish Literature.” *The Harp*, 6.4 (February 1881): 189

⁴⁶ “The Native Irish.” *The Harp*, 4.1 (November 1878): 6.

that so defined the nineteenth century meant that history had to be excavated in order to uncover a useable past that went beyond British constitutional history. But even if knowledge of Irish history was now more likely to be disseminated textually rather than orally, that history still retained much of its performative character even in the printed transcriptions of speeches and political debates. In a speech given to the St. Patrick's Literary Association of Ottawa in 1878, the city clerk and Orangeman William Pittman Lett, likened the pride he felt in being Irish on St. Patrick's Day to a disease of the heart for which there could be no remedy but death.⁴⁷ Lett went on to imagine himself knocking "at the door of the nation's memory", watching a long procession of major Irish historical figures such as Edmund Burke, Daniel O'Connell, and the Duke of Wellington walking side by side in front of his eyes. He knocks again and sees Ireland's ancient warrior kings and the material remnants of their age scattered in the landscape. He then states "And as I gaze upon the glorious vision, a voice within me whispers 'these belong to you.'"⁴⁸ The idea that Ireland's history was the personal possession of each and every Irish person illustrates how stories of the past were used not only as a narrative of communal history, but in the newly mass literacy of the nineteenth century, major historical figures became instructors of how to live one's life.⁴⁹

In a later edition of *The Harp*, the young twenty-four-year-old scholar Thomas O'Hagan asked why should we study history at all? Like Meany, O'Hagan ultimately believed that the study of history was in large part a study of the self, and like many historians of the Victorian period, regarded history as "philosophy teaching by experience."⁵⁰ He decried the

⁴⁷ William Pittman Lett, *Address Delivered by William Pittman Lett at the Grand Opera House at the Annual entertainment of the St. Patrick's Literary Association, on the 18th March* (Ottawa: s.n. 1878), 2.

⁴⁸ William Pittman Lett, *Address Delivered by William Pittman Lett at the Grand Opera House at the Annual entertainment of the St. Patrick's Literary Association, on the 18th March* (Ottawa: s.n. 1878), 3.

⁴⁹ For the historian Walter Ong, oral history works by retaining the most colourful and eventful characters from history. Mild or temperate characters do not survive oral mnemonics. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991; 1982), 70

⁵⁰ "The Study of History." *The Harp*, 5.3 (January 1880): 120. This phrase is adapted from the ideas of Viscount Bolingbroke in his *Letters on the Study of History* published in 1735.

idea that history was mere story-telling and believed that the study of history was how people of the past communicated directly with the people of the present. For O'Hagan, the difficulty in understanding people who lived two thousand years ago was made even more complicated by the difficulty people had in understanding themselves in the present. The study of a complete life fully lived should not only tell us something about past ages but should also tell us something of ourselves in the present and how we should interact with both the world around us and the people within it. The even younger Foran believed that the study of Irish history could prove enlightening for how to investigate Canadian history, or "how the study of the past can be made use to us."⁵¹ For him history was the record of human achievements and human errors, and the identification with past ideals would be the best way for individuals to learn how to navigate the future.⁵²

If Irish history was the place to look to understand what it meant to be patriotic, then Canadian history was the practical place to look to understand how successful self-government was constructed and maintained. In 1881 the editor of the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* John C. Fleming stated that Canada was fortunate to have a dry history, as for him, most history was just a record of the calamities of mankind.⁵³ The fact that Ireland has had such an animated history was largely due to the misfortunes of religious and political bigotry. Fleming seemed to acknowledge that one of the reasons that Canadian national consciousness was not as strong

⁵¹ "Canadian Education and History." *The Harp*, 5.9 (July 1880): 379.

⁵² "Canadian Education and History." *The Harp*, 5.9 (July 1880): 380. O'Hagan and Foran's ideas prefigure much of the thinking about the uses of history from more recent times. For the celebrated structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss, historical myth maintained great operational value in that it provided a timeless example that could explain the actions of people in the past, connecting them to actions of people in the present, and choices they would have to make about the future. Claude Lévi-Strauss. *Structural Anthropology, Vol 1* (New York: Basic Books, 1963; 1976), 209. For the medieval historian David Gary Shaw, narratives of the past gave examples of how agency was used to meet challenges, and how stories around agency became sites of learning for new listeners. David Gary Shaw. "Recovering the Self: Agency after Deconstruction," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot, (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), 489. For the sociologist of nationalism David McCrone, history is actively engaged with by individuals and societies as a way of fashioning identity in the present. David McCrone, "Culture and Nation," in *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, eds. Tony Bennett and John Frow (London: SAGE Publications, 2008), 335.

⁵³ "J.J. Curran, Q.C., L.L.D." *The Harp*, 6.11 (September 1881): 488.

as Ireland's in 1881 was because Canadians had not suffered the trials and tribulation of history in the same way. Fleming's view of history seemed to anticipate the views of the French historian Ernest Renan, who, a couple of months later in March 1882, delivered a famous lecture at the Sorbonne entitled *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?*⁵⁴ Renan wrote that it is not the memory of shared victory that endures across time but rather the memory of shared suffering. For Renan it was the memory of having suffered together, rather than having triumphed together, where the true common bond of national identity lied. In trying to uncover the most prominent determinants of national feeling, Renan stated that "the nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavors, sacrifices, and devotion", and that this sharing of past experiences allowed a community to better prepare for an uncertain future.⁵⁵ In the pages of *The Harp*, memory of English persecution of Catholics became a morality tale about the testing of religious faith. The fact that that faith has endured just proved the justification for spiritual resistance, "[Ireland] preferred Popery with Poverty to rich pickings and Protestantism."⁵⁶ As Partha Chatterjee noted in his study of the intellectual history of India, the narrative of ancient glory followed by long decline and mediocrity, and then followed by spectacular rebirth, is at the very heart of the Western conception of intellectual history (i.e. the heights of classical civilization followed by the descent into the medieval world, followed

⁵⁴ It is not known if Fleming was aware of Renan's work. Most likely such ideas were commonplace among what Anthony D. Smith refers to as the "educator-intellectuals" of the nineteenth century. See the following note.

⁵⁵ Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882), 52. As Julia M. Wright has shown in *Ireland, India and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* this idea of shared suffering as the basis for a common nationality had been around from about a century before Renan. Wright reminds us that Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) made the claim that identification with sorrow and suffering was a greater mark of fellow-feeling with others than identification with their joys. But while Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* set out an idea of sympathy that focused on identification with the sufferings of other individuals centred on one's own self-interest, early Irish nationalists, following their Gaelic predecessors, eulogized identification with the suffering of the community. In his *Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt* published in 1799, the United Irishman William Drennan warned prime minister Pitt that the recent uprising was the result of years of political and economic neglect by the British government, and that such a "common calamity may produce a common country." (p.27) See Julia M. Wright. *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 38-40.

⁵⁶ "Leo XIII and Catholic Congresses." *The Harp*, 4.1. (November 1878), 2.

by the rejuvenation of the Renaissance).⁵⁷ The Irish Catholic timeline takes a somewhat different course from mainland Europe. The fall of classical civilization heralded the arrival of the golden age of Irish civilization, while the arrival of the period of the Renaissance, and more especially the Reformation that so transformed the West, was the beginning of a great dark age for Catholic Ireland. With the development of the Home Rule movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was hoped that a national renaissance would finally arrive for Ireland.⁵⁸ As Foran remarked in 1882 (foreshadowing Patrick Pearse), “That the Easter morning will soon appear when the ‘Angel of the Resurrection,’ clothing himself in a white robe, will point to the empty sepulchre of the nation’s liberty, or ascend the scaffold [...] and bequeath to the crowd beneath a model for their study, and an example for their practice.”⁵⁹ As Svetlana Boym has noted, the greater our distance from the past, the more it is prone to idealizations.⁶⁰ While such idealizations seem to do away with historical context, they also provide a sense of continuity over time, uniting the present self with an ancient past and an anticipated future.⁶¹ The religious lesson that such idealizations provide is one where the sufferings of the recent

⁵⁷ Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 102.

⁵⁸ In *The Harp* the relationship between nationality and religion were made an essential foundation of Irish Home Rule, “A people without religion are unfit to enjoy the blessings of liberty.” “Irish Faith and Patriotism.” *The Harp*, (December 1878): 52.

⁵⁹ “Europe 1848 – Ireland.” *The Voice* 7.12 (December 1882): 182. Other examples of Christian metaphor as political foreshadowing include: “But as surely as the crucifixion was followed by the Resurrection, so surely must there be an end to that long road of national persecution, and a grand Easter of Liberty come to crown the Lenten season of Erin’s sufferings.” “St. Patrick’s Day in the Morning and Afternoon.” *The Owl*, 10.7 (March 1897): 390; ‘We celebrate today the returning glories of Ireland, her day of joy is come and her good Friday is passed, the clouds of persecution have been scattered and now the sun of her glorious Easter is about to shine upon her.’ “The Saint Patrick’s Day Banquet.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 9.6 (March 1907): 154; Foran even used the Easter metaphor to speak of Canada’s political future, “[Foran] speaks of the Easter of constitutional freedom, a mixed population of creeds and races all working out their magnificent destinies of our fair Dominion.” “Address by J.K. Foran.” *The Catholic Register*, 16.14 (April 2, 1908): 5.

⁶⁰ Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 17. Such idealizations were noted by Edward Hartley Dewart in the introduction to one of the first Canadian poetry anthologies, printed in the years before Confederation: “Things that are hoary with age, and dim in their distance, from us, are more likely to win veneration and approval, while whatever is near and familiar loses in interest and attraction.” Edward Hartley Dewart, *Selections from Canadian Poets* (J. Lovell, Montreal, 1864), xv.

⁶¹ Recent evidence shows there are benefits to psychological well-being from the sense of self-continuity that strong group identity provides. See Anouk Smeekes & Maykel Verkuyten, “Perceived Group Continuity, Collective Self-Continuity, and In-Group Identification.” *Self and Identity*, 13:6, (2014): 663-680. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2014.898685>.

past will be rewarded by the glories of the anticipated future. Throughout his life Foran repeated this mantra that the leader of nations (God) would deliver Ireland from a dark past to a great future.⁶²

For Joep Leerssen, remembrance of past wrongs allows for new generations to identify with the traumas of the past, to understand and feel the sense of indignation that they felt, and so maintain the continuity of identity across the generations. In Leerssen's words "in this outlook, the past is by no means a foreign country; the past is unfinished business, neither forgiven, nor forgotten."⁶³ But such traumas and sufferings were rarely ever expressed with adequate solemnity on the printed page, especially in the English language. As mentioned in the introduction, while history may be *written* by the winners, in the Irish case, history may also be sung and instrumentalized by the losers. In a recent study of the relationship between Irish music and Irish literary culture, the musicologist Harry White has referred to traditional Irish music as a kind of metalanguage, and an intelligencer of Irish history. He suggests that much of the sorrow and melancholy related to events in Irish history have been transmitted as much by airs and melodies as they have by lyrics and poetry. White identifies Thomas Moore as one of the first Irish writers to recognize this powerful conduit of historical consciousness, going on to suggest that Moore's *Irish Melodies* were attempts to translate the meanings and emotional resonances of the melodies themselves, (the sense of sadness, loss, and dispossession), into the English language. Such well known airs and melodies would have been a shared oral inheritance and could be lyrically adapted to the politics or cultural temperaments of the day. The power of this inheritance was not just as a conduit of historical consciousness, but also as a communicator of sentimental affinity across the generations. It should come as no

⁶² "Concert and Lecture – Catholic Young Men's Society Soiree." *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, 42.19 (November 30, 1892), 6.

⁶³ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Ireland: Cork University, 1996), 180.

surprise that the *Times* in London would regard the songs and poems of the Young Irelanders as more dangerous than the speeches of O'Connell.⁶⁴ In 1881 the Conservative MP for Montreal Centre, John Joseph Curran observed that even as recently as the development of the Land League, traditional songs were being adapted as engines of political and partisan tactics. He believed that songs did more to direct Irish political causes as they were “more powerful than the most lofty eloquence to reach the heart and direct the course of the people.”⁶⁵ He went on to suggest that while such “partisan poetry” was to be found in the national songs of Canada, they were not recited in drawing rooms and along the rivers of the country as they were in Ireland. For Foran, Ireland's history lived recorded in her songs.⁶⁶ He would note that “in all grand movements we find the spirit of the nation more powerful in the songs than in the laws.”⁶⁷ For the later Irish-Canadian students at the University of Ottawa, the songs of Ireland were considered the true voice of Irish popular consciousness, sustaining the national spirit “when all things else seemed hopeless.”⁶⁸

The primacy of music as an intelligencer of Irish history, showed up the paucity of the English language monograph as a way of understating the *mentalité* of historical subjects in Ireland. Foran believed that the study of material history such as monuments and coins, as well as the study of music, would be a necessary supplement to any history of Ireland and its people based solely on the printed word.⁶⁹ For, by the end of the nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of Irish Catholics both at home and abroad were a literate anglophone population.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin. *O'Brien Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2008), 83.

⁶⁵ “Partizan Poetry.” *The Harp*, 6.4 (February 1881): 183.

⁶⁶ “Bards of Ireland.” *The Harp*, 7.5 (March 1882): 225. Foran's idea of history being ‘recorded’ in Ireland's songs is especially illuminating when we think that he was speaking at a time (1882), before the development of recorded music; from a contemporary standpoint one can see that Irish history was already ‘sound-tracked’ so to speak, long before the innovations of technological recording.

⁶⁷ “Bards of Ireland.” *The Harp*, 7.5. (March 1882): 225.

⁶⁸ “Ireland's Song.” *The Owl*, 7.4 (December 1893): 198.

⁶⁹ “Canadian Education and History.” *The Harp*, 5.9 (July 1880): 377.

⁷⁰ Illiteracy rates among Irish Catholics in Ireland had dropped from 45.8% to 11.3% in the half century between 1861 and 1911. Donald Harmen Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

This was something entirely new and novel in Irish history. Just one hundred years before, most of the population in Ireland was still a non-literate Irish speaking population. If most of the Irish were now disconnected from that oral Irish-speaking world, how were they to access the culture of their ancestors and allow that culture to speak to them across time? In the final edition of *The Harp*, published in 1882, Foran made a special plea to his readers to uncover all they could about Irish history:

To the general reader of our day, those dry repetitions of the names of dead kings and lost poets-names very often difficult to pronounce and remember is very tiresome; but to those who take an interest in Ireland's past, her histories, memories, etc., these articles may prove, as they have proven to us, very interesting and exceedingly instructive. How very many we find to-day talking in high phrases and loud tones about the "great glories of Ireland," and who know, really, so very little about the sources and causes of all Erin's greatness. It is, we consider, far more instructive and far more profitable, so far as a real, true knowledge of the past goes, to pick up the old, old relics, manuscripts, magazines, poems or histories, and if at times a little dry to not mind it, but read away and glean all that is possible from them... We deplore greatly that we know so very little about Ireland, but what little we do possess we freely give it to those whose occupations and other circumstances would not permit of the acquiring themselves.⁷¹

Yet despite all the discourse about study of Irish history as an exercise in self-improvement, some observers still viewed the study of Irish history as a potentially dangerous force. In Goldwin Smith's political journal *The Bystander*, one of the problems identified with the recounting of Irish history was that it was imparted with demagogism and passion, and leads Irish people (especially Irish "Celts" of Munster and Connacht) to believe that the fault in their circumstances was all the fault of the British, rather than looking within themselves.⁷² If certain interpretations of Irish history were becoming inimical to the development of a Canadian national identity (not to mention actual security threats in the guise of the Fenians), then it should be possible to reinterpret that history to meet the nation-building plans of the present. Thomas D'Arcy McGee had already proved that such interpretations were possible when he published *Canadian Ballads* in 1858. In poems such as 'International Song' and

⁷¹ "Ireland's Literature – No.5." *The Harp*, 7.12 (October 1882): 562.

⁷² "The Irish Question." *The Bystander*, No. 4, (October 1883): 304.

‘Apostrophe to the Boyne’ he looked back both to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and the Battle of the Boyne, praising the bravery of the winners and the losers on both sides. McGee believed that Canadians should respect the histories of both Catholic and Protestant, French and British. Differing interpretations of Irish history shows how historical interpretations were derived as much from their perceived value and usefulness to present day concerns as they were from trying to understand that history for its own sake. It was possible after all to view Irish history as a narrative of Enlightenment progress, rather than a sad tale of oppression and woe. A Trinity College Dublin graduate such as Charles Pelham Mulvany could look back to a United Irishman like Robert Emmet and see in him the beginnings of an Irish politics that could transcend the sectarianism of the Irish past. Although Mulvany had joined the Queen’s Own Rifles during the Fenian raids, he saw the class background of the United Irishmen as the basis for a nobler breed of Irish patriot. In his poem ‘Sarah Curran 1803’, he lauds Emmet’s vision for Ireland, one that is of a nobler ken, than what the Irish-American Fenians represent: “Let the high aim the hasty deed redeem...No more a faction’s cry - a pauper’s dream –.”⁷³ In Montreal’s *Canadian Spectator* the Protestant editor Alfred J. Bray stated that as a Protestant he was prouder of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 than he was of the Battle of the Boyne, and that old-world feuds should be buried in Canada.⁷⁴ For Irish Catholic Canadians part of this public relations campaign was proving to their compatriots that their Catholicism was of greater value to them than the republicanism of their Irish-American brethren.⁷⁵ *The Harp* indicated that in Canada especially, Catholics enjoyed greater freedom of conscience than they did in the United States.⁷⁶ In the journal *The Voice*, Foran denounced the antireligious rebellions of 1848 in France and Italy, comparing them negatively with what he saw as the justified rebellion of

⁷³ ‘Sarah Curran 1803’ in Amos Henry Chandler & Charles Pelham Mulvany. *Lyrics, Songs and Sonnets* (Toronto: Hunter & Rose, 1880), 33.

⁷⁴ “The Irish and Orangeism” *Canadian Spectator* July 27, 1878, 214.

⁷⁵ Daniel O’Leary, “Irish-Canadian Identity, Imperial Nationalism: Irish Book History and Print Culture in Victorian Québec.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 33.1 (Spring, 2007): 63.

⁷⁶ “Editorial Comments.” *The Harp*, 7.1 (July 1878): 44.

the same year in Ireland.⁷⁷

Teaching the New Narratives of National History

For Aristotle in his *Poetics*, plot stands for the achieved intellectual control of events, the ability to downplay contingency and accident in order to uphold identity.⁷⁸ In much of the textual discourse of Irish-Canadians during this period, there is a strong desire to organize and validate the events of the past in order to better situate the self within the historical destiny of the nation. The historian Hayden White has argued that the development of narrative in the nineteenth century as a way of representing historical events was tied in with the development of the secular collective subject; the story of history was a moral story of how both the individual and the nation argued for justice in the political sphere. As Irish literary scholar Ann Rigney put it “Narrating history became thus implicitly a way of moralising in that it showed whether the achievement of certain values was possible or not given the distribution of power in the period being described (crudely put: did the forces of good prevail?).”⁷⁹ The notion was strong in many Irish nationalist narratives that Ireland was still living with the trauma of the past and could not move on from that past without allowing the people of Ireland the collective right to control their political destiny. But at the same time, by not moving on from the past the righteous power of Ireland’s historical struggle was kept aflame and provided the endless solace of moral purpose, even in the peaceable kingdom of Canada. One did not need to read Fenian orations to find the force of this moral purpose, one could even find it in the words of Irish-Ontarian bishops such as John Joseph Lynch, “The sighs and groans of millions of the Irish and their children have ascended to heaven for over seven centuries, and a just retribution

⁷⁷ A rebellion that Canadian founding father Thomas D’Arcy McGee was implicated in. “1848, In Europe.” *The Voice* 7.10 (October 1882): 147.

⁷⁸ Nancy Partner. “The Fundamental Things Apply: Aristotle’s Narrative Theory and the Classical Origins of Postmodern History,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot, (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), 500.

⁷⁹ Ann Rigney. “History as Text: Narrative Theory and History.” *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, Eds. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 192.

will certainly follow and England may be brought down yet to the condition of Ireland”; and Bishop James Vincent Cleary of Kingston, “We cling steadfastly to the cause of our mother country through weal or woe. We hold it dear to our hearts, as a principle of life consecrated by the prayers and tears of our fathers, the suffering of our martyred brothers, the traditions of the Irish fireside, and the inextinguishable instincts of our ancient nationality”⁸⁰

Nevertheless, by the time these words were uttered at an anti-coercion meeting in Toronto in 1887, many Ontarians were becoming fatigued with Irish issues. The rejection of the first Home Rule bill by Westminster in 1886 and the rise of Irish Unionism as a political force meant that many Irish-Protestant Ontarian figures felt they could no longer support Home Rule for Ireland.⁸¹ Irish Parliamentary Party MP William O’Brien’s visit to Canada in 1887 to complain against the Governor-General Lord Lansdowne’s role as an absentee Irish landlord, caused much division between Irish Canadians, Catholic and Protestant.⁸² The failure of the second Home Rule bill in 1893 would lead to an increasing focus on cultural rather than parliamentary politics in Ireland.

The cultural revival in Ireland was generated by numerous intellectual figures who, by the end of the nineteenth century were becoming conscious of what Ireland was losing with regard to its cultural heritage. Demographic decline and anglicization brought a realization that Ireland was going through irreversible changes and that unless something was done quickly, Ireland could lose much of the living connection it had with the pre-Famine culture of the island. Knowledge of the Revival outside of Ireland would also play a role in making some members of the diaspora take a greater interest in their Irish heritage. In May of 1895, Lady

⁸⁰ Both quotes are from letters sent to an anti-coercion meeting in Toronto in 1887. “The Anti-Coercion Meeting” *Toronto Globe*, April 20, 1887, 3.

⁸¹ These included Tory politicians such as Nathaniel Clark Wallace and D’Alton McCarthy. Both were quoted in the press in Ireland as stating that Irish Parliamentary Party politicians would oppress Ulster, destroy Ireland, and interfere with the affairs of Great Britain. “Canadian Opinion” *Freemans Journal*, February 16, 1893, 5.

⁸² O’Brien came to denounce Lansdowne for evicting tenants from his property in Ireland. Like many Irish nationalists visiting Canada, O’Brien would receive a warm welcome in predominantly Catholic Montreal, but a not so warm welcome in predominantly Protestant Toronto.

Aberdeen, the wife of the Governor-General of Canada, gave a lecture on the Irish Literary Revival to an audience of women in Montreal. In the speech she stated that a love of history and literature was one of the best ways to induce love of country, and that “a true and loyal love of the country of our forefathers will pave the way for an equal, if not greater, loyal attachment to the land of our adoption.”⁸³ Like Grant, Foran, and Pittman Lett before her, Lady Aberdeen saw the pride the Irish take in a knowledge of their history as a good way for Canadians to gain knowledge and pride in their own history. Irish “passion” for their own culture and history was a benchmark for how the new Dominion of Canada should feel about its culture and history. The Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) were especially prominent in this regard, calling for the teaching of Irish history alongside that of British history in Canada’s anglophone Catholic schools. For the AOH, a Catholic Irish history for the children of Irish Catholic emigrants was essential if they did not want to be thought of as the children of Britain.⁸⁴ In a speech to the AOH on St. Patrick’s Day in 1899, Irish Catholic Conservative MP and Canadian Solicitor-General Charles Fitzpatrick sought to remind his audience that the “nations of the old world and the new owed Irishmen a debt of gratitude for the example they had set of firmness and fortitude under oppression.”⁸⁵ For Fitzpatrick, Irish history was an object lesson on what it means to endure for love of the nation. For Andrew T. Herson, leader of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Toronto, knowledge of the history and traditions of Ireland would inculcate a whole range of virtues in students, including intellectuality, humanity, generosity and a love of justice and liberty: “if we should be the means of

⁸³ Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon (Countess of Aberdeen), *The Irish Literary Revival: A Lecture Delivered at the Request of the Catholic Young Ladies' Literary Association* (Toronto: s.n. 1895), 28.

⁸⁴ By 1908 the American AOH had recognized the role played by the Christian Brothers in Canada in teaching Irish history and music in their schools: “I desire at this time to say, that in every Catholic school in Canada which is in the charge of the Irish Christian brothers not alone is Irish history taught in those schools come up but also Irish music, and the children entertained me in many of the schools with the songs, music and dances of the old land. I think it proper that the members of our organization should know this fact and I take this opportunity of complementing our Canadian brothers for the great work they are doing.” “The Irish Language and Irish History in America.” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, (August 22, 1908): 9.

⁸⁵ “A Glorious Past” *Toronto Globe*, March 18, 1899, 32.

perpetuating those virtues to some extent in future generations of Canadians we will consider that we have been amply repaid for the many sacrifices we now make.”⁸⁶ Here again we can see the practical function of historical knowledge, ancient Irish history as a role model of purpose and action in the modern world.

The Owl and University of Ottawa Review

While the AOH hoped that Irish history and culture would be better known in Canada’s elementary and secondary schools, there was also a strong desire for a greater study of Irish history among Irish-Canadian university students, none more evident than in the writings of anglophone Catholic students at the University of Ottawa between 1890 and 1914. In their student magazines such as *The Owl* and the *University of Ottawa Review*, these students often wrote about the lack of information about Irish history at the university level. As anglophone Catholic students, there was perhaps little for them to identify with in their study of British imperial history, a history in which the Catholic Church was considered one of the great enemies of the British constitutional system that Canada thrived under. Thrown into the world of anglophone Canadian university culture, where they learned British and continental European history, they seem to have felt that Catholic Ireland was getting short shrift. Who would speak for Catholic Ireland in this imperial history? Cut off from much of the Gaelic Irish past, a knowledge of Irish history in the English language became the site of modern Irish consciousness. Here, the descendants of the Gaelic Irish had to stake their claim, to compete with the other literate anglophones of the United States and the British Empire. And it was not just a history lesson of quiet contemplation, but rather an active lesson in self-improvement:

You may talk about British or French or Spanish aristocracy, but what are they compared with our own generous and holy Irish ancestors. We are the descendants of a chosen people, of saints and scholars, and we must be worthy of them. From the story of their trials and successes we can learn to love the high Christian ideals for which they lived and died. This is the lesson Irish history teaches: *Noblesse oblige*. And we

⁸⁶ “The Celt in Canada: Mr. A.T. Herson’s Statement of his Outlook.” *Toronto Globe* March 22, 1904, 12.

are not Irishmen if we do not know Irish history and its lesson.⁸⁷

Interestingly, one the major offenders that these students blamed for their lack of knowledge of Irish history was their own Irish-born parents.⁸⁸ For Svetlana Boym, this is often the way with the children and grandchildren of first-generation emigrants. While those emigrants are often quite unsentimental about leaving the homeland, it is often their descendants who feel a strong desire for self-location, not only in place but also in time.⁸⁹

While some British and Canadian commentators regretted that so many Irish continued to pore over the tragedies and traumas of the past, hoping that once properly educated, they would be able to see that past in a new light, these Catholic university students felt that the yearly resurrection of past sorrows on St. Patrick's Day was how many Irish people kept their historical consciousness fresh and engaged with the political and religious identities of their ancestors. For the Irish-Canadian Catholic students at the University of Ottawa, such repetitions were part of the ongoing relevance of Irish history to their self-location in the world. Like reciting a decade of the rosary, the memories of past wrongs were rehearsed and recounted year upon year, the "battles fought over again and again", and the all the glories of past sung with both sadness and gusto; "In this manner is Ireland's history handed down from father to son and insured a faithful keeping."⁹⁰ To forget the intensity of feeling of one's ancestors'

⁸⁷ John J. O'Gorman, "The Irish Question." *University of Ottawa Review*, 5.8 (April 1903): 407.

⁸⁸ 'We view as a little less than a crime, that Irish parents should allow their children to grow up ignorant of the glories of their forefathers; of the piety, the learning, the patriotism of which every age, yes every page, of Irish history furnishes us with numerous examples. Yet the fact is that Irish men are, as a general rule, but poorly informed about their country's past; that they seek knowledge of her from the stranger, and take his prejudiced view as historic truth.' "The Study of History." *The Owl*, 3.5 (January 1890): 211; 'Can the history of such a nation be neglected or unknown? For us on this continent, it would seem so, had we to depend solely on our knowledge of history received at school, for there the history of Ireland is totally disregarded. Our Irish parents are also much to blame, for forgetful of the multiplied examples of piety, learning and patriotism, which every page of their country's history affords, suffer their children to sacrifice it for a knowledge of England and other countries.' "Ireland's Song." *The Owl*, 7.4 (December 1893): 196.

⁸⁹ Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xv.

⁹⁰ "Patriotic Speeches." *The Owl*, 9.8 (April 1896): 417. For Partha Chatterjee the historical truth of Hindu India was only understood when it had escaped the western notion of progress and historical time. Repetition and non-historical time were the marks of mythic truth in Indian history. Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 55.

anger, sorrow, and pain would be like abandoning them to the silence of the archives. Suffering then was not a traumatic experience to be transcended, but rather a shared meaning to be re-enacted and memorialized; in the words of one student, “Lord, lord, send me grief that I may live.”⁹¹

However, living in loyalist Canada also meant that the tragedies of the past would have to be forgiven, if not forgotten. The Ottawa students were more than willing to forgive the actions of Protestant Britain, but not willing to “forget the land purpled with martyrs blood” or “the yoke of tyrannical oppression laid on our ancestors.”⁹² The Irish story then relies on the fact that there is some aspect of the self (e.g. one’s Irishness) that has endured through time. It also gives one some assurance that some aspect of the self will endure after death, what some have referred to as symbolic immortality.⁹³ This idea of group continuity through time also plays a role in situating the self in a continuum of history, and providing a sense of not only group continuity, but self-continuity, i.e. an enduring national history equals an enduring aspect of one’s sense of self. Such a relationship between a long history and the repeating rejuvenation of the Irish people was occasionally remarked on, “It may be said of the Irish that no people are so ancient and so young.”⁹⁴ There is no crisis of identity here, rather Irish identity acts as an anchor of historical certainty in an age of historical change. It provides not just a communal belonging, but a cognitive belonging to a sense of destiny and inevitability. The sense of certainty that such a history provides is its assurance that one can absorb the changes occurring all around them and be confident that there is some aspect of the self, (one’s Irishness), that will not change in any fundamental manner. As John Hutchinson has underscored in his history of the Irish Revival, there was a strong belief among nationalists that the Irish were able to

⁹¹ “St. Patrick’s Day Banquet.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 2.7 (March, 1900): 463.

⁹² “The Annual St. Patrick’s Day Banquet.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 3.7 (March 1901): 360.

⁹³ Anouk Smeekes & Maykel Verkuyten, “Perceived Group Continuity, Collective Self-Continuity, and In-Group Identification.” *Self and Identity*, 13:6, (2014): 664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2014.898685>. Accessed January 5, 2020.

⁹⁴ “The Future of the Irish People.” *The Harp*, 3.4. (February 1878): 148.

assimilate all their invaders including the Vikings and the Normans; and while they were less able to assimilate new arrivals from the seventeenth century onwards, Catholic nationalists at least believed that their ancestors were not assimilated in turn, “still the character of the people remained unchanged; and in spite of all attempts that were made to exterminate them, the bards and mistrals lived through it all and ever continued to animate the hopes of the nation.”⁹⁵

In meeting the demands of modernity, Irish history provided a strong anchor of location and meaning. This conservative resistance to change was part of its attraction. In fact, the idea of being so ancient and so young denoted the idea that the Irish had yet to fall prey to the alienation of modernity.⁹⁶ And yet nineteenth century Irish history would seem to reflect that idea of alienation in a very dramatic sense. An older society revolutionized by a recent human disaster, the Great Famine, and much of its population thrown into modernity across the seas. Torn from their places of meaning, they would be expected to flounder in the cities of Britain and the New World.⁹⁷ But Irish history itself became a refuge and an anchor of such meaning. When the Black Rock was erected in Montreal in 1859 in commemoration of those who had died during the summer of 1847, it was meant to stand as a literal rock of remembrance for those who had perished that terrible summer. However, in the 1890s the rock was removed by the Grand Trunk Railway in order to extend the area of its workshops. After nearly two decades of activism by the Irish community of Montreal, the rock was finally returned to a place near its original site, where it rests today.⁹⁸ When learning of the return of the rock to its original site, students at the St. Patrick’s Day Banquet at the University of Ottawa managed to bring the

⁹⁵ “St. Patrick’s Day Banquet.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 2.7 (March 1900): 450.,

⁹⁶ An alienation that was becoming increasingly clear to many major thinkers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the turn of the twentieth century Karl Marx’s theory of alienation had been added to by many of the thinkers of the new science of Sociology such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Thorstein Veblen.

⁹⁷ As J.P. O’Hanly had stated “the great body of our people now scattered and divided, floating on an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, tossed about without guide or rudder by every wind of political doctrine.”

⁹⁸ For the history of the rock see Colin McMahon, “Montreal’s Ship Fever Monument: An Irish Famine Memorial in the Making.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 33.1 (Spring 2007): 48-60.

typhus dead of Montreal into the great narrative of Irish history “the great monument erected in 1859 is to be returned to its former position, and will forever mark the ground made sacred, by the tears and blood, of these heroic martyr exiles.”⁹⁹ The typhus dead of Pointe St. Charles are categorized as heroic martyrs, entering an exclusive club that includes those who fought Cromwell, William of Orange, and who rose up in rebellion in 1798. Although their deaths were part of a modern economic disaster, their memory can be easily assimilated into Ireland’s history of heroic endurance in the face of cruel injustices. Far from being a site of fatal estrangement from home and meaning, the Black Rock became a locus of enduring connection to home and meaning. Narratives of loss and defeat must be refashioned into stories of patience and fortitude if they are not to vanish from history.¹⁰⁰

In Joseph Kearney Foran’s poem ‘To Erin’s Harp’, written when he was seventeen, he speaks of Ireland’s harp as a symbol of Ireland’s identity that has been passed between various writers and poets, such as Thomas Davis, Denis Florence McCarthy and Gerald Griffin. Foran hopes that one day he too may be able to lay his hand on the harp and to praise Ireland in song and story so that he can do his work in seeing “the foes from thy shores in a whirlwind flying”.¹⁰¹ The young Foran longs to be part of that narrative heritage, one that comes from “the twilight of ages”. To be Irish, then, is to be part of a long historical narrative, one that provides a cognitive order among the contingencies of history. The re-telling of collective narratives of the past is not just a social act of sharing, but also a performative act that reorients how people should feel or emote toward that narrative. For Hayden White the coherency of the narrative past provides a comforting sense of completeness and control that the fragmentation and contingency of everyday experience cannot provide. The historical narrative reveals a lifeworld

⁹⁹ “St. Patrick’s Day Banquet.” *University of Ottawa Review*, 13.6 (March 1911): 231.

¹⁰⁰ Walter Ong. *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991; 1982), 67. The power of such refashioning was famously expressed by Cork Lord Mayor and republican Terence MacSwiney during his hunger strike in 1920, “it is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most who will win.”

¹⁰¹ ‘To Erin’s Harp’ in Dr. J.K. Foran, *Poems & Canadian Lyrics* (Montreal: D & J Sadlier & Co., 1895), 240.

that has ended and passed on but has not disappeared or become unknowable.¹⁰² In that sense it provides a sense of consolation that the present passing of time does not provide. In White's words the historical lifeworld "wears the mask of meaning, the completeness and fullness of which we can only imagine, never experience."¹⁰³ Narrative closure to historical events provides them with a sense of emplotment, as if they were destined to occur all along, thus giving reality the sense of an ideal.¹⁰⁴ Recounting the hardships of one's ancestors allows us to harness their endurance and identify our continuity with their struggles. The sufferings and trauma they had to endure only make their sacrifice more "brilliant" and "resplendent."¹⁰⁵ For the Ottawa students, the relationship between religion and historical nationality was more than obvious. The religious experience of the soul at rest outside time, and the narrative closure of the historical event, share in an ideal sense of personal continuity outside the corporal materiality of the physical self. Recounting the events of the past allows for a complete sense of historical reality that can overcome the uncertainty and ambiguity of living in the present. The repetition of historic wrongs at political rallies, St. Patrick's Day banquets, and theatrical concerts allowed for the certainty of past events to play a role in the anticipation of future events, like the ever changing of the seasons. It is perhaps for this reason that Ottawa student Edward Bolger's near-accurate predictions of Ireland one hundred years on from 1897 were not entirely the product of lucky guesswork. The perennial concerns of geographic marginalization, enduring poverty, political colonization, and the deprecation of Irish culture (both religious and vernacular) provided Irish people with a series of historical problems that needed to be solved, a goal-orientated chronology that furnished an array of obligations and

¹⁰² Hayden White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry*, 7.1 (Autumn: 1980): 24.

¹⁰³ Hayden White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry*, 7.1 (Autumn: 1980): 24.

¹⁰⁴ 'The Irish were always seekers of the ideal; to them the ideal were more than the real. God and country were paramount. Hence being religious and patriotic must they be poetic.' "The Annual St. Patrick's Day Banquet." *University of Ottawa Review*, 3.7 (March 1901): 367.

¹⁰⁵ "The Annual St. Patrick's Day Banquet." *University of Ottawa Review*, 3.7 (March 1901): 375.

imperatives as a mandate for action in the present.

Something of this binding, and as a consequence deliberately limiting, approach to history could also be observed in traditional Canadian historiography. Writing in 1957 the Canadian intellectual historian Crawford B. Macpherson tried to sum up what he believed were the essential differences between French-Canadian and English-Canadian historians. For Macpherson traditional French-Canadian historians wrote their history as a moralizing history, a history that taught strength in the face of adversity and was a mechanism by which actors and agents maintained the survival of the community. By contrast English-Canadian historians did not “write in the imperative mood.”¹⁰⁶ They tended to have a more pragmatic approach to the writing of history, trying to uncover the interplay of forces that had bequeathed the political institutions and social values that contemporary Canadians lived by. It was through such a pragmatic approach that both Irish and Canadian politicians attempted to formulate solutions to Ireland’s historical problems in the decades following the founding of the Home Rule Association in Ireland in 1870.

¹⁰⁶ C. B. Macpherson, ‘The Social Sciences’, in Julian Park, *The Culture of Contemporary Canada* (Toronto, 1957), p.183

Chapter 2 - Home Rule: The Canadian Transcendence of Irish History

Do we suppose remedial legislation brought about in the 19th century can wipe out the wrongs of 700 years? The iron has sunk into the souls of the people. There is not a green hillside or sequestered valley that does not remind the Irish peasant of some wrong, some act of tyranny on the part of his oppressors. When we remember the wrongs they have treasured up in that unwritten history handed down from father to son and which is far more accurate than any published history of Irish affairs, we must make allowances for some of the outrages we all deplore.

- *From Canada, House of Commons Debates, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1053*

The history of Ireland is a compendium of all the difficulties and mistakes which have beset the administration of colonies as well as of dependencies in every part of the world. To be understood Anglo-Irish and Anglo-American must always be studied side by side.

- *From The Project of a Commonwealth: An Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire and into the Mutual Relations of the Several Communities Thereof (London; Toronto: Macmillan, 1915), 541*

In the 1882 debates on “Local Self-Government for Ireland” in the Canadian House of Commons, James Patterson gave some insight into the difficulty of expecting the Irish to put their history behind them. Patterson, an Armagh-born, Dublin-educated Protestant, reminded the House of the power of oral history in Ireland, and how songs, material ruins, and place names, recount as much about the communal history of Ireland as any academic work could ever do. For Patterson, attempts to transcend recent Irish history would be a herculean task, one that would involve not only altering political realities in the present, but also challenging the myths of oral Irish culture and re-narrating the materiality of the landscape of Ireland. The burden of Irish history was not just about a political legacy of failure, it was also about a communal culture that derived a profound and enduring sense of meaning from that very failure. For British politicians such an enduring cultural legacy always seemed to undermine practical attempts to govern; so much so that, as shown in *The Project of a Commonwealth*, Irish history should become a handy ‘how-not-to’ guide for colonial governance.

In 1886 *The Daily Telegraph* in the UK criticized the Canadian Parliament for passing resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Ireland for a second time, highlighting a belief that the Irish and Canadian situations were very different. The Canadians on Parliament Hill had failed to understand the self-mythologizing nature of Irish nationalism. The newspaper stated that Canada had “no ancient history, no traditions of independence, no stories of long and bitter resistance to English rule.” If the majority of Canadians decided that they no longer wanted to be connected to the mother country, the British government would hardly be in any position to do anything about it. In the Canadian case, separation from Britain would be achieved through rational debate, but “in the Irish case there would be the splendour of a defiance.”¹

But while many in the British press argued that the situations of Ireland and Canada were not analogous, Irish history was often invoked in Canada as a way of contextualizing contemporary political crises. Canada after all was a political entity that followed the conventions of English common law, drawing much of its interpretation of political events from historical precedent. And nowhere in British history were there so many precedents of political crises than in England’s relationship with Ireland. Whether debating the merits of the National Policy,² arguing against the funding of separate Catholic schooling outside Québec,³ or deciding how the government should have better acted against the threat posed by Louis

¹ “The Commercial Aspect of Home Rule (from the Daily Telegraph)”, *Belfast Newsletter*, March 11, 1886, 6.

² See Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 7th Parliament, 6th Session, vol. 1, February 6-7, 1896. Liberal party free trade supporter Sir Richard Cartwright argued that just like in Ireland, it was due to economic protection policies that Canadians were leaving Canada in droves to settle in the United States. Conservative Minister of Justice Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper defended the National Policy by arguing that Irish emigration numbers ballooned only after the removal of the Corn Laws and the introduction of free trade, and most of the Irish emigrated to the United States, a country with strong protectionist policies.

³ See Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 7th Parliament, 6th Session, vol. 1, March 4-11, 1896. Various references were made to Ireland and the right of minorities to rule over majorities when debating the remedial bill on the Manitoba Schools Question, which was brought forward by Mackenzie Bowell’s Conservative government in March 1896. The remedial bill sought to give federal support to Catholic schooling in Manitoba, even though the provincial government disavowed separate schooling. Most politicians argued that Manitoba should not be coerced by the federal government, and to look to Ireland to see the effects of coercion. From an opposing perspective Charles Ramsey Devlin made a vigorous speech in support of separate schooling arguing that many Orangemen in the Canadian House of Commons believed in the rights of religious minorities in Ireland, why not in Manitoba.

Riel and the Metis,⁴ Canadian politicians would occasionally look to examples from Irish history to back up their arguments. Irish history had become a common law text that politicians could use to warn of the consequences that could accrue if the government decided on the wrong path for Canada; *just look at Ireland* was a common refrain. But if Irish history could be used as a warning of what could go wrong for Canada, similarly Canadian history could be used as an example of what could go right for Ireland. For the sociologist Margaret Somers, individuals and peoples make sense of what is happening to them by integrating narratives of their own experiences with the narratives of others.⁵ Such integration of narratives allows people to situate their identities historically and guide their action politically. In the Irish-Canadian case, nowhere was this integration of narratives more evident than in the Canadian support of Home Rule for Ireland.

Home Rule for Ireland was a recurring feature of Canadian political discourse for close to half a century between the 1870s and 1920, and resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Ireland were passed by the Canadian parliament four different times, in 1882, 1886, 1887, and 1903. Irish Canadian historiography of the Home Rule movement has traditionally focused on the role of Irish-Canadians in advocating for a form of government in Ireland that had been so successful in Canada.⁶ More recent historiography of Home Rule politics and Canada has

⁴ See Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 19-23, 1886. In debating the rights and wrongs of Riel's execution, many references were made to nineteenth-century Irish history. Many politicians from Québec argued that rebellious Irish leaders were almost never executed by the British as the authorities had to think about the wider backlash that would accrue if such executions were carried out. Many complained that no such liberties were offered to the Metis.

⁵ Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach." *Theory and Society*, 23.5 (1994): 614.

⁶ Two notable graduate theses are: Stanley Horrall, *Canada and the Irish Question: A Study of the Canadian Response to Home Rule 1882-1893* (Masters thesis, Carleton University, 1966); and David Shanahan, *The Irish Question in Canada: Ireland, the Irish and Canadian politics, 1880-1922* (Doctoral thesis, Carleton University, 1989). Other more recent works of Irish-Canadian historiography have examined the role Irish nationalist societies in Canada played in keeping Irish Home Rule at the forefront of Canadian political discourse. See Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); and Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018). Earlier articles in the historiography looked at the pivotal role played by Edward Blake

concentrated on the international discourse of British imperial power, and the desire by some major politicians for a form of imperial federation of Britain's colonies based on the successful confederation of the Canadian provinces.⁷ While many of these studies focus on the role of Canada and Ireland within the British Empire of the period, there has been less attention paid to the role of Irish history as a well of historical knowledge that aided Canadian politicians in interpreting Canadian history, validating their political positions, and anticipating a future for Ireland within the British Empire. Debates surrounding Home Rule for Ireland also became debates about how to situate the Canadian past so as to better predict the outcome of future events.

The 1882 Debates

There were several practical reasons behind the initial introduction of the “Local Self-Government for Ireland” resolutions that came before the House in 1882. Although there had not been any open Fenian threats to Canada for over ten years, John Costigan and his political backers (Joseph Kearney Foran was involved in writing the original resolutions), felt that a show of open support for constitutional Irish nationalism would help to undermine the antipathy of many Irish and Irish-American nationalists towards the British Empire's only self-governing dominion. There was also the recent famine scare in Ireland in 1879 which left many concerned that Ireland could return to the great distress of the 1840s. Canada had donated

in helping maintain the finances of the Irish Parliamentary Party after the Parnellite split in the early 1890s. See Margaret A. Banks, “Edward Blake's Relations with Canada During his Irish Career 1892-1907.” *Canadian Historical Review* 35.1 (1954): 22-42; D.C. Lyne, “Irish-Canadian Financial Contributions to the Home Rule Movement in the 1890s.” *Studia Hibernica* 7 (1967): 182-206; P.M. Toner “The Home Rule League in Canada: Fortune, Fenians, and Failure.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 15.1 (1989): 7-19.

⁷ See Paul A. Townend, ““No Imperial Privilege”: Justin McCarthy, Home Rule, and Empire.” *Éire-Ireland*, 42.1 (2007): 201-228; Pauline Collombier-Lakeman, “Ireland the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism.” *Radical History Review*, 104 (Spring 2009): 57–76; Colin W. Reid, “An Experiment in Constructive Unionism: Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s.” *English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014): 332-361; Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon, “The Curious Case of the Vanishing Debate over Irish Home Rule: The Dominion of Canada, Irish Home Rule, and Canadian Historiography.” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 45.1 (Mar. 2015): 113–128; Thomas Mohr, “Irish Home Rule and Constitutional Reform in the British Empire, 1885-1914.” *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 24.2 2019, Open Edition Journals, DOI : 10.4000/rfcb.3900 Accessed 6 Nov. 2019.

\$100,000 to the British government in 1880 in order to aid relief in Ireland.⁸ However, many Canadian politicians believed that it would be more in Canada's interest to promote Irish immigration to Canada than sending over money. With expansion of the Canadian nation-state across the Northwest, there was a strong hope that Canada could settle this new land with settlers from Ireland. Hindsight tells us that the peak of Irish emigration to Canada had already passed.⁹ Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's vision for Canada was a place where Irish Catholics could express their Catholicism through provincial and federal recognition of Catholic institutions and not have to subsume their Catholicism in the public sphere of the American republic. While the narrative of Irish history had implied a story of struggle, endurance, and continuity, the move to Canada implied the transcendence of that same history. The Irish would receive all they desired not in a teleological unfolding of history toward its ultimate end in republican independence, but rather in the control of Canadian spaces.¹⁰ With that in mind, Macdonald had managed to persuade Archbishop Lynch of Toronto to return to Ireland in order to promote emigration to the Canadian Northwest as part of a "New Ireland" scheme to settle land near the new Canadian Pacific Railway tracks.¹¹ It was hoped that once again Canada could become a primary destination for emigrants from Ireland. Senator George William Howlan from Waterford regretted the fact that the Northwest was not available for settlement in the 1850s and 1860s as he was sure the Irish would have settled there instead of

⁸ Gerard Moran, "State Aided Emigration from Ireland to Canada in the 1880s." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 20.2 (1994): 3.

⁹ In fact, the peak of Irish emigration to British North America was between the 1820s and 1850s. By the time of Canadian Confederation, Irish emigration to the new nation-state was already in precipitous decline.

¹⁰ The Canadian reasons for supporting Home Rule for Ireland were neatly summed up in an article written by Senator Laurence Power of Nova Scotia for *The Dublin Review* in 1886: "The new generation of Irishmen in Great Britain and Ireland would be as good citizens as they are in Canada, Australasia, and the United States, and would contribute, as in former years, a large number of admirable soldiers to the Imperial army. Canada would be relieved from all fear of attack, and would receive her fair proportion of Irish emigrants, who would still, although in diminished numbers, seek new homes in the Western Continent." L.G. Power, "Art. VII. – Canadian Opinion on the Irish Question of Home Rule." *The Dublin Review*, 16.1 (July 1886): 143.

¹¹ David Shanahan, *The Irish Question in Canada: Ireland, the Irish and Canadian politics, 1880-1922* (Doctoral thesis, Carleton University, 1989), 61. Such a scheme was reminiscent of Peter Robinson's scheme in the 1820s that brought over approximately 2,500 emigrants from Ireland to Upper Canada.

the United States.¹² It was partly due to the large amount of Famine emigration to the U.S. that the Fenians came into existence and threatened Canada, therefore it was important to increase Irish emigration to Canada in order to tone down the Irish animosity towards the country.¹³ It was felt that a unanimous vote in favour of Home Rule for Ireland would help divert north much of the continuing flow of Irish Catholic emigration to the United States, a flow of emigration of which many believed Canada was not getting its fair share. John A. Macdonald hoped that the Irish could see there was massive amounts of space available in the Northwest, where every Irish person could be their own landlord.¹⁴ Irish Catholics could find everything in Canada they desired for Ireland: Home Rule, land ownership, and recognition of their religion by the state through support of separate schooling.

But apart from these practical considerations, support for Irish Home Rule on Parliament Hill also had a national dimension that is little understood outside of the Irish-Canadian historiography: Canadian pride. From the very foundation of the Irish Home Rule movement in 1870, Canada was the main constitutional model to imitate.¹⁵ Isaac Butt believed that the speed at which the Canadian political landscape had been changed should act as a guide to resolve Irish issues.¹⁶ There had been political turmoil in Canada in the late 1830s, a short-term but unsatisfactory solution to that turmoil in the 1840s, the beginning of an attempt to improve this solution in the 1850s, and finally a successful resolution of sorts in the 1860s.¹⁷ For the historian Colin Reid, Butt was the first in a series of “imperial-minded nationalists”

¹² Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2nd, 1882, 500.

¹³ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3rd, 1882, 545

¹⁴ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1046

¹⁵ In early 1871, there was a message from the Irish Home Association published in various newspapers in Ireland which read: “This is just the principle which we seek to have applied to Ireland. The example of the Canadian Dominion is sufficient to establish it there is no inconsistency between a union of two countries in one general Congress, and the preservation of local self-government for each.”

¹⁶ Colin W. Reid, “An Experiment in Constructive Unionism’: Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s.” *English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014): 348.

¹⁷ Home Rulers such as Justin McCarthy spoke of their great appreciation of Lord Durham, believing that he had been successful in Canada in solving differences of race, religion, and traditions. See Paul A. Townend, ““No Imperial Privilege”: Justin McCarthy, Home Rule, and Empire.” *Éire-Ireland*, 42.1 (2007): 223.

who were a continuing feature of Irish constitutional nationalism up to the beginning of the First World War.¹⁸ Many Irish-Canadian politicians of the 1870s and 1880s were proud of the fact that their new country was being held up as the constitutional model to follow in the British Empire. Irish-Montrealers such as Conservative MP John Joseph Curran spoke of the pride he felt that the very first Home Rule Association ever established in America was established in Montreal.¹⁹ In comparing British and American civilization, Nicholas Flood Davin had stated that the British constitutional system was the best example of what he referred to as “ordered freedom”. Like McGee before him Davin believed that British constitutionalism provided the greatest source of freedom, and the greatest source of political diversity unlike the American system that had so recently undergone the terror of civil war.²⁰

There was a strong belief then that Home Rule was a Canadian solution to an Irish problem. Indeed, attitudes towards Irish Home Rule in Canada can best be understood if we replace the phrase “Irish Home Rule”, with the phrase “Canadian Home Rule for Ireland”.²¹ However, despite this initial enthusiasm on the part of Canadians for exporting their form of government across the Empire, they quickly ran up against a perennial question that would dog the Home Rule movement for half a century: what exactly was Home Rule? There were two forms of Home Rule in Canada after all, federal and provincial. Opposition to Home Rule for Ireland lay largely in the fact that it was an untried system that would furnish more

¹⁸ Colin W. Reid, “An Experiment in Constructive Unionism: Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s.” *English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014): 348. Reid’s article is important in helping us understand the enthusiasm for the Home Rule resolutions in the Canadian Parliament in 1882 and 1886. Reid believes that historians from the time of Parnell onwards have misinterpreted Isaac Butt’s original intentions. As a Protestant Conservative unionist and imperialist, Butt invoked the idea of federalism specifically to maintain the union, remove Irish grievances, and allow the imperial cause to prosper. For Butt, Home Rule was a rejection of Daniel O’Connell’s idea of Repeal of the Union. Under Butt’s vision of a federalist United Kingdom, Irish politicians would sit in both a Home Rule parliament in Dublin and an imperial parliament in London.

¹⁹ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1101.

²⁰ Nicholas Flood Davin, *British versus American Civilization: a lecture delivered in Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto, 19th April, 1873* (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1873), 17.

²¹ “Three cheers for Canadian Home Rule for Ireland!” as Bishop John J. Lynch of Toronto said at the 100 anniversary of Daniel O’Connell’s birth in 1875. *The Nation*, August 28, 1875, 5.

complications and problems than it could solve. But was it an untried system? Canadians were quick to point that their form of Home Rule was successful and that if British parliamentarians wanted to see successful Home Rule in action, they only had to look at recent Canadian history. Isaac Butt had initially viewed Ireland's relationship to the United Kingdom as similar to Québec's relationship with Canada (the so-called "union of two countries" laid out in the original Home Rule Association manifesto), but by the time of his death in 1879, Irish Home Rulers were demanding that Ireland have a similar status to Canada, not just one of its provinces.²² The relative success of Canadian dominion status seemed to be an obvious solution for Ireland. One of the central narratives espoused during these debates in the Canadian House of Commons was that the union with Britain had been a disaster for Ireland. When John Costigan brought forward the first resolutions for debate in 1882 he highlighted the economic success of Ireland under Grattan's Parliament of the 1780s and 1790s.²³ Edward Blake went further, indicating that Ireland had witnessed a litany of disasters since the Act of Union, the largest of which was, of course, the Famine.²⁴ Part of the reason that Ireland was so discontented Blake believed, was because each concession granted to Ireland, such as Catholic Emancipation, was done grudgingly and without cheer.²⁵ The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland only became a burning issue due to the Fenian attacks in Manchester in 1867.²⁶ New

²² Colin W. Reid, "An Experiment in Constructive Unionism": Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s." *English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014), 348. The desire for Canadian status as opposed to 'Québec' status was thought not unreasonable as Canada and Ireland had similar sized populations in the 1880s. By the third Home Rule bill in 1912, Canada had close to twice the population of Ireland.

²³ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1032. John Hutchinson has written that during the 1780s many politicians in the Irish Parliament even believed that in the future they would become senior partners in the running of the British Empire, See John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 66. This would be a belief that many politicians in Canada would come to share about their own country a century later.

²⁴ Unusual for a nineteenth century imperial politician, Blake declaimed quite publicly that more people had died in the Famine than in all the wars that England had fought in Europe and around the world. Even as an Irish Parliamentary Party MP at Westminster Blake continued to highlight the continuing decline of Ireland's population over the course of the nineteenth century as an indictment against the union, e.g. "The reduction in the population in Ireland is a direct result of the form of government under which the people lived." 'Mr. Blake in Ireland,' *Toronto Globe*, July 20, 1892, 4.

²⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1035.

²⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1036.

land acts which aided tenants' rights, were always counterbalanced by new coercion acts which limited civil rights.²⁷ The British government only seemed to react to Irish grievances when an outrage has been committed, and feelings were consequently high. By then it was too late to try and lay the foundations for future compromise. By devolving power to Ireland, Blake argued, Westminster would be allowing Irish people to be future focused rather than historically focused.

A week after the resolutions unanimously passed the House of Commons, they were sent to the Senate for further debate. Here, various senators searched for examples from Canadian history that would be applicable in trying to resolve contemporary Irish problems. Narrating recent Irish and Canadian history as similar political trajectories was important in validating the suitability of Canadian Home Rule for Ireland. Senator Haythorne of Prince Edward Island was proud of the fact that the PEI Land Purchase Act of 1875 had played a role in formulating the Land Law Act in Ireland in 1881, which established the principle of dual ownership between landlord and tenant.²⁸ Senator Richard William Scott noted that although most civilized men deplore violence, it was an unfortunate fact of history that many unjust laws have been revoked only in response to violent agitation, 1837 in Canada being a prime example.²⁹ Senator Kaulback of Nova Scotia reprimanded Scott for bringing up the dark days of Irish history and criticizing the mother country, even suggesting that Scott's remarks bordered on sedition.³⁰ He warned that Ireland would never be able to get what it wants through

²⁷ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1039.

²⁸ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2nd, 1882, 522. Lord Dufferin the Governor-General of Canada between 1872 and 1878 was an Anglo-Irish landlord, owning estates in Clondeboye, Co. Down. He initially thought that the PEI Act was an outrage and rejected the first bill in 1874 without communicating with Parliament. He acceded to the second bill in 1875.

²⁹ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3rd, 1882, 540-541. When Charles Stewart Parnell came to Montreal in 1880 to raise funds for the Home Rule movement, John J. Curran spoke on behalf of Irish-Montrealers, reminding his audience that it was their French-Canadian fellow-citizens who raised their guns in the cause of liberty in 1837 and 1838, and because of that Canada now had Home Rule and was loyal to queen and country. "Parnell!" *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 17, 1880, 3.

³⁰ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3, 1882, 548

agitation, violence and “Fenian inspiration.”³¹ Earlier in the debate, Senator Read from England criticized the Irish for being too sentimental about their own land, that they did not understand that one had to want to own the land in order for it to bear fruit. He believed that the Irish were responsible for their own poverty, as there was plenty of land and opportunity available in Canada if they wanted it.³²

The Irish as Ancient Juveniles

Some senators believed the Irish were always excitable and fond of a row and were surprised at how moderate the Home Rule resolutions were considering the turbulent reputation of the Irish.³³ These characterisations and portrayals of Irish passion and excitability were a common currency of political discourse of the time. An enduring Victorian stereotype of the Irishman was that of a colourful character who was enthusiastically out of step with modernity. The literary historian Joep Leerssen refers to this trope as the adult-juvenile axis, i.e. the Irish have a life tied to older traditions but come across as juvenile in the face of modernity.³⁴ Outside of debates about Home Rule and Irish emigration, one of the most prevalent references to Irishness in the Canadian Parliament during this era was in the form of Irishman jokes. While politicians obviously avoided utilizing them in any specific debates about Ireland or the Irish, one could find them being used in debates in anything from reciprocity with the United States³⁵ to the statement of accounts for the Transcontinental Railway.³⁶ Often deployed to highlight

³¹ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3, 1882, 555

³² Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2, 1882, 512-516.

³³ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2, 1882, 530, 543.

³⁴ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Ireland: Cork University, 1996), 171.

³⁵ “An Irishman, whose sister got married, met a friend of his about a year afterwards, and said: ‘Dan, did you hear the news?’ ‘No,’ said Dan, ‘what is it?’ ‘Why,’ said he, ‘my sister has presented her husband with her first born, and the peculiarity is that I don’t know whether I am an uncle or an aunt.’ So, the hon. Gentleman said, that he would not know at the end of a year whether he would be an American or a Canadian, and therefore he was afraid to encourage reciprocity lest he might get mixed on his nationality.” Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 26, 1888, 452.

³⁶ “Hon. gentlemen opposite, while pretending to be in favour of this road, give it what my countrymen would call the Irishman’s affection, they give it a kick first and then expect to be considered its friend.” Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 11th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 2, January 25, 1910, 2404.

the irrational or illogical claim of your opponent's argument, the Irishman joke was easy to resort to when trying to find some way of both encapsulating and deposing of an opponent's argument without having to go into great detail about its merits or flaws. Use of the Irishman joke in political discourse was part of a shared convention of understanding between speaker and audience, usually used to highlight a lack of forward thinking in the ideas the person was criticizing. The literary critic Svetlana Boym recognized that cultural stereotypes are not lies per se, but rather assumptions held in common by people within a group that allowed for a shared understanding of history.³⁷ For the anthropologist Clifford Geertz such cultural patterns were programs that provided templates for how to understand the world.³⁸ In a more simplified form, the identity theorists Peter Burke and Jan Stets have remarked that "people use these accessible categories to make sense of immediate situations."³⁹

But what was this assumed norm against which the Irish were situated as both ancient and juvenile? Someone who was modern and rational? Urban and sophisticated? Young but mature? One of the grand narratives of the nineteenth century shared by many imperial nations was that their own modernization and industrialization was leaving much of the rest of the world behind. In his study of the development of political and cultural nationalism in India over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the historian Partha Chatterjee observed that by imposing western notions of progress on non-western cultures, those non-western cultures would always come up short. The fact that most British, French, and German intellectual history developed in relevant ignorance of the rest of the world was considered trivial. Chatterjee noticed that non-western cultures were even appropriated to tell a critical story about western capitalism, such as Marxist theories about the accumulation of "primitive

³⁷ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 54.

³⁸ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 216.

³⁹ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 120.

capital.”⁴⁰ The philosopher David Carr has also noted that what were described as primitive societies (which existed all over the world, even today), have been placed into the past in order to tell a dramatic story about progress, “What is in fact synchronous is arranged on a diachronic scale.”⁴¹ In debates on the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, defenders of the rights of the Metis claimed that the Irish and the Scottish Highlanders were once treated the same way not so long before.⁴² Defenders of the rights of Chinese immigrants claimed that the Irish were once treated like the Chinese only thirty or forty years before.⁴³ In the new century, Senator Cloran from Québec compared the attitude towards immigrant Sikhs and Hindus in British Columbia to a time “when the Highlanders of Scotland, and the Irish from the bogs of Ireland, were not considered fit to be British subjects.”⁴⁴ In all of these examples, cultures are placed on a chronological timeline, with some more advanced than others, but all having the potential to reach some sort of Anglo-American standard of progress.

Debates about Irish Home Rule also bear the narrative logic of such anthropological thinking. The Canadian synonym of *Irish* as “passion” was a recurring refrain in the debates.⁴⁵ Many Irish Catholic nationalists felt that they already had to fight these preconceived notions of their history, culture, and identity in a political Anglosphere that had its own heroic narrative of enduring resistance to Catholic Europe. Supporters of Home Rule defended Irish Catholics from such attacks, as they believed it was all a myth that the Irish could not govern themselves. James Patterson stated that as a Protestant he would even support the Home Rule Bill without a provision for the protection of the Protestant minority as he felt that it was just

⁴⁰ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 238.

⁴¹ David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 182.

⁴² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol. 3, June 8, 1885, 2381.

⁴³ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, Vol: 1, May 21, 1886, 683.

⁴⁴ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 2nd Session, Vol: 1, June 2, 1913, 935.

⁴⁵ Alonzo Wright from Québec hoped that the Irish would be saved from their own “fierce passions” Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1050.

scaremongering that disaster would occur if Catholics were left in charge of local affairs.⁴⁶ The argument that the Irish govern well in other countries such as Canada and Australia was used as a way to counteract beliefs that the Irish were not suited to self-governance. In other countries they were capable of acting with “temperance” and “restraint”.⁴⁷ Senator Power remarked that Ireland’s troubles were not ancient history, that the Penal Laws had only been abolished half a century before, and went on to suggest that if Québec had been treated the same way as Ireland, its inhabitants would have been angry and discontented also.⁴⁸ A sympathetic reading of Irish history by British imperialists was essential if they wanted to integrate Irish Catholics into the cause of imperial expansion.

One of the problems that opponents of Home Rule saw was the populist oral history of Ireland. Senator Kaulback from Nova Scotia believed that the majority of Irish people did not want Home Rule and that they would not have it until they were properly educated so that they would not be swayed by the wrongs of the past.⁴⁹ Historical memory was too much a part of the Irish way of life, denoting an inability to situate present problems and properly plan for the future. In an article written in the months after the 1886 debates Goldwin Smith reiterated the belief that Canada could not be a proper template for Irish sovereignty as there was no Canadian popular memory of ill-feeling towards Britain as there was in Ireland. Smith believed that Canada’s success lay in its British Protestant way of life: “Such a measure of prosperity as [Canada] enjoys she owes to the energy, good sense, and thrift of a Saxon yeomanry, giving its mind to husbandry and not to the memory of the wrongs suffered by its ancestors under the Normans.”⁵⁰ By 1886, the year of the first Irish Home Rule bill at Westminster, Smith was contending that there was little in the way of a national civilization in Ireland before the

⁴⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1055.

⁴⁷ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1056; Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2, 1882, 505.

⁴⁸ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2, 1882, 503-504.

⁴⁹ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3, 1882, 554-557.

⁵⁰ Goldwin Smith, “The Home Rule Fallacy.” *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 12.65 (Jul. 1882): 3.

Norman conquest, and what little civilization there was, was ecclesiastical, as much a product of Canterbury and Rome as anything to do with Gaelic culture.⁵¹ For a cultural chauvinist like Smith, Irish civilization was a misnomer. Only Catholic Ireland, not Gaelic Ireland provided any civilization, and Catholic Ireland had not progressed since the Reformation. This would leave little for contemporary Irish Catholics to be proud of in terms of their contribution to the modern world.

The 1886 Debates

Differences between how Home Rule for Ireland should be enacted also came down to different political interpretations of history and its value. Should Home Rule be a resolution of past problems, acknowledging the impact of Irish history on present political conditions; or should it transcend past problems, i.e. should it be a new beginning that ignores as much as possible past religious and cultural divisions. These differences came to the fore in Liberal and Conservative party interpretations of Home Rule in the 1886 and 1887 debates. While the 1882 resolutions were brought forward by the Conservative John Costigan, in 1886 they were brought forward by the Liberal leader Edward Blake. Blake was an archetypal liberal of his era. As leader of the Canadian Liberal party and later as the Irish Parliamentary Party MP for Longford at Westminster, he was scrupulous in trying to avoid making the historical divide between Catholic and Protestant an aspect of resolving political issues in Ireland. In purely political terms he thought it should be irrelevant. However, it should also be noted that in the 1886 Parliament, all of the Irish-Catholic Canadian members belonged to the Conservative party, (as indeed did the majority of Orangemen and French-Canadians).⁵² Unlike the Liberals, John A. Macdonald had recognized the necessity of balancing geography, ethnicity, and religion in any Canadian cabinet, as it would be one of the only ways of uniting the disparate

⁵¹ Goldwin Smith, *Dismemberment No Remedy* (London: Cassell & Company, 1886), 9-10.

⁵² Nova Scotia MP Kennedy Francis Burns noted that all the Irish Catholic MPs in Parliament sit on the Conservative side. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1109.

groups of the new Dominion.⁵³ Political historian Elsbeth Heaman has noted that one of the main differences between nineteenth century Liberals and Conservatives in Canada was that Liberals privileged abstract rights over geographically, temporally, or socially restricted rights, while Conservatives recognized the role of history in the acquisition and allocation of rights.⁵⁴ The Catholic Church for example used their long history in Canada as justification for maintaining their rights over separate schooling.⁵⁵ But Liberals could also use history as a way of critiquing political Conservatism especially by highlighting how they had challenged Conservative policies in relation to Ireland. Liberals defended themselves in Canada from accusations of anti-Catholicism by reminding voters that it was Toryism in the UK that failed to adequately respond to the Famine in Ireland that led to such large-scale Catholic emigration.⁵⁶ In 1877, Liberal Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie reminded potential Catholic voters that it was the Liberals who had campaigned for the repeal of the Penal Laws in the UK, which the Conservatives only reluctantly conceded.⁵⁷

Realizing that there were no current Irish Catholic members of his party, Blake made it known that support for Home Rule in Ireland was not just an Irish Catholic question but a question for everyone “who is a lover of liberty.”⁵⁸ Blake went on to admonish Irish Catholic members of the House for speaking as Irishmen and as Catholics in the cause of Home Rule, as they should speak first and foremost as Canadians.⁵⁹ Another Protestant Irish-Canadian member on the Liberal side, George Elliot Casey, stated that he believed that the Home Rule movement was just as much a Canadian movement as it was an Irish movement, going so far

⁵³ Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1952; 1998), 474.

⁵⁴ E.A. Heaman, “Rights Talk and the Liberal Order Framework,” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, eds. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 156.

⁵⁵ N.A. Belcourt, *Regulation 17 ultra vires* (Montréal: s.n., 1914), 6-13.

⁵⁶ “‘Theoretical and Practical Equality’ – Reform versus Tory Government,” *Toronto Globe*, July 3, 1877, 2.

⁵⁷ “The Premier at Montreal” *Toronto Globe*, November 10, 1877, 8

⁵⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1120

⁵⁹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1123

as to say that anyone who spoke against Home Rule would not be justified in calling himself a loyal Canadian.⁶⁰ In contrast to their Liberal opponents Conservatives believed that ethnic, religious, and cultural identity were an important aspect of political culture. Blake was criticized by John Costigan for leaving out two crucial elements that his own 1882 resolutions had included; granting Home Rule to Ireland “while preserving the integrity and well-being of the Empire and the rights and status of the minority.”⁶¹ The Antrim-born Conservative MP Alexander McNeill stated that he would only support the resolutions if it didn’t imperil the unity of the Empire,⁶² while the Dublin-born Conservative MP D’Alton McCarthy said he would only support them if the rights of the Protestant minority were guaranteed.⁶³ While the overwhelming majority of MPs on Parliament Hill supported the Home Rule resolutions of 1886, they would only do so with Costigan’s 1882 amendments added back in.

Liberal party members tended to ignore the *Realpolitik* of religious and cultural differences, maintaining that increased devolution and the widening of the franchise were part of the spirit of the age and that it was “useless to argue at this stage of history” against the advancement of such ideas.⁶⁴ This stage of history of course was the post-Enlightenment world of liberal democracy and the popular franchise. Politics had begun to overtake religion as the central way to understand individual and collective identity.⁶⁵ As John Hutchinson wrote in his work on the Irish Revival, history had become “the teacher of mankind, the interpretation of which lay in the hands of secular intellectuals.”⁶⁶ Like religion before it, history now came

⁶⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 4th, 1886, 1029

⁶¹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1097

⁶² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1115. McNeill also stated that MPs have to understand that the position of Ulster in Ireland was very much like that of the position of Québec in Canada, in that the majority of the province were different in their religion, sentiments and “race” from the demographic majorities of the other Irish provinces.

⁶³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1141.

⁶⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, 1136.

⁶⁵ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 10.

⁶⁶ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 11.

down to us as a completed narrative, one that supposedly stood solidly outside the fleeting instants of current events. For historian David Lowenthal, part of the reassurance that history provides is that history comes to us with a greater sense of narrative coherence than our interpretation of contemporary events.⁶⁷ Historians focus on the explanatory linkages of historical events in order to understand how political issues develop. There is a strong desire to learn from history so that we can better predict the outcome of future events.⁶⁸ A nineteenth century political reading of Canadian and Irish history required the search for common historical events that could provide a vocabulary of how to interpret the past and anticipate the future. If a Canadian form of Home Rule had been successful, how would Irish history need to be ordered so as to meet the requirements of Canadian sovereignty? The Irish past needed a Canadian interpretation to validate the justification of Home Rule.

As early as 1883, John Costigan had written to the Governor-General Lord Lorne to advise him how much the situation in Ireland was like that of Québec sixteen years earlier at the time of Confederation. At that time in the Eastern Townships there was a Protestant minority, but constituencies were “so arranged” to allow several them to have Protestant majorities, so safeguarding Protestant representation in the Québec legislature. Costigan wondered why the same tactics should not be applied in Ulster.⁶⁹ In the 1886 debate Casey repeated this example arguing that the Anglo-minority in Québec had accepted a form of Home Rule, why not in Ireland. After all Casey noted, people cannot learn self-government until they

⁶⁷ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 234.

⁶⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 218. For Paul Ricoeur such a desire is not only a personal need to understand the past, but as far as historians are concerned it is also a desire to *master* the past and its interpretation so that historians can set themselves up as the arbiters of meaning. “This desire for mastery constitutes the implicit ideology of history.” Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative. Vol. 3* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), 150.

⁶⁹ Joseph Kearney Foran, *Irish-Canadian Representatives: Their Past Acts, Present Stand, Future Prospects: A Review of the Question*. (Ottawa: s.n., 1886), 28. Costigan was essentially calling for the gerrymandering of political constituencies in Ulster to ease Protestant fears and allow for greater Protestant representation in a Home Rule parliament. Ironically, such gerrymandering became one of the central issues leading to the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland over eighty years later.

have self-government.⁷⁰

But it was not just in the Canadian Parliament that the similarities between Irish and Canadian history were to be searched for. During the debates for the 1886 Home Rule Bill at Westminster, the British prime minister William Gladstone reminded newly elected politicians that he had been a member of the House back when the Canadian rebellions occurred in 1837 and 1838. He argued that at that time Canada was a threat to the unity of the Empire and many believed that granting them a level of sovereignty via a legislative assembly would lead to outright independence. For Gladstone the analogy with Ireland in 1886 was exactly that with Canada in 1840, and the lesson to be learned from it was that granting a level of liberty led to greater loyalty, not rebellion.⁷¹ In response to Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain, one of the founders of the newly formed Liberal Unionists, found that on studying the history of Canada during this period (i.e. Lord Durham's Report) he came to a completely different conclusion. Lower Canada in 1837 and 1838 would be very much like Ireland *after* the passing of the Home Rule Bill. The British government would have to bring in new reforms like those of Lord Durham to offset the disaster that is sure to occur should Home Rule be granted. The union of the two provinces of Canada East and Canada West led to increasing tension between the two great peoples of Canada, which eventually led to the separation of the two provinces in 1867, each with their own legislative assembly. Therefore, the answer for Ireland was surely the application of a provincial solution (for Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connacht) and not a "national solution."⁷² A number of days later Gladstone replied to Chamberlain to claim that the analogy still held, this time implying that the rebellions of 1837-38 in Canada were very

⁷⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6th, 1886, p.1100

⁷¹ Gladstone: "And now Gentlemen have forgotten this great lesson of history. By saying that the case of Canada has no relation to the case of Ireland, I refer to that little sentence written by Sir Charles Duffy, who himself exhibits in his own person as vividly as anybody the transition from a discontented to a loyal subject. 'Canada did not get Home Rule because she was loyal and friendly, but she has become loyal and friendly because she has got Home Rule.'" *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol. 305, cols. 587, 10 May 1886.

⁷² *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 697, 1 June 1886.

much like the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland. In both cases an act of union was proposed that united the different territories (Britain and Ireland in 1801, Upper and Lower Canada in 1841). When friction and tumult arose in the Canadian union, the solution was to separate them into separate legislatures and today “perfect political harmony exists”.⁷³ Such differing interpretations of Canadian history shows how, in the political sphere, readings of history are infused as much with a desire to interpret the present and anticipate the future as they are to understand the past on its own terms. In his three-volume opus on the role of narrative in our understanding of the passage of time, the philosopher Paul Ricoeur claimed that narrative consonance imposed on temporal dissonance was a “violence of interpretation”, such that any interpretation that favours one historical narrative automatically entails the dismissal of any alternative narratives.⁷⁴ Such violent interpretations have had a potent impact on Irish history. Chamberlain questioned Gladstone’s interpretation of Canadian history in the 1886 debates warning him that the granting of Home Rule to Ireland will lead to the Irish threatening rebellion if they did not receive more concessions, just like the Canadians in 1837-38.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, there was a strong belief that Canadian Confederation would lead the way to greater unity within the Empire. John A. Macdonald believed that both the Fenian raids of the late 1860s and the 1885 Rebellion in the Northwest had helped to meld the provinces together into one nation.⁷⁶ Imperial federalists believed that smaller entities should be growing together to form a larger and more secure whole. Richard Cartwright declared in the 1886 debates that Home Rule for Ireland was just a continuation of what Canada had achieved over the previous twenty years, and that it will eventually lead to federation of the UK, and finally federation of the Empire itself.⁷⁷ While the 1886 resolutions passed with overwhelming

⁷³ *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 1230, 7 June 1886.

⁷⁴ Paul Ricoeur. *Time and Narrative. Vol. 1.* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984), 72.

⁷⁵ *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 695, 1 June 1886.

⁷⁶ Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1955; 1998) p. 428.

⁷⁷ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1137.

support, six MPs still held out to vote against the resolutions, one of those being the Donegal-born Conservative MP John White who reminded the House that there were a large number of people against Home Rule both in Ireland and in Canada. The strength of the Empire did not depend he thought, on interfering in the internal affairs of member nations.⁷⁸

The failure of the 1886 Home Rule Bill at Westminster caused increased frustration in Canada. Canadian politicians and journalists were especially annoyed at their UK counterparts who seemed to know very little about Canadian political culture. Earlier, in 1882 *The Times* in London came out strongly against the first resolutions, criticizing the Canadian MPs for their impertinence, and perceiving the federal parliament's support for the resolutions as just an attempt to win the Irish vote, like American politicians south of the border. The Liberal supporting *Toronto Globe* newspaper reminded *The Times* that the Irish in Canada were just as likely to be Conservatives as Liberals and a majority of both parties voted for the resolutions.⁷⁹ In 1887 the *Globe* observed that not only the British, but even Canadians did not appreciate how quickly disputes could be resolved in a federal system of different ethnicities and different religions. The paper stated that it was impossible that the "unilingual" Irish would not be able to resolve their differences under a Home Rule system.⁸⁰

The 1887 Debates

After the election of a new Conservative government in the UK in 1886 and a new Conservative government in Canada in 1887, Montreal Tory John J. Curran and Liberal leader Edward Blake decided the time was opportune to reintroduce the Home Rule resolutions for a third time. They believed that time was of the essence in showing the imperial parliament that

⁷⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1137. The resolutions passed by 140 votes to 6.

⁷⁹ "The Imperial Snub," *Toronto Globe*, July 31, 1882, 4.

⁸⁰ "A Good Analogy," *Toronto Globe* April 27, 1887, 4. In 1894 Senator Richard Scott stated that he believed that part of the reason that the 1886 bill failed was because British politicians did not know enough about the benefits of the federal system. Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 4, 1894, 133.

other parts of the Empire were still strongly in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. The overwhelming message of members who supported the resolutions was that Canadian history proved that the devolution of sovereignty was the prerequisite of loyalty, and that fears of Irish disloyalty were groundless. The invocation of 1837 came to the fore again as Curran stated that many French-Canadians had died for constitutional liberty and look at how loyal they were now. He reminded the house that prominent Irish Catholic Montrealers such as Bernard Devlin and Charles J. Doherty had fought the Fenians, could their loyalty be questioned?⁸¹ Thomas Kenny stated that no one was more loyal in Canada than those Canadians of Irish descent. Compare that to Ireland where people have had to undergo centuries of misrule, and therefore cannot be as loyal. Like Casey the previous year, Kenny believed that every Canadian was a de facto Home Ruler, as that was the form of government that prevailed in Canada. If successful Home Rule prevailed in Canada, how could you identify as anything else but a Home Ruler?⁸² Kennedy Burns reminded the House that Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Charles Gavin Duffy were once implacable rebels against the government but had become loyal servants of the crown in Canada and Australia.⁸³ Blake reminded the House that the Boyne river did not run red with blood as some had predicted when the Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1869.⁸⁴ The young Wilfred Laurier declared that if Canada was not given some level of legislative independence in the 1840s, the country would have gone on to be just as rebellious as Ireland. Britain had to trust the Irish people the way in which she trusts the Canadian people.⁸⁵ George-Auguste Gigault of Québec noted that French-Canadians had always supported Home Rule for Ireland in gratitude to Daniel O'Connell who stood up for French-Canadians during the debates

⁸¹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 52.

⁸² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 55

⁸³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 68

⁸⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887, 85.

⁸⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887, 76.

at Westminster on how to resolve the Canadian crisis of the 1830s.⁸⁶ Tory politician Darby Bergin believed that if they had the choice more Irishmen would choose to emigrate to Canada, because Irishmen were natural imperialists, not republicans.⁸⁷ Republicanism, as most Canadian Tories saw it, sought to deny cultural difference by enforcing a political uniformity on individual citizens. The Canadian federal system at least recognized these differences, by support of such policies as separate schooling. Bergin believed that such a system was needed in Ireland also, as the country had become the great thorn in the side of the British Empire. Halifax Liberal Alfred Gilpin Jones agreed, remarking that Ireland was a blot on nineteenth century civilization and that Britain will not succeed at being a respected advisor to other nations in international affairs because those nations will always reply with “Ireland”.⁸⁸ By the end of the debates Curran believed that Canada was the proper arena to show the success of Home Rule. If Orangemen and Irish Catholics can come together for the good of the Dominion in Canada, then surely the same could be achieved in Ireland.⁸⁹

However, this time round many Conservative MPs from Ontario no longer felt obliged to vote in favour of something little of them had an appetite for in the first place. William Edward O’Brien had reluctantly voted for the resolutions the year before despite the fact that he believed that Home Rule would be a downgrade for Ireland, for its destiny was to rule the Empire alongside Britain.⁹⁰ Now he wanted to remind the House that not only were the Irish

⁸⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887, 122. In fact, some francophone politicians concluded that French-Canadians would be better off if they copied the Irish politically. Senator Joseph-Hyacinthe Bellerose believed that in the political sphere at least, French-Canadians should try and unite and be more like the Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster, to help better defend their interests on Parliament Hill. Canada, *Senate Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 2nd, 1886, 54.

⁸⁷ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 70.

⁸⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 72.

⁸⁹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887, 125.

⁹⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886, 1111. Even though he criticized the resolutions, O’Brien eventually voted for them in 1886, believing it was “a useless exercise anyway”. This only goes to show the very great pressure that politicians felt on Parliament Hill to be seen to be in support of “Canadian” Home Rule for Ireland. Not to do so would have been seen as hypocritical. Once the first Home Rule bill was rejected by Westminster in 1886, some Canadian federal MPs felt that they had more freedom to air their opposition.

not a homogenous people, but the continued use of Canada as an example to follow was not appropriate, as Ireland existed under very different circumstances. He exclaimed that Ireland was not suffering under some sort of oppression that Canada had avoided, far from it. Unlike Canada, Ireland had a voice in the Imperial parliament. Irish MPs could vote on issues that affected the whole Empire in a way that Canadian MPs could not. And fear of the reaction of Irish-America to voting against these resolutions should absolutely not be a consideration. If Canada was threatened by Fenians, then for O'Brien that would be good enough reason to throw the resolutions out.⁹¹

For D'Alton McCarthy the rejection of the 1886 bill by Westminster proved that the Irish situation was an implacable one and that Canadians would have greater influence if they forgot about Ireland and concentrated instead on the maintenance and development of the Empire itself. Although he voted for the resolutions in 1882 and 1886, McCarthy now felt that matters concerning Ireland should no longer be brought before the Canadian House of Commons. Perhaps feeling the strong anti-Home Rule sentiments coming from loyalist Ontario, McCarthy nevertheless claimed that he, like other members of the House, could not presume to speak for his constituents on this issue. Despite being a native-born Dubliner, he believed that they were few members of the House who could fully grasp the Irish question and it would be best for Canada if it was ignored all together.⁹² McCarthy also questioned the interpretation of Canadian history as a way to foresee a solution to Irish problems. He noted that the 1840 Act of Union was imposed on the people of Lower Canada, but that they came to appreciate its value over time. He believed that the Irish would improve their value at

⁹¹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 58-61

⁹² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887, 93. In an illuminating anecdote about the state of political knowledge between different parts of the Empire, Monaghan-born Liberal MP James McMullen remarked that when he went home to visit Ireland a few years before, he was surprised at the level of ignorance with regard to England and English affairs, and believed that in general Canadians seemed to know more about England and its political affairs than people in Ireland did. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887, 90.

Westminster by focusing on running the Empire rather than breaking it up.⁹³

Despite the fact that his fellow Conservative William Edward O'Brien claimed that the Irish were not a homogenous people, Nicholas Flood Davin observed that over the course of nearly three centuries after the Protestant Plantations of Ireland the populations had so intermixed that such reductionist ascriptions as *Saxon* and *Celt* have little or no validity, "neither name nor religion will prove that a man is a Celt, and there is consequently no historical and no ethnological base for the these unchristian, and I will say, unnational hatreds."⁹⁴ Davin went on to state that he did not support Home Rule for Ireland on sentimental grounds but merely on practical grounds. He also felt that the Protestant vote in a Home Rule Ireland would just as easily be felt as the Catholic vote was in Ontario. For Québec Conservative Alonzo Wright the answer to Ireland's problems would be to "forget the traditions of the past" in order to better meet the needs of the future, especially Ireland's imperial future.⁹⁵ Many Irish-Canadian MPs spoke of the chronological continuity of Irish history, invoking the idea that that chronology had yet to meet closure. Thomas Kenny believed that the long night of Ireland's misery was coming to a close.⁹⁶ Edmund Flynn stated that even in Ireland's darkest days, she never abated in her desire for self-government.⁹⁷ Kennedy Burns believed that much of the negative reaction towards Parnell and the Home Rule movement was because slander had been levelled against Irishmen year after year, generation after generation, century after century.⁹⁸ David Mills stated that the British government treated the Irish of 1887 the same way the insane were treated fifty years before, with a belief that a good lashing would restore their senses.⁹⁹ Mills went on to declare that the minority in Ireland had ruled Ireland for

⁹³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887, 92-95.

⁹⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 25, 1887, 105.

⁹⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887, 132.

⁹⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 56.

⁹⁷ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 57.

⁹⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887, 68.

⁹⁹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887, 116.

200 years and had failed, why not let the majority have a go.¹⁰⁰ The resolutions would eventually pass by 135 votes to 47, with 33 of the opposition votes coming from Ontarian MPs.

When Edward Blake went to Westminster in 1892 as the Irish Parliamentary Party MP for Longford, part of his plan was not just to promote Home Rule for Ireland, but also to educate UK MPs on the Canadian federal system. Blake pointed out that Canada had resolved its own political issues without having to trouble the mother country too much, and so the Imperial Parliament had little need in understanding the intricacies of the Canadian system. In the Westminster debates over the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, Blake spoke about the negative effects of Lord Durham's proposals in relation to French-Canadians. The attempt to anglicize French-Canadians led instead to a determination to protect their identity, "They determined to preserve their identity. They determined that they would not be anglicized, and the efforts of England failed wholly owing to the means she adopted."¹⁰¹ The Canadian solution was to substitute a "union for things really common, and separate institutions for things really local."¹⁰² The Protestant minority of Québec, Blake observed, had received an ample share in the governance of the province, a province that was as much divided by language as it was by religion.¹⁰³ While the second Home Rule bill passed in the Commons, it was rejected by the House of Lords. Even though this second bill did not give Ireland as much devolved power as the first, Edward Blake and his IPP colleagues now believed that a form of Canadian provincial style government would be best for Ireland: Ireland to be as Ontario, not as Canada.¹⁰⁴ For the rest of the decade of the 1890s, Imperial Federation became a hot topic once again, and enthusiasm abounded from British and Canadian politicians alike. Liberal Unionist founder

¹⁰⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887, 120.

¹⁰¹ *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 11 cols. 412, 14 April 1893.

¹⁰² *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 11 cols. 414, 14 April 1893.

¹⁰³ This was a common refrain surrounding the use of the Canadian model to resolve Irish issues, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, leading up to the Third Home Rule bill. Many commentators remarked that the cultural differences between Québec and Ontario were greater than those between Ulster and the rest of Ireland, and so Home Rule for Ireland should not lead to any great catastrophe.

¹⁰⁴ "Mr. Blake in Ireland," *Toronto Globe*, July 20 1892, 4.

Joseph Chamberlain stated at a meeting in Toronto that the Anglo-Saxon race would be the predominant force in the future history and civilization of the world.¹⁰⁵ At a banquet in Boston held in honour of Queen Victoria's jubilee, Nicholas Flood Davin stated that he could not understand Irishmen being hostile to the Empire as "the expansion of the British empire is the enlargement of the freedom and blessings and enlightenment of the human race."¹⁰⁶ Canadian imperial federalists like the Irish-born Francis Blake Crofton supported Home Rule for Ireland in the interests of imperial union. He believed that a federated union would be the only way to maintain the cohesion and strength of the imperial mission.¹⁰⁷

The 1903 Debates

By the turn of the twentieth century, Canadian history remained the central chronology in trying to foresee how Home Rule in Ireland would play out. Joseph Kearney Foran believed that once Home Rule was implemented Ulster Unionists would come to see its benefits. He used the example of Joseph Howe who led the opposition to Nova Scotia joining Confederation in the 1860s. In just a few short years after Confederation began, the Nova Scotian anti-Confederates realized the futility of their exercise and instead fought for better terms for Nova Scotia within Confederation.¹⁰⁸ For the Irish Parliamentary Party, nineteenth century Canadian history continued to provide the best analogy for Ireland's future. In 1901 when the IPP leader John Redmond visited Canada, he told audiences that the Irish were under a deep obligation to Canada due to her history and her present condition. The Canadians had been disaffected but were now heartily loyal. Despite his praise for this loyal country of the Empire, his admiration for the actions of Canadians in 1837 would have done little to quell Ulster Unionist concerns:

¹⁰⁵ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 173.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Flood Davin. *The British Empire: A Speech Delivered at the Banquet in Boston, Celebrating Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee* (Winnipeg: Nor' Wester Office, 1897), unnumbered.

¹⁰⁷ Francis Blake Crofton, *For Closer Union: Some slight offerings to a great cause* (Halifax: A&W MacKinlay, 1897), 40.

¹⁰⁸ "More Light on the Irish Question – Feb. 1903" in Joseph K Foran, *Blossoms of the Past* (Montreal: Gazette Print Co., 1934), 31.

“We have not arms in our hands, and we have not taken the field against British rule. I am quite candid and will tell you that in my individual judgement we could have as good justification as the Canadians of 1837.”¹⁰⁹ Such language tended to confirm the worst fears of Orange Tory members about nationalist threats to imperial unity. In the 1903 debates on the Home Rule Resolutions, many Ontarian Tories were scathing of the fact that the now independent member John Costigan had put these resolutions before the house to be voted on for a fourth time. The recent Boer War had opened cracks in imperial unity as some Irish and French-Canadian nationalists seemed to openly pledge their sympathy to the Boer cause. Thomas Sproule, MP for Grey East, and Grand Master of the Orange Lodge stated that he believed it was not the duty of the Canadian Parliament to discuss Home Rule for Ireland, that was entirely up to the Imperial Parliament. Sproule went to accuse IPP MPs John Redmond, John Dillon, and William O’Brien of using seditious and disloyal language when they went fund-raising in the United States and that they would not make good governors of Ireland.¹¹⁰ His colleague and fellow Orangeman Sam Hughes stated that more town or county councils was the way to go for Ireland rather than Home Rule. In fact, Hughes even went so far as to say that the abolishment of provincial parliaments and the devolution of more powers for county districts would have been better for Canada also.¹¹¹

Charges of disloyalty by Orange MPs were met with declarations of identification by noted Irish-Canadian Catholic and French-Canadian MPs. In bringing forth the resolutions again twenty-one years after he had first brought them before the House, John Costigan stated

¹⁰⁹ “Home Rule for Ireland,” *Toronto Globe* November 22, 1901, 1.

¹¹⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 744-749.

¹¹¹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 770. This seemed to be a favoured argument of those who had Irish unionist sympathies. With all this Home Rule talk of making the UK a federated nation like Canada, some unionists and their sympathizers fought back by claiming that Canada would be better off if it became more like the UK by abolishing provincial parliaments and creating a legislative union. Co. Tyrone unionist T.W. Russell who argued forcefully against Blake at the Westminster debates in 1893, stated that eight parliaments for five million people was rapidly becoming an expensive luxury for Canadians. T.W. Russell, “American Side-Lights on Home Rule,” *Fortnightly Review* 53.315 (Mar 1893): 353.

that he felt a sense of pride that Canada had become the great object lesson for Irish legislative sovereignty.¹¹² Like Senator Haythorne in 1882, Prince Edward Island politician Edward Hackett identified the land issue in Ireland with that of PEI, “Coming as I do from a province of Canada where for a hundred years or more the people suffered as the Irish people did, from absentee landlords, I can speak feelingly on this question.”¹¹³ He noted that the Wyndham Act being introduced in Ireland as a final resolution of the land question took some of its influence from the land acts introduced in PEI back in the 1870s. He went on to declare that Irishmen all over the world were happy to fight for Irish interests. Again, identifying his own experience with that of the Irish, Liberal politician Henri Bourassa classified the French-Canadians, the Boers, and the Irish as three “alien” groups within the British Empire who could only be prosperous loyal, and happy once they had been granted a level of self-sovereignty.¹¹⁴ Prime Minister Laurier stated that he not could understand why Irish Catholics could not be trusted with power if Canadian Catholics were.¹¹⁵ Surely Laurier himself was proof that Catholics could be loyal rulers.

In all of these examples of Irish loyalty and Canadian loyalty, we can see how politicians sought to situate their own personal histories and identities in relation to the political experiences of Ireland (e.g. being a victim of absentee landlords, being a smaller cultural minority in a larger political union, being a Catholic). In debates on the floor of the House of Commons or in the Senate, individual politicians identified their personal histories with historical experiences in Ireland as a way of *Canadianizing* the recent Irish past. In fact, pro-Irish Home Rule federal politicians were so successful at equating Canada’s historical experience to Ireland’s that opposition to the resolutions were largely focused on not interfering in the internal politics of the United Kingdom, rather than voicing outright opposition to Ireland

¹¹² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 725-726.

¹¹³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 733-734.

¹¹⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 763.

¹¹⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 780.

ever having a form of Home Rule.

In the end the resolutions passed by a vote of 102-41, and even though the numbers in support of Home Rule were down from the vote of 1887, resolutions had now been passed four times in the federal legislature.¹¹⁶ In many of the debates about Irish Home Rule, there was a desire to bring closure to a long period of Irish history by recognizing Ireland's role in the management of the Empire. There was no reason why Irish Catholics should not be able to rule (a quarter of) the world alongside their British neighbours.¹¹⁷ Recent articles on the Irish Home Rule movement have highlighted some of the imperial pretensions of major Irish Home Rule figures such as Isaac Butt, and even John Redmond. Unlike a later generation of Irish republicans who regarded Ireland as a model of decolonization, constitutional Irish nationalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not regard Ireland as a colony.¹¹⁸ And despite references by some British politicians and Irish unionists, by the late nineteenth century most Canadian politicians did not conceive of their country as a colony either.¹¹⁹ Most Irish Home Rulers before the First World War would have been perfectly happy to achieve the Dominion status that most of Ireland finally did achieve in 1921.

Canadian support for Home Rule in Ireland had both practical and idealistic objectives. The practical objectives included showing to Irish-Americans that Canada was sympathetic to Irish political grievances, showing to Catholics in Ireland that Canada was a sympathetic country to emigrate to, and hopefully as a consequence, gaining more immigrants to settle the Northwest. The more idealistic objectives were showing to Britain and the world that Canada

¹¹⁶ Resolutions in support of Home Rule for Ireland were also passed by the Ontario, Québec, and Nova Scotian legislatures. See Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 56.

¹¹⁷ Hutchinson notes that in the 1870s, with increasing consciousness of the Empire in Britain, it was felt there would be opportunities for outgroups to take part in ruling at least a part of the Empire if they could prove themselves at adopting English culture and customs. John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 277.

¹¹⁸ Pauline Collombier-Lakeman, "Ireland the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism." *Radical History Review*, 104 (Spring 2009): 70.

¹¹⁹ Liberal Unionist T.W. Russell in his 1893 article "American Side-Lights on Home Rule" had remarked that Canada, Australia, and South Africa accepted their situation as colonies.

could become the model for resolving political, national, and ethnic friction within the Empire. When Canadian politicians spoke of their support of Home Rule for Ireland, they were largely trying to explain what it meant to be Canadian. They wanted to show how Canada had been successful in bringing together different types of groups, including those based on bonds of kinship, and those based on liberal notions of common interests. Their interpretation of Irish history needed to give sanction to the Canadian story. This was one of the reasons why the rebellions of 1837-38 and Lord Durham's response were invoked so much, it provided a way for Canadian politicians to situate and newly interpret their own history by comparing it with present conditions in Ireland.¹²⁰ Sociologist Craig Calhoun has reminded us that new lessons can be drawn from the interpretation of old narratives even though the narrative remains the same.¹²¹ On Parliament Hill, Irish history was a textual inheritance, one that could be debated and interpreted in comparison with Canadian history in order to envision a future for both Ireland and Canada as part of the Empire. And even if it was more difficult for Irish politicians to transcend that inheritance, Canadian politicians found that they could give order and meaning to Canada's historical development by situating that Irish inheritance as a surmountable obstacle of their own national story.

¹²⁰ As Canadian Trade Commissioner Charles Ramsey Devlin wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* in Dublin in 1901 "Different races, different religions, different languages. Every difficulty which confronts Ireland has been met in Canada and solved." "To the Editor of the Freeman's Journal," *Freeman's Journal*, December 25, 1901.

¹²¹ Craig Calhoun, "'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary," *Ethnicities*, 3.4 (2003): 534.

Chapter 3 –The Exile’s Vision: Irish Canadian Poems of Land and Nation

XXIV

Dear old Killynoogan, thee,
Once so full of life and glee,
Lifeless, desolate, I see!

XXV

But, beloved and sacred spot,
Nought of thee shall be forgot,
Till what I am now—is not.

—John Reade, “Killynoogan”¹

Once I sat down to ponder,
As my spirit, fond and fonder,
From my exile home did wander
 Far away across the sea:
And the disappearing Real
Blended with the bright Ideal
'Till I thought I could see all
 The scenes once dear to me.

—Joseph Kearney Foran “The Exile’s Vision”²

In these excerpts from their respective poems, two Irish-Canadian poets try to evoke the feeling of nostalgia that many emigrants’ feel when they think about their native home. But while both poems deal with memories of Ireland, the role of memory functions very differently

¹ John Reade, “Killynoogan,” in *The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems* (Montreal: Dawson, 1870), 97.

² J. K. Foran, “The Exile’s Vision,” in *Poems and Canadian Lyrics* (Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1895), 81-82.

in each example. For the Irish-born Reade, his poem is about his specific home in Killynoogan, Co. Derry. He remembers “every stone in every wall”, as well as the garden, the orchard, and the watermill near where he lived before he emigrated to Canada at the age of nineteen. He laments the loss of family members who are no longer living and promises in the final two stanzas that he will never forget the “sacred spot” of his home as long as he is alive. In contrast, the Canadian-born Foran has written a poem in the guise of an Irish exile, and much of its content is national rather than personal. Rather than memory of a local area, Foran’s exile dreams of wandering all over Ireland, from Cashel to Monasterboise, from Galway to Dublin. At every place he rests, he envisions the history of that place, from Rory O’Connor’s burial at Clonmacnoise to battles that have occurred outside Limerick’s ancient walls. This “memory” of Ireland is much more expansive in both time and space compared to Reade’s personal recollection of a single space, limited by the expanse of a single human life.

Reade’s poem is unusual among Irish-Canadian poets of the post-Confederation period in that it deals with the subjective experience of perception, a form of poetry writing more typically found among English Romantic poets. Many of those poets such as Percy Shelley and John Clare, were looking to record their immediate sensory perceptions of the material world, without the constraining filter and ready meaning supplied by their culture and education.³ For the literary academic Onno Oerlemans, there was a resistance by many of these poets to “project final meanings or to produce a sense of completion.”⁴ Reade recognizes that his memory of his home in Ireland is partial and incomplete and that the subjective nature of such memories means that language itself places limits on how he can represent that subjectivity. In one of the stanzas of “Killynoogan” he writes ‘Words are cumbersome, at times, / Thought

³ Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 23-25.

⁴ Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 23.

could visit fifty climes, / While I'm seeking useless rhymes.' Words are sometimes not enough to express the idiosyncrasies of one's memory. Writing necessarily objectifies a subjective experience, and the writer must make compromises with literary form and the demands of rhetorical fashion to be able to communicate something of a personal memory that may never be entirely replicable in print.

In "The Exile's Vision" Foran acknowledges the subjective and limiting nature of individual memory but places it within the grander and more definite contours of national memory, 'And the disappearing Real / Blended with the bright Ideal'. The individual is never independent of the national. This distinction between modes of perception centres on the role of the poet and their relation to wider society. In her book *Bardic Nationalism*, Katie Trumpener has highlighted how the traditional role of the bard in Irish, Scottish, and Welsh societies was perceived differently in England from the dawn of the Romantic period. Nationalist antiquarians in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales in the late eighteenth century viewed the traditional bard of their respective nations as the voice of their cultures and societies, recounting their histories, voicing their concerns, and lamenting their decline. Literary expression served certain social responsibilities and was adapted to the concerns of audiences. In contrast, English poets viewed the historical bard as a figure that stood outside traditional society, representing poetry "as a dislocated art."⁵ This was an artist who rose above his time, speaking to more universal truths, and guarding his political autonomy.⁶

⁵ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 6.

⁶ Something of the difference between how the traditional bard was perceived by English poets and Celtic antiquarians can be seen reflected in the differences between the two major political traditions in Canada. As pointed out in the previous chapter, nineteenth century Canadian Liberals tended to privilege the abstract rights of the individual over geographically, temporally, or socially restricted rights, while Conservatives recognized the role of history in the acquisition and allocation of rights. The word *Tory* comes from the Irish word *tóraidhe* meaning outlaw or robber. Originally used as a term of abuse at those in Ireland who supported the Royalists during the time of Cromwell, it later became applied to those who supported the Stuart monarch during the time of the Glorious Revolution. The political philosophy of Toryism would evolve to mean something like what the Celtic bard was seeking to defend, the maintenance of traditional customs and beliefs as the basis of political society, rather than individual rights and rationalist principles. See E.A. Heaman, "Rights Talk and the Liberal

Much pre-Confederation Canadian literature, especially by English writers, bears the mark of a practical outlook towards the landscape, free of the poetic mythologies of the Celtic nations of the United Kingdom. A prime example of such an outlook was that of the English settler Catherine Parr Traill. In her collection of letters and personal journals *The Backwoods of Canada*, first printed in 1836, Traill recounts how the settlers of Upper Canada had little regard for the imaginative fancies of poets. She remarked that even the Irish and the Highlanders of Scotland laid aside their ancient superstitions when they encountered the backwoods of Canada. Here there were no druids, or nymphs or fairies, instead the settler looked to the land with the eye of a geologist or botanist. Traill writes of herself in the Canadian landscape as an individual who was at once both closer to God and nature:

For myself, though I can easily enter into the feelings of the poet and the enthusiastic lover of the wild and the wonderful of historic lore, I can yet make myself very happy and contented in this country. If its volume of history is yet a blank, that of Nature is open, and eloquently marked by the finger of God; and from its pages I can extract a thousand sources of amusement and interest whenever I take my walks in the forest or by the borders of the lakes.⁷

The North American landscape was almost the physical embodiment of the Protestant Reformation, an opportunity for the individual to live in direct contact with God's creation, without the visible and constraining impositions of European authority and tradition. Part of the new freedoms that European settlers encountered in this new world can be seen in this contrasting experience of European and North American landscapes. Literary academic Paul Smethurst has observed that while North American writing is often conditioned by what he terms "the opportunities suggested by undifferentiated space, European writers are more constricted by "the physical evidence of history."⁸ In nineteenth century literature Ireland was

Order Framework," in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, eds. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), and Katherine Fierlbeck, *Political Thought in Canada: An Intellectual History* (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2006)

⁷ Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America* (London, UK: Charles Knight, 1838), 155.

⁸ Paul Smethurst, *The Postmodern Chronotype: Reading Space and Time in Contemporary Fiction*, (Amsterdam; Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2004), 291.

sometimes referred to as the “storied land”, its monuments and rural place names were texts in which narratives of the past were made evident to those in the present. But for many European writers who encountered the North American landscape for the first time, they did not have familiar or comforting models with which to interpret the land they saw before them. As they were generally ignorant of aboriginal history, the only model they had to interpret this new world was the Christian one. And so the seemingly uninhabited wilderness of North America (and later Australasia) was often referred to as “God’s Country,” what the world was supposed to look like after God rested on the seventh day. The natural world represented natural order, and how could one not have confidence in the natural world, as it was the primary example we have of God’s creative powers.⁹

Young Ireland and Irish Childhoods

However, following the Patriote Rebellions of the late 1830s, the influx of Irish Famine emigrants in the 1840s, and the fear of American annexation in the early 1850s, Canadian political figures were becoming increasingly conscious of the need to bring Canadians of disparate cultural and religious communities together under the guise of a shared nationality. It should come as no surprise that Irish-Canadian poets would become especially prominent in this role, as much of the traditions of poetry recital in Ireland were based around a communal and genealogical sensibility, that would later play its part in the development of a national consciousness. Former Young Irelander and new Canadian resident Thomas D’Arcy McGee wasted no time in publishing a collection of pseudo-nationalist poems in 1858 entitled *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses*, just a year after his emigration to Canada. In poems such as “Arm and Rise”, he saw the Canadian landscape in very different terms from Catherine Parr Traill. Calling on Canadians to mythologize Canada as they colonize and settle the land,

⁹ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 127.

he reminded them that ‘On the round Canadian cedars / Legends high await but readers.’¹⁰ He also uses the vocabulary of war and battle, where the enemy is the forest and the national hero is the logger battling all odds against the sublime indifference of the Canadian landscape.¹¹ The settler colonial was not just someone cutting down a tree, he was a national warrior creating myths of bravery, endurance and triumph for future generations of Canadians.¹²

Owning a part of this landscape was also hugely important in developing one’s own individual sovereignty. The fight to clear the land was a personal test of endurance, a powerful expression of individual agency. As new landlords reshaped the land, they went from self-interested observers to self-conscious owners.¹³ The settling of the New World was about imposing order and control upon new landscapes, and poetry played its role in orientating readers towards how they should feel or emote towards those landscapes. As the anthropologist Clifford Geertz has claimed “It is in country unfamiliar emotionally or topographically that one needs poems and road maps.”¹⁴ The metaphors used to clear the landscape were warlike in the way they set the settler against the sublime indifference of the Canadian environment. In his classic work on Canadian literature, *The Bush Garden*, Northrop Frye stressed this warlike theme that ran through much Canadian poetry about settling the landscape. Facing the terror of the Canadian winter, the settler had to battle against his own fears, and his own timidity. The battle against this environment was also a battle against the unconscious, and its propensity to undermine the efforts of the settler. The clearing of the land was not just a victory over the

¹⁰ Thomas D’Arcy McGee, “Arm and Rise.” *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1858), 44.

¹¹ The Young Ireland movement from which McGee came sought to imbue Irish nationalism with a more muscular sense of Victorian masculinity and national pride, infusing traditional bardic songs of sorrow and woe with more “manly” themes of action and aggressiveness. See Mary Helen Thuente, “The Origins and Significance of the Angel Harp,” in *Back to the Present: Forward to the Past: Irish Writing and History*, eds. Patricia A. Lynch, Joachim Fischer, and Brian Coates (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 181-208.

¹² Writing in the *New Dominion Monthly* in the years after his assassination, McGee’s friend and fellow Montreal Irishman John Reade acknowledged the literary power of the Young Irelanders, identifying how they used songs and popular ballads as “a leading medium for the dissemination of national feeling.” See John Reade, “Thomas D’Arcy McGee – The Poet.” *The New Dominion Monthly*, (February 1870): 17.

¹³ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 124.

¹⁴ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 19.

environment, it was also a victory over the self.¹⁵

But a sense of ownership is not the same as a sense of home, and a recurring theme of Irish Canadian poetry in the post-Confederation period was that home, or at least the feeling of being at home, was always elsewhere. There was a constant search to translate a sense of home that was experienced in Ireland, and that could somehow be reproduced in Canada. In *Oceans of Consolation* David Fitzpatrick writes that the notion of home for many Irish emigrants in Australia had an ambiguous meaning, sometimes meaning a house, or a neighbourhood, at other times meaning a nation or even the concept of heaven.¹⁶ The religious notion of home as a final meaning was not an unusual way of thinking about movement, whether movement through space, or movement through the time of life. For Boym, nostalgia for the homeland is often based on this notion of the unity of space and meaning, what she calls a union of the physical and the spiritual before the descent into history.¹⁷ There is a strong spiritual longing then in the notion of nostalgia, and there are examples in Irish-Canadian poetry of this period where the religious and the national come together in the search for a communal genesis. This fusion of religious and national can be seen in some of the hymns of Joseph Scriven:

Forevermore at God's right hand,
Where Christ for us appears,
The pleasures of our father-land
Outlive the rolling years.

Then sing our native melodies
Within the veil above;
And joy in all the tenderness
Of God's eternal love.¹⁸

Here the 'father-land' is heaven and the afterlife is the ultimate return to the fatherland of whence we came. A shared belief in the certainty of the afterlife was one of the major ways

¹⁵ Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 138-142.

¹⁶ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 620.

¹⁷ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 8.

¹⁸ "Hymn 2" in Joseph Scriven, *Hymns and other Verses* (Peterborough ON: James Stephens, 1869), 2.

that individuals and communities could model their behaviour in the present, in hopes of a better future. The positive social cohesion provided by religion was one of the main reasons that John A. Macdonald was so supportive of religious institutions in Canada, and not just those of his own Protestant faith.¹⁹ Anthropologists have reminded us that religious belief satisfies a cognitive desire for a “stable, comprehensible, and coercible world”, providing for “an inner security in the face of natural contingency.”²⁰

But if the stability of the self outside time could be anticipated at one end of life, such stability could also be found in memories of the other end of life. One way of understanding the relationship of the self to past time and non-time was through the memory of childhood. In Raymond Williams’ *The Country and the City*, childhood was often seen by English writers as a place of emotional plenty, physical security, and Edenic innocence. But the passage of time had also led to “lost identities, lost relations, and lost certainties.”²¹ For Boym, nostalgia for childhood is a rebellion against the modern idea of history and progress. To revisit a time of life is to revisit a particular space, “refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time that plagues the human condition.”²² Returning to Ireland in memory, is not just returning to a particular place, but is also returning to a time of life related to that place. In Edward Hartley Dewart’s “Erin Remembered” this irreversibility of time is evoked in the changes that have occurred between the pre-Famine world of his youth, and his inability to ever return there:

I remember the home, where in childhood I played –
I remember the hills, where in boyhood I strayed –
I remember, with shadows of sorrow and pain,
The friends, that I can never meet with again.²³

¹⁹ Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1952; 1998) 129.

²⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 143.

²¹ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 139

²² Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xv.

²³ “Erin Remembered,” in Edward Hartley Dewart, *Songs of Life: A Collection of Poems* (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869), 186.

Memory of the childhood past may provide an emotional richness that is now missing from the modern world, a narrative of something lost but still maintained in dreams and memories.²⁴ Escape from Ireland leads to a kind of Irish escapism, symbolized somewhat in the syllable similarity of Erin and Eden. Dewart ends the poem by stating that the land that he now lives in (Canada) ‘wears the blossoms of hope.’ The comfort and security of childhood could now be projected onto a hope for a better future in Canada. While the hope of the New World was a rebirth or even reinvention on newly acquired land, for some, ownership of the land did not balance out the loss of community that they had to experience. In another of Dewart’s poems, “A Forest Funeral” a family from Ireland bury their infant daughter in the woods of Ontario, questioning why they came to Canada and if they will ever find happiness:

In rayless sorrow the mother weeps;
Her heart is wounded and sore -
And she thinks of a blighted blossom, that sleeps
In death on her natal shore.
She recalls the friends that were tried and true,
That no longer can soothe or cheer –
The happy home which her girlhood knew,
And she vainly wishes them near.²⁵

The mother thinks of a blighted blossom (a potato?) that lies dead in Ireland, and despite coming all this way across the ocean she now faces death again. For the father, the love of his child had “silenced the voice of Regret”, but now the family must face her death alone without the comfort of friendship. Dewart sees this yearning for friendship to be so profound, that some people would prefer to seek fellowship with their loved ones in the grave than live their lives alone without them. This family does not even have a priest or minister to bury their child, but instead bury her in the “virgin sod” before surrendering her body directly “back to God”. Without the aid of religious community, they had to deal directly with the world as they found

²⁴ David Lowenthal. *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 25.

²⁵ “A Forest Funeral,” Edward Hartley Dewart, *Songs of Life: A Collection of Poems* (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869), 183-184.

it.

The different conceptions of Ireland and Canada in these poems do not just rely on spatial differences but also on the time of life of the poet and how they are contrasting their childhood with their adulthood. In fact, in many of the poems it is difficult to see how time and space could be disassociated from one another. Is the poet nostalgic about Ireland or nostalgic about his youth? In an article written for *The Harp* titled “Pleasures of Memory” by Rev. William B. Meenan of Rhode Island, the notion of memory itself was emplaced as ‘the fairy isle’. This geographic representation of memory has obvious connotations to a childhood in Ireland, but Meehan also interweaves the otherness of memory with the anticipation of an afterlife:

Certainly the innocent heart must take the greatest pleasure in visiting the fairy isle of the past, and remingling in scenes which occupied so long ago their fleeting moments on the stage of life; but for all mankind memory has a wealth of pleasure which, during the weary hours of after life, she bestows with lavish hand, and causes them to anticipate the hallowed joys they may attain, if their lives conform to the will of the Almighty.²⁶

The anticipation of the afterlife is almost an anticipation for the mythic return of childhood. In *Oceans of Consolation*, David Fitzpatrick observed that among letter writers writing home from Australia there was a desire to recover a lost sense of home, a sense of comfort and stability that would be an end goal for the emigrant.²⁷ This imagined location as Fitzpatrick describes it, was a place where the emigrant would feel totally at home in their geographic, cultural, and personal surroundings, a final resting place where the enduring joys of one’s early life could be transferred to later life.²⁸

But if the world of childhood was a respite from the unrelenting concerns of adulthood,

²⁶ “The Pleasures of Memory,” by W.B. Meenan. *The Harp*, 2.4 (August 1875): 115.

²⁷ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 609.

²⁸ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 627.

the Irish countryside at least was not always a chronicle of calm serenity. While Raymond Williams has highlighted how the rural world in England was traditionally seen as an alternative to disturbance and war²⁹, and Northrop Frye that the pastoral myth of peace and protection was “particularly strong in Canada,”³⁰ the rural world in Ireland was often infused with legends of violence, rebellion, and oppression. The land of Ireland was not just a space of agriculture and material ruins, it was also, more importantly, the deathbed of your ancestors, many of whom died while fighting for some sort of political sovereignty. Personal history and national history intertwine. A poem in *The Harp* entitled “A Day Dream – Scene in the Co. Carlow” signed by “Emigrant – Montreal”, shows how landscape in Ireland is always mediated by the stories told about.³¹ The subject of the poem lies down in the countryside of county Carlow, and recounts in detail the natural and animal world that surrounds him. But the landscape is also alive to legend and oral memory:

As I continued thus to gaze
Remembrance flew to other days,
And gloomy retrospections stole
In troubled shapes across my soul
For on Mount Leinster’s mossy side,
Where sheep and goat alone abide,
Once lived an outlawed chieftain bold,
Of whose brave deeds strange tales are told.³²

Just as in Foran’s “The Exile’s Vision”, personal memory is couched within national memory, ‘Remembrance flew to other days’. In contrast to God’s country, the storied land of Ireland is never free from the visible remnants of human agency. Material history then becomes one of the central ways of unearthing Irish national consciousness. In each edition of *The Harp*, there was a sketch drawing of a well-known Irish historical building, such as Blarney Castle,

²⁹ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 24.

³⁰ Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 239

³¹ As James Patterson MP stated during the Home Rule debates of 1882 “There is not a green hillside or sequestered valley that does not remind the Irish peasant of some wrong, some act of tyranny on the part of his oppressors.” Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882, 1053

³² “A Day Dream – Scene in Co. Carlow” by Emigrant of Montreal. *The Harp*, 5.1. (November 1879): 17.

Clonmacnoise, Armagh Cathedral, or Holy Cross Abbey in Cashel. Each sketch drawing would come with a descriptive paragraph outlining the dimensions of the building and the role it played in Irish history. In another article in *The Harp*, Foran outlined the importance of Irish material history in opposition to documented history: “In some cases the monument may be still more trustworthy than even the record. For documents may be changed, may be lost, may be injured or effaced – while a good monument remains in spite of all the changes and all the dangers.”³³ There is a sense of comfort acquired from these ancient buildings. Their endurance in the landscape is a symbol of collective endurance in a late nineteenth century world of geographic displacement and historical flux. For Boym, the material ruin is not just a reminder of the past, it is also a reminder of how the present becomes the past, and yet continues to endure into the future.³⁴

Something of the power of material history to provide a locus of cognitive endurance can be seen in the poetry of James Donnelly, an Irish-born Canadian Christian Brother raised in a francophone family, and who was personally known to Foran. In his poem “Irlande” Donnelly speaks of the endurance of Ireland, symbolized in the endurance of the Catholic faith:

Rien ne troublait alors la paix de ton royaume;
Le bonheur habitait sous l’humble toit de chaume
Et voyait sans terreur les hivers s’approcher :
Tes enfants vieillissaient à l’ombre de l’église;
Ta foi parlait au loin, libre comme la brise,
Ferme comme un rocher³⁵

Here faith is firm as a rock, and for Donnelly it is Catholicism which finally endures, rather than any notion of the Irish nation. Like John Lawrence Power O’Hanly’s description of the Irish as being all at sea without the leadership of the Catholic Church to provide direction, Donnelly’s description of the Irish in the aftermath of the Famine is full of similar adjectives

³³ “Canadian Essays – Education.” *The Harp*, 5.10 (August 1880): 429.

³⁴ Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001),79.

³⁵ J.K. Foran, “L’Œuvre Littéraire de James Donnelly.” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3.6 (1913): 139. Also Published in *La Poésie française au Canada*, 1881.

of Ireland being lost at sea, and lost in a storm, ‘Tu n’es plus maintenant qu’une ombre de toi-même, / Flottant comme un cadavre à la cime des flots.’ Donnelly looks back to an Ireland utterly transformed from its past, and asks if the English ‘tyrant’ cannot see the glory of Ireland’s history right there in front of him, ‘Voit-il la vielle tour recouverte de mousse, / Inflexible témoin de l’affreuse secousse / Et des maux effrayants que l’Irlande endura?’ Like many of his contemporaries, Donnelly associates ancient Ireland with the joy of childhood, where the land was fertile and in rich adornment. There is a strong sense here of needing to be anchored to meaning. This search for meaning is often a forward-looking quest for a sense of permanence and wholeness, what Famine scholar Oona Frawley characterizes as looking for something “unitary, solid and utterly predictable.”³⁶

Donnelly’s vision of the Catholic Church in Ireland was echoed a generation later by James B. Dollard, a Kilkenny priest based in Toronto. In the preface to his 1910 collection of poems, he reiterates some of the historical ideas of the Celtic Revival, believing that the Irish have always believed in a spirit world, which was one of the reasons they remained so religious. Like many Catholic figures of his time he relates notions of Celtic mysticism to the Christian mysteries of the early Church. This is why Dollard believes, the Irish have “clung so firmly to the Ancient Church, preferring suffering and death with it, to riches and prosperity with the new order of things.”³⁷ In his poem “The Catholic Church” various lines end with words that speak to the readiness and perseverance of the Church to face the future and its inevitable shocks, e.g. withstand/grand/land/planned.³⁸ Like many of his Irish-Canadian Catholic contemporaries, Dollard sees the longevity of a distinctive human culture in Ireland as ultimately a religious longevity, rather than a political one. The Catholic Church was the true

³⁶ Oona Frawley, introduction to *Memory Ireland*, vol. 2, *Diaspora and Memory Practices*, ed. Oona Frawley (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012), 6.

³⁷ James B. Dollard, *Poems* (Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada, 1910), iii.

³⁸ “The Catholic Church.” James B. Dollard, *Poems* (Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada, 1910), 95.

voice of historical Ireland, not nationalism.

But such spiritual stability was not just found in the memory of an Irish childhood or the anticipation of the Christian afterlife; rebirth in the New World also provides this Edenic quality. In Mrs. Leprohon's "The Emigrant Monument at Point St. Charles" she speaks of the tragedy of the Irish dead who died of typhus in Montreal in 1847. The bodies of these victims are interred in and are now a part of the Canadian landscape. Even though Leprohon's collected poetry was only published thirty-four years after the typhus epidemic, she states that they are 'Long since forgotten', but the black stone placed in their honour will continue for 'many a year'.³⁹ Their bodies are regenerated as Canadian, the stone representing an origin tale for Montreal's Irish, a liminal space of death, rebirth, and endurance.

Indigenous Pasts and Canadian Futures

While the poems of Dewart and Leprohon deal with some of the more unforgiving aspects of the Canadian experience, other Irish-Canadian poets had a more optimistic view of Canada's land compared to Ireland. In Isabella Valancy Crawford's poem "A Hungry Day", a father buries his wife in Ireland and decides to take his two children with him to Canada. He leaves behind the city streets and heads into the rural part of the country where he 'wint wid me axe to cut a home / In the green woods beneath the clear, swate sky.'⁴⁰ Twenty years later he has created his own large farm single-handedly out of the woods. Crawford tries to show that even such human disasters as the Famine can produce uplifting stories where the Irish can achieve a better life through initiative and hard work. Like many of her Irish-Canadian contemporaries, Crawford sees the peaceable kingdom of Canada as a space where Irish historical differences can be transcended, if not entirely forgotten. As Michele Holmgren notes

³⁹ "The Emigrant's Monument at Point St. Charles." Mrs. Leprohon, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon* (Miss R.E. Mullins) (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1881), 82.

⁴⁰ "A Hungry Day." Isabella Valancy Crawford, *The Collected Poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1905), 309. First published in the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 15 February 1881.

in her study of Crawford's poetry, Crawford wished to emphasize Irish acquiescence in the face of historical wrongs as a symbol of Irish endurance.⁴¹ Irish history should be remembered as a history of stoic forbearance rather than *ressentiment* anger. This tension between stoic forbearance and *ressentiment* anger was also the product of an increasingly self-consciously gendered notion of Irish nationalism. As Mary Helen Thuente highlights in her study of the symbolism of the Irish harp, from the Young Irelanders onward anglophone Irish nationalists wished to forego the image of the Gaelic bard as one who lamented past defeats, and instead focus on Victorian values of masculine discipline and physical aggressiveness.⁴² In Crawford's poem "Erin's Warning" Erin speaks as the captive mother who warns her sons not to engage in clandestine activity that would bring shame upon her:

Would ye, valiant sons of mine,
Play the traitor's loathly part?
Bow my proud head in the dust?
Sell my honour in the mart?
If ye may not break my chains,
Fearless-fronted, true and brave,
Spotless as thy sires were,
Then let Erin live a slave!⁴³

The harmony of the words 'brave' and 'slave' can be seen as an entreaty to Irish land agitators not to usurp the sympathy that the world has for Ireland by engaging in ill-advised attacks on the forces of authority. The trope of Ireland as mother that Crawford uses in "Erin's Warning" is a symbolic identification that goes back a long way in Irish cultural history. The psychoanalyst Ernest Jones noted that for island peoples there is often a strong association of their native land with the ideas of "woman, virgin, mother and womb."⁴⁴ This association

⁴¹ See Michele J Holmgren, *Native Muses and National Poetry: Nineteenth-Century Irish-Canadian Poets* (Doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1997), 265.

⁴² See Mary Helen Thuente, "The Origins and Significance of the Angel Harp," in *Back to the Present: Forward to the Past: Irish Writing and History*, eds. Patricia A. Lynch, Joachim Fischer, and Brian Coates (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 181-208.

⁴³ "Erin's Warning." Isabella Valancy Crawford, *The Collected Poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1905), 81. First published in the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, March 7th 1881.

⁴⁴ Ernest Jones, "The Island of Ireland: A Psychological Contribution to Political Psychology," in *Psycho-Myth, Psycho-History: Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis, Volume 1* (New York: Stonehill, 1974), 98.

evokes an idea of the island as the womb of a mother waiting to give birth to her diaspora population. It also evokes the idea that the Irish people themselves are a product of the land, and the landscapes of Erin.

But if Irish people are *produced* by Ireland (by both its history and its landscape), it is Canadians who produce Canada (both its history and its landscape). By founding a brand-new nation Canadians are seen as determining—rather than determined. In Crawford’s poem, “Canada to England” she personifies the land of Canada as a lonely entity, devoid of purpose and meaning until European man arrived to bestow significance on it:

The times have won a change. Nature no more
Lords it alone and binds the lonely land
A serf to tongueless solitudes; but Nature’s self
Is led, glad captive in light fetters rich
As music-sounding silver can adorn;
And man has forged them, and our silent God
Behind His flaming worlds smiles on the deed.
“Man hath dominion” – words of primal might;
“Man hath dominion” – thus the words of God.⁴⁵

The land is not only humanized by settlement, it is given meaning by European tongues, carriers of the Word of God. The land is given voice by European, and especially British settlement. Crawford seems to follow McGee’s invocation to read the landscape for legends. Canada can now also become a storied land, just like Ireland. But nature in this pre-European land is also a place of tongueless solitudes. It seems that aboriginal people have no voice in this land, but rather are reduced to being part of nature itself. Crawford would famously include aspects of Amerindian mythology in her later more famous poems of the 1880s, such as *Malcolm’s Katie* and *Old Spookses’ Pass*; but the acknowledgement or omission of aboriginal culture in Canadian poems of the nineteenth century was often determined by whether or not such cultures were part of an assumed mythology of the Canadian landscape, or whether they

⁴⁵ “Canada to England.” Isabella Valancy Crawford, *The Collected Poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1905), 237. Originally published in the *Toronto Mail* July 28, 1874.

merely got in the way of contemplating God's naked creation. Nature after all had a temporal primacy over what Europeans saw as the 'prehistory' of aboriginal peoples. For those who wished to acknowledge aboriginal presence, they were free to create an exciting historical narrative of heroism, adventure, and overcoming adversity. Legends, and official histories about indigenous peoples contact with Europeans, were intertwined to create poems of Romantic tragedy, storying the land as had been done in Europe.⁴⁶ In one of Foran's poems for *The Harp* entitled "Musings" he dreams of walking in Canada in a time before European settlement where he imagines he would encounter the 'dusky spirits of the past' in the 'far off fairy realms.'⁴⁷ The envisaging of ancient indigenous cultures as similar to Celtic mythology is evident here.⁴⁸ Using the template of Irish history as an avenue to understand Canadian history was after all an attempt to understand a story about humanity, the search for connections and patterns between human cultures.

However, individual poets were left to their own devices as to which cultures they wished to identify with. In his poem "Canada", James Donnelly looks to the French-Canadian past for narratives of bravery and endurance in the face of overwhelming odds. Just as with the Irish in his poem "Irlande", he attempts to interpret the Canadian past in a way to give future French-Canadians something they can be proud of:

Héros du Canada, tombés au champ de gloire
En écrivant vos noms aux pages de l'histoire
Pour dire à l'avenir qui furent nos aïeux!
Quand la France oublia sa fille la plus belle,
Et tant d'illustre sang que l'on versait pour elle,

⁴⁶ Mrs. Leprohon was particularly adept at Europeanizing aboriginal subjects for her reading audience. In a poem such as "The Huron Chief's Daughter" the female protagonist meets a heroic death by being burned alive in an obvious allusion to Joan of Arc. In "The Tryst of the Sachem's Daughter" the young aboriginal woman falls in love with a young white man. After a romantic encounter between the two, the man says that he must leave but that he will return for her. In typical romantic fashion she promises to wait for him but eventually he forgets about her and he marries someone else. The young woman eventually dies of loneliness. See Leprohon, Mrs. *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Miss R.E. Mullins)* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1881).

⁴⁷ "Musings." *The Harp*, 6.6 (April 1881): 260

⁴⁸ The most famous example of this merging of First Nations and Celtic legends was Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief* published in 1830.

Et ses plus nobles fils mourant sous d'autres cieux.⁴⁹

Again, like his Irish-Canadian contemporaries, Donnelly is trying to infuse the Canadian landscape with meaning and significance. There is a need to speak to the past, to be able to situate both the self and the community in a continuity of survival. The connection with the sacrifices and struggles of the people of the past would be needed according to Donnelly in order to wipe away the “froth of oblivion.”⁵⁰ But while sacrifice and struggle of the first French settlers are eulogized, the actions of indigenous peoples are still reduced to that of children. The ‘children of the woods’ commit horrible atrocities and live in a state of perpetual infancy. It is only with the arrival of the Christians from Europe that the full potential of North America can come to fruition, the union of this untouched Garden of Eden with the subjects of the Word of God creates a land of meaning and plenty, ‘Du pole à l’équateur’. Just as God had created the earth out of nothing, so the Europeans had given form and meaning to land which had none of it before. For Paul Ricoeur, fashioning a historical narrative out of the events of the past extracts a sense of order out of the chaos of existence, but for poets like Donnelly there was no human order in North America before the arrival of Europeans.⁵¹

While some Irish-Canadian poets tended to downgrade the role of indigenous peoples in Canada’s past, others sought to romanticize the indigenous past as something superior to the materialist values of the present. In George Martin’s poem “Change on the Ottawa”, the indigenous man looks at the city on the Ottawa River and laments the loss of his native way of life:

But sorrow’s moonless midnight bowed his head,
And once he looked around – Oh! So forlorn!
I hated for his sake the reckless tread
Of human progress, - on *his* race no morn,
No noon of happiness shall ever beam;

⁴⁹ “Canada.” *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, 2.1 (Janvier 1883): 6.

⁵⁰ ‘Essuyer de vos fronts la mousse de l’oubli!’

⁵¹ Paul Ricoeur. *Time and Narrative. Vol. 3* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), 27.

They fade as from our waking fades a dream.⁵²

Martin criticizes the notion of ‘human progress’, underscoring the fact that indigenous peoples are part of humanity also, and that not everyone takes part in this notion of progress. Placing his hero on the side of nature against his own decadent civilization, Martin shows his anger and disgust at what European Canadians have done to the environment. The last line of the poem ‘They fade as from our waking fades a dream’ interweaves notions of remembrance and imagination, similar to Foran’s ‘disappearing Real’ and the ‘bright Ideal’. Martin’s critique of progress is also a critique of the city and urban industrial life, but the dream of living in harmony with nature is just that, a dream. The poem then is also a lament for the loss of a sense of naturalism due to industrialization and urbanization. For Raymond Williams, studying English poetry of the nineteenth century, the loss of the “old country” was the loss of naturalism, even the loss of poetry itself. The newly cultivated land was unnatural and as such lacked the immediate relationship with God’s creation that was evident in the pre-industrial world.⁵³

Connecting the Irish and Unifying Canadians

The lament for a loss of connection with the natural environment underscores again how the search for home is a perennial theme among these poems. The memory of once feeling at home in the world proved to be a powerful motivator for imagining and desiring a future in Canada. But the psychological mixing of memory and desire shows that memory itself was emplaced, as it is ultimately in the minds of human beings where memories live.⁵⁴ Disconnected from the places that once gave life meaning (whether situated in the ancient past, in childhood, or in the natural environment), and “floating on a sea of doubt and uncertainty,”

⁵² “Change on the Ottawa.” George Martin, *Marguerite; Or, The Isle of Demons and Other Poems* (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1887), 165-166.

⁵³ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 137.

⁵⁴ Ernst Van Elphen, “Symptoms of Discursivity,” in *Narrative Theory: Political Narratology*, ed. Mieke Bal (Routledge: Abingdon, 2004), 121.

as O’Hanly put it, a religious, ethnic, or national identity could be a *place* that would provide at least, some of the cognitive comforts of home. However, which identities one chose to occupy, and with whom, could largely be left up to the whim of the individual. In her study of Irish nationalism in Montreal during the Parnell era, Rosalynn Trigger defined two types of Irish nationalism that occurred within the Irish diaspora, that of “embedded” Irish nationalism, and that of “diasporic nationalism.”⁵⁵ In the Canadian context embedded Irish nationalism was support for a type Irish nationalism in keeping with Canadian traditions of government, one that would not ask Irish-Canadians to choose between their loyalty to Canada and their loyalty to Ireland. Diasporic Irish nationalism was support for a type of nationalism that put Irish self-sovereignty above all other considerations of loyalty. Sometimes Irish-Canadians would need to decide whether to border their primary loyalties nationally around Canada, or transnationally around the Irish diaspora. But such loyalties could be adapted depending on the intention of the author and the audience he was trying to reach. For example, in his poetry collection *Poems and Canadian Lyrics*, Foran had written poems in honour of both Queen Victoria and the Fenian Manchester Martyrs. For the Fenian and former Canadian James McCarroll, the choice was easier. In his poem “Resurgam” he desires to see a unity of the Irish people across the world, ‘O’er yonder sea of kindred sheen’. He uses the metaphor of a rainbow formed by the tears of a joyous people, crossing the ocean and uniting the Irish from both sides:

While in his ancient glory decked
Beneath the arch of dazzling rays,
The haughty Celt shall stand erect
As once he stood in other days.⁵⁶

McCarroll looks to an international identity that traverses seas and borders, the Irish must be united in the eyes of the world. Like many before him, McCarroll sees the solution to

⁵⁵ Rosalynn Trigger, “Clerical Containment of Diaspora Irish Nationalism: A Canadian Example from the Parnell Era,” in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, ed. David A. Wilson (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 86.

⁵⁶ “Resurgam,” in James McCarroll, *Madeline and Other Poems* (Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1889), 69.

the problem of Irish unity as lying in the ancient past. Raymond Williams has described this desire of looking at the past as way of formulating goals for the future as “retrospect as aspiration”. This retrospection did not just evoke the idea of the Garden of Eden before the Fall, but also the idea of the Golden Age, when the people were united in their glorious contentment.⁵⁷ If modern Irish politics was a product of recent British (and American) history, then it would be important to show that Irish culture was older than that of the other anglophone nations. Ireland’s Celtic culture preceded that of the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon, but that culture tended to be overlooked and denigrated because it existed orally among the people, rather than textually in laws and histories. As a Fenian, McCarroll’s study of ancient Irish civilization had important political overtones, using archeological and anthropological research as political polemic. New levels of literacy would allow Irish people to bring this Celtic history with them around the world, cementing an interpretation of a glorious Gaelic past, enveloped in the fixity of the Irish landscape.

Ireland’s assumed stasis was both a curse and a virtue. A curse because the politics and economy of the island could not advance into the future because it was too much tied to the past. But it was also a virtue because the people of the island had not forgotten the old ways of life. In the aftermath of the Famine, the image of rural Ireland was one of sadness, decay, and destruction, but there was also a feeling in these poems about Ireland that the land was still *alive* with history, and that the dead bodies that littered the landscape were part of the narrative of that enduring history. Their sacrifice could not be forgotten because the land embalms their memory. In Alexander Charles Stewart’s “Stanzas to Erin” he speaks to Ireland as his queen and admonishes the sons of Ireland who have emigrated and forgotten their motherland, ‘They whom thou nursed, although in pain’. Like many poems about Ireland, the language of sacrifice, death, and rebirth are constantly invoked, and the Irish are always willing to fight and

⁵⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42

to die a noble death in the process. Stewart throws down the gauntlet to young Irishmen to stand up for Ireland even though on the other side of the ocean, ‘There must be some who feel the flood / Of hearts re-pulsing to be free / And dare proclaim it with their blood.’⁵⁸ In “The Wreck of the Shamrock” Stewart uses the sinking of an emigrant ship in Montreal in 1842 as a metaphor for Ireland’s history.⁵⁹ The violence of death has no fear for ‘Erin’s sons.’ Ireland’s history then is united with Irish land, and both man and environment are filled with high emotion. In another of Stewart’s works, he adapts the lyrics of the song “Eileen Allanna” to tell a story of a couple’s parting, the boy leaving for the land across the ocean and Eileen left behind. However, in Stewart’s version the boy wishes for death alongside Eileen, and that the roaring ocean waters will ‘weep over our grave.’⁶⁰ Stewart’s figure would ultimately prefer to die in Ireland and be part of the great history that feeds the soil, to be physically at one with that history. The Irish landscape is not just a background to the action that occurs upon it, it plays a role in cultivating sensitivities and Ireland’s story is a repository of excitement and intensity that lives outside the everyday. In his poem, “The Wanderer” Stewart sings a song of devotion to Ireland, the romantic object of love. The land of Ireland, like the story of Ireland, is a singular enclosed zone of meaning, one that it is possible to completely possess, ‘Dear isle of living heroes, thou art mine!’⁶¹ Stewart goes on to state how proud he is to feel united with a race that has produced men such as ‘Grattan, Burke, and Moore.’ Like Pittman Lett before him, Stewart feels a personal ownership of the great figures of recent Irish history, and like extended family, believes that these are figures that all Irish people can share and be proud of.

But while the diasporic nationalism of these poems sought to connect the pride of the

⁵⁸ “Stanzas to Erin.” Alexander Charles Stewart, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Charles Stewart* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890), 17.

⁵⁹ The Shamrock was an emigrant steamboat that exploded between Lachine and Pointe-Claire in 1842, killing 54 of its 120 passengers. Most of whom were English.

⁶⁰ “Eileen Alanna.” Alexander Charles Stewart, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Charles Stewart* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890), 93.

⁶¹ “The Wanderer” Alexander Charles Stewart, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Charles Stewart* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890), 122.

Irish across oceans and national borders, other Irish-Canadians were embedding their nationalism in the development of the Canadian nation. After all, Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s literary training in the Young Ireland movement had made him a specialist in writing the nation, not just the Irish nation. McGee was a prime example of the what the sociologist Rogers Brubaker would call an “ethnopolitical entrepreneur”; due to the nature of his career as a poet, journalist and politician McGee tended to see the event of nation and nationality everywhere at work.⁶² But the influence of Young Ireland in Canada was not just through the figure of McGee, the Young Ireland movement had provided a vocabulary of cultural nationalism in English to an entire generation of Irish intellectual figures both at home and abroad in the half century or so between the Famine and the Irish Gaelic Revival. The Canadian literary historian D.M.R. Bentley has noted that the vocabulary of the Young Ireland movement was quite prominent in Canadian literary circles between the time of Confederation and the turn of the twentieth century. Members of the Canada First movement even started a journal entitled *Nation* in Toronto in 1874, named after the newspaper founded by the Young Irishmen.⁶³ The term “racy of the soil” was used frequently as a positive descriptor of poetry about the life worlds of rural Canada.⁶⁴ Writing in 1895, Thomas O’Hagan described the new breed of Canadian poets in Canada as “prophets of the people” who were “stirring in the national breast of ‘Young Canada’ fairer visions and dreams of patriotism and promise.” He would go on to call their poems “racy of the soil, charged with the very life-blood of the people.”⁶⁵

One of the perennial concerns of nationalist poets in Canada was the development of

⁶² In fact, this could be a fairly accurate description of many of the Young Irishmen, some of whom went on to successful careers like McGee as journalists and politicians in other jurisdictions, such as Charles Gavan Duffy in Australia and Thomas Francis Meagher in the United States.

⁶³ “Nouveaux Journaux” *Revue Canadienne* 11.6 (June 1874) : 483.

⁶⁴ The phrase “racy of the soil” comes from the byline of *The Nation* newspaper in Ireland ‘To create and foster public opinion in Ireland and to make it racy of the soil.’

⁶⁵ Thomas O’Hagan, *Canadian Essays: Critical and Historical* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1901), 11. The new breed of Canadian poets would be grouped together by a later generation as the Confederation Poets. These included Charles G.D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott.

national feeling through the unity of different peoples who made up the Dominion. The unity of the land, as a metaphor for the unity of peoples was a common theme in the post-Confederation period.⁶⁶ In Nicholas Flood Davin's "Young Canada", the country is personified as a young giant, the embodiment of a people who had conquered the landscape. The giant is not God, but he is greater than any individual. Like Hobbes' Leviathan he is the nation itself. This would be a nation that would have to do away with the petty tribalism of Europeans, in order to maintain sovereignty over this vast dominion:

Of passing strifes and paling passions –
Hell's wild battle 'mid mortal graves;
And with it, hark! The great bass mingles
Of Atlantic and Pacific waves;

Not Scotch, nor Irish, French, nor Saxon,
But all of these and yet our own;
There are no beaten paths to greatness;
Who'd scale these heights must climb alone.⁶⁷

The future outlined in the poem is one where Canada will harness the talents of its people, learn from their past mistakes, and forge a new society on the blank canvas of the North American wilderness. This theme of harnessing the best and transcending the past can also be read in another poem about Canadian unity, William Henry Drummond's "Canada Forever". The poem begins by recognizing the great sadness that many felt when crossing the ocean to Canada, but that these emigrants also knew that Canada could provide them with a future that they may never have been able to find in the 'old land.' The poem then tries to unify the history of the old land with the future of the new:

Our fathers came to win us
This land beyond recall –
And the same blood flows within us
Of Briton, Celt, and Gaul-
Keep alive each glowing ember

⁶⁶ Examples include poems such as "Canada's Birthday" by Agnes Machar, "Canada" by Charles G. D. Roberts, "Peter Ottawa" by Edward William Thomson.

⁶⁷ "Young Canada." Nicholas Flood Davin, *Eos: An Epic of the Dawn and Other Poems* (Regina: Leader Company, Ltd., 1889), 134.

Of our sireland, but remember
Our country is Canadian
Whatever may befall.⁶⁸

Here, there is no culture of birth determinism, one should be proud of one's homeland but should never put that pride ahead of being Canadian. The notion of a 'land beyond recall' denotes a belief that this is a land without history, unlike the 'sirelands' of the settlers. Part of the reason then that Canada has a brighter future is because it is seen as a land without history. As in many of these poems, (as well as in much of the emigration literature) freedom is related to spatial emptiness, it describes a freedom to remake oneself, not tied to the narratives of the past, but in a sense remaking the narratives of the past on an empty canvas. Acknowledging the different histories of the sirelands was an attempt to recognize heterogeneity while doing away with otherness.

Blood Sacrifice on the Battlefields of the Empire

After all, this was still, culturally at least, *British* North America and right up until the First World War many Canadian politicians still believed that their country could be a better Britain, one where the political, economic and cultural differences that divided the United Kingdom could be superseded. Part of the problem with the United Kingdom as a political unit was that most Irish people lived in Ireland, most English people lived in England, and most Scottish people lived in Scotland. Removing English, Irish, and Scottish people from their national land would remove the territorial and political underpinnings of their identity, leaving only an ethnic or cultural identity to assert in Canada. In fact, the conquest of Canada itself was one of the most important events in the development of a British national consciousness. As Joep Leerssen has shown in *Mere Irish & Fior-Ghael*, it was after the British army's victory at Québec in 1759, that there began a consistently positive image (in English eyes) of Irish

⁶⁸ "Canada Forever." William Henry Drummond, *The Voyageur and Other Poems* (New York: Putnam & Sons, 1905), 116-117.

characters on the London stage.⁶⁹ Katie Trumpener also noted this change in the more positive press the Scottish Highlanders received in English circles from the 1760s onward. The conquest of Canada had washed away the sins of the recent Jacobite threat and Irish and Scottish Catholics were now welcome to take part in any British imperial adventure.⁷⁰ If there was a space where the Irish, the English, and the Scottish could truly be united, it was on the battlefields of the Empire.

In Mrs. Leprohon's "Rejoicings after the Battle of Inkerman" she unites the fallen Irishman and the fallen Englishman in this central battle of the Crimean War. But what is left behind in battles like these are the wives and mothers of dead soldiers, and their suffering and sense of loss transcends simple 'race' divisions. The loss is felt by all women across all social classes, from the 'peasant's cot' to those that dwell 'great and high'.⁷¹ Women across the Empire are united by their male family folk fighting in battle. Leprohon also seems to admonish the Empire for not spending enough time mourning the dead, rather than just rejoicing, 'Is heard that dirge for the mournful lot / Of thy soldier sons – thy pride.' Leprohon wishes to remind her readers that the pride that members of the community feel regarding martial success, also involves a terrible sense of loss for the individuals and families who are left behind. Leprohon creates a space here for identifying an individual experience that is endured alone but may be shared by numerous others. Through a shared language, individual memory can also become shared cultural memory.⁷²

In admonishing imperial leaders for not spending more time mourning the dead,

⁶⁹ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 146.

⁷⁰ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 260-270. William Tiger Dunlop, a military veteran of the War of 1812, and later a MP for the United Province of Canada, indicated that settler life in Canada was simply a continuation of life in the British army.

⁷¹ "Rejoicings after the Battle of Inkerman." Mrs. Leprohon, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Miss R.E. Mullins)* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1881), 146.

⁷² Ernst Van Elphen, "Symptoms of Discursivity," in *Narrative Theory: Political Narratology*, ed. Mieke Bal (Routledge: Abingdon, 2004), 120

Leprohon was perhaps noticing a change in an increasingly stoic vision of Victorian masculinity following the forty years of relative peace after the end of the Napoleonic wars. Even the Young Irelanders were foregoing ballads of grief and woe for more “manly” themes of action and nationalist pride. After another long period of British peace in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the outbreak of the Boer war in 1899 brought a new opportunity for young men to put their old, inherited differences behind them and engage a common enemy. In Carroll Ryan’s poem “The Briton” the unity of the people of the ‘isles’ is expressed through the various invaders that conquered and made their home there, i.e. the ‘Norman and the Dane, / The Teuton and the Frenchman’.⁷³ The notion of political liberty that has evolved in Britain through centuries of trial and error is something that Ryan believes will benefit the whole world:

We seek no conquest to oppress,
Or trample on a foeman;
As we are blest, we seek to bless,
With enmity to no man.

Chorus-
Hurrah, then, for the blood and birth,
With pedigree to fit on
The isles and continents of earth
The freedom-loving Briton!⁷⁴

Historical grievances should be transcended within the isles to battle the greater reality of geography and increasing globalization. Outside of the United Kingdom the people of Ireland will find that they have much more in common with their British neighbours than they think. In a clever reinterpretation of an Irish rebel song, “The Wearing of the Green” Ryan uses the image of unwavering Irish loyalty to a cause, as the basis for his celebration of Irish soldiers in the British Army fighting the Boers:

And ever on St. Patrick’s Day,
Wherever to the skies,

⁷³ “The Briton.” Carroll Ryan, *Poems, Songs, Ballads* (Montreal: Lovell & Sons, 1903) 189.

⁷⁴ “The Briton.” Carroll Ryan, *Poems, Songs, Ballads* (Montreal: Lovell & Sons, 1903) 190.

Triumphantly for liberty,
The flag of Britain flies,
There shall the harp and shamrock fly –
By all the nations seen
To Irish valor Britain owes
The wearing of the green!⁷⁵

If Irish songs can be sung in favour of rebellion against Britain, then with a slight tweak, they can be sung in honour of loyal relations with Britain. There is no need for rebel songs in South Africa just as there is no need for rebel songs in Canada because the Irish are equal beneath the imperial skies. By unmooring the Irish from Ireland, you do not just free them from the prison of the past, but you can also find a role for them in the future of the Empire. Ryan goes on to suggest that England will be ever grateful to the Irish fighting the Dutch ‘Upon the wild Karoo.’ Irish heroism, bravery, and blind loyalty to a cause can all be acknowledged and valorized as long as it is directed at others and not at the British.

This is also the theme of William Henry Drummond’s “The Dublin Fusilier”. In Drummond’s comic poem his soldier misses Ireland, but never misses a fight if one is available. In the Transvaal, bullets fly by and comrades die on the mountainside, but the fusilier takes it all in his stride as he fixes his bayonet and charges at the enemy:

Augh! Garryowen! You’re the jewel! an’ we
charged on the Dutchman’s guns,
An’ covered the bloody kopje, like a Galway
greyhound runs,
At the top of the hill they met us, with faces
all set and grim;
But they couldn’t take the bayonet – that’s
the trouble with most of thim.⁷⁶

The Irish military tune ‘Garryowen’ inspires the men to charge and they bayonet their way to victory. Drummond’s fusilier does not see South Africa as foreign, if there’s fighting

⁷⁵ “The Wearing of the Green.” Carroll Ryan, *Poems, Songs, Ballads* (Montreal: Lovell & Sons, 1903) 117.

⁷⁶ “The Dublin Fusilier.” William Henry Drummond, *Johnnie Courteau, and Other Poems* (New York; London UK: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1901), 125.

involved, then he feels right at home. The smoke of the battle makes him think of being back home in Ireland, playing soldiers and shooting birds. What any young Irishman is looking for more than anything else is a sense of adventure, that's why he might join the Fenians in peacetime but would be just as happy fighting in a British regiment if there was a war going on. For Drummond, the Irishman's fondness is for the fight, not the cause.

One of the ways then that Irish-Canadians try to deal with this very bloody Irish history, is to acknowledge that the Irish have always fought their corner for what they believed was right, and this at last can be put in service of the Empire. In Stewart's poem "On a Spray of Shamrock, 1900" he lauds the Irish for showing the British in South Africa how the Irishman has no fear of dying:

To show the sons of Albion's Isle,
Tho' freedom prompts a courage high, -
That slaves, if bred on Irish soil,
Are proud enough to die

Ye gallant dead! No drop of blood
From hearts heroic falls in vain;
Your emblem lifted from the mud,
A Queen bids bloom again.

Her Royal act, her Sovereign deed,
Redeems dark centuries of shame,
And rallies to the Empire's need
A million hearts of flame.⁷⁷

For David Lowenthal, the past has a powerful and undeniable pull on the present, but the future "is really nothing but a slightly normative fantasy". To get better control over the unknowable otherness of the future, one must try and imagine it as being similar to the world as it is now. For some Canadian poets writing about the Irish in the period between the Fenian raids and the Boer War, one way of *Canadianizing* Irish history to meet the necessities of the

⁷⁷ "On a Spray of Shamrock 1900." Alexander Charles Stewart, *Dust and Ashes* (Toronto: The Author, 1910), 118.

present, was by narrating Irish violence against injustice as part and parcel of the glory of fighting beside the British on the battlefield, rather than fighting against them. This takes the concept of the fighting Irish to be a malleable feature of Irish political history. As Orangeman and former Minister of Militia and Defense Sam Hughes said about the Irish towards the end of the First World War, “We are never fighting each other except when there is no one else to fight.”⁷⁸ When the Irish begin to focus on the world outside of Ireland, the differences between them will decline, as those differences will become less important in the eyes of the rest of the world.

The First World War and the Easter Rising would return more images of death and violence to the Irish world. In Stewart’s “Waking Dream of the Westbound Celt” published in 1918, a dead soldier seems to stalk the land, the image of the West mingling with the image of the afterlife and rebirth. The symbol of Ireland as mother had become more prominent, and there was an acknowledgement from across the ocean of the power of the literary and cultural revival in shaping political concerns, ‘How, rising from the slain, / The “Finn” and the “Fianna” / Streamed martial through my brain.’⁷⁹ The maternal image of Ireland is also evoked in Norah M. Holland’s “In Memory of a Failure” written in response to the Easter Rising. Holland’s poem conjures the union of history and geography with each of the three stanzas of the poem ending with the refrain ‘O Kathaleen [*sic*] ni Houlihan, at least we died for you.’⁸⁰ Holland’s dead martyr, like all dead Irish martyrs, lives in a Cartesian dichotomy between the afterlife and the soil of Ireland. The martyr describes to his mother/motherland Kathleen, his memories of seasons in the Irish countryside, but he knows that he and his comrades will not return. But he also asks Kathleen for ‘a sod of Irish ground’ to cover their dead bodies, a place to

⁷⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 13th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 5, 1918, 409-410.

⁷⁹ “The Waking Dream of the Westbound Celt.” Alexander Charles Stewart, *The Beaver and Other Odds and Ends* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1918), 6.

⁸⁰ “In Memory of a Failure.” Norah M. Holland, *Spun-Yarn and Spindrift* (London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1918), 21.

commemorate their sacrifice where, ‘some may pause and say a prayer and “Twas for her they died.”’ Dying on the land of Ireland is important as it is a way of becoming not only a part of that land but also to become a physical reminder of martyrdom and historical endurance. Failure, in this sense, is comfortingly reliable.

Public Bards Eschew Private Thoughts

In nearly all these poems, there is a desire to nationalize, historicize, and mythologize the land, whether in Ireland, in Canada, or on the battlefields of the Empire. The poetics of place are always heightened, and the poems make declarative statements about how one should feel or emote towards that place. It is for that reason that Reade’s poem about his home in Killynoogan is so unique for its time. The poem names a place in Ireland, but Reade’s memory of that place is entirely subjective, entirely his own, one that he even has trouble describing to himself, ‘Words are cumbersome, at times, / Thought could visit fifty climes, / While I’m seeking useless rhymes.’ Like many of the English Romantic poets, Reade’s focus is on the subjective experience of perception and memory. His memory of Killynoogan is unique to him, and he knows that when he dies that memory will die with him.⁸¹ By contrast most of his Irish-Canadian contemporaries adopt a more bardic tone to their poems about land and place, eulogizing its collective history, politicizing the action that occurs on it, and imagining a common destiny for the people who live there.⁸²

What were these poets trying to achieve in the end? Along with much of the politicians of the country, they wished to settle the land, transcend cultural difference, and imagine a

⁸¹ Reade did write poems in honour of Canada and its history, but in his introduction to the anthology *Songs of the Great Dominion* William Douw Lighthall said of Reade, “His style turns everything to grace, but it appeals to the inner circle rather than the folk, and seems to shrink away from touching organ-keys.” See William Douw Lighthall (ed.), *Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada* (London: W. Scott, 1889), xxvii

⁸² In a study of her work, Germaine Warkentin has referred to Isabella Valancy Crawford as a self-consciously public poet, “one whom the inwardness of Romantic poetry has entirely passed by.” Germaine Warkentin, “The Problem of Crawford’s Style.” *Canadian Literature* 107 (Winter 1985): 29.

successful future in Canada. Canada then provided not just economic solutions to Ireland's problems, but political and cultural solutions also. Canada's prosperity and hopeful future was contrasted sharply with an Ireland in constant crisis. Indeed, the success of the Canadian experience is intimately linked in many of these poems with the idea of the old country's decline. This may be due to wanting to come to terms with the decision made to emigrate and making the best of it. After all, nobody wants to live with regrets. In her research on Irish emigrant letters sent back home from New Zealand, Angela McCarthy observed that negative appraisals of Ireland helped emigrants feel that they had made the right decision in leaving.⁸³ It was hoped that Irish immigrants could find in Canada all that they were searching for in Ireland, political sovereignty, land ownership, and religious and cultural equality. Irishness in Canada was expounded as comforting familiarity rather than alien surreptitiousness. But this familiarity also meant bringing the Irish, and especially the Irish Catholics, into a British imperial identity. Transcending Irish history did not mean abandoning Ireland, it meant making Ireland politically closer to Canada, where both countries could take their place at the head of the Empire. But if the Irish could find political sovereignty, land ownership, and cultural respect in the context of being Canadian, then where would their Irishness remain? This was a fear voiced by many nationalists in Ireland as Canadian immigration agents sought to increase the amount of Irish settling in Canada.

⁸³ Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'The Desired Haven'* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005), 144.

Chapter 4 – Against the Urban: Canadian Emigration Agents in Ireland

“It is but proper to state, that I found among the peasantry a great disinclination towards settlement in Canada to exist. This arises from three causes: - First, a strong objection to select a British dependency for their future home, upon leaving the Fatherland; secondly, the ties of kindred and of race forcibly draw them to the United States; and thirdly, they are deterred from going to Canada by the grossly exaggerated notion they entertain of its rigorous climate. The first and last intended prejudices are gradually losing their force, and can be entirely dissipated through the medium of the press and other vehicles of information. The second is, I apprehend likely to continue a formidable impediment to desirable and successful results.”

- *From the Annual Report of Dublin Emigration Agent, Mr. J. G. Moylan, Nov. 16, 1870.*¹

“All the emigrants from the North of Ireland remained in Canada, and many of them have sent for friends and relations. I may repeat my confirmed conviction, that the North of Ireland is the best field in the world for a Canadian Emigration Agent. The people are predisposed in favor of Canada. They are an industrious self-reliant people. They are an affectionate people, and every emigrant who went there this year will, I calculate, represent at least two, whom he or she will send for next year.”

- *From the Annual Report of Belfast Emigration Agent, Mr. C. Foy, Dec. 22, 1870.*²

The report of Canada’s two emigration agents in Ireland in 1870 tells a well-trodden story of nineteenth-century Irish emigration to Canada. Ulster had been the main Irish province of emigration to Canada before the Famine and would retain that position in the aftermath of the immediate post-Famine years.³ In contrast, outside of the great movement of Irish people across the Atlantic during the 1840s and early 1850s, Leinster, Munster, and Connacht played a smaller role in emigration to Canada. The fact that, for much of the period between Confederation and the First World War, Canada retained one emigration agent in Belfast covering the province of Ulster only, and a second emigration agent in Dublin covering the rest of the country, shows how important Ulster was to Canada as an emigration hub. Outside of Ulster, Canadian emigration agents had to battle against a suspicious Irish nationalist press that saw them as agents of British imperial propaganda. Trying to attract immigrants from outside

¹ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 1st Parliament, 4th Session, vol.6, 1871, 64-81.

² Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 1st Parliament, 4th Session, vol.6, 1871, 64-86.

³ Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 40.

of Ulster was a significant problem for Canadian emigration agents in Ireland from the 1860s onward.⁴ The difficulty of attracting emigrants outside of Ulster shows the importance of the friend and family networks that had developed between Ireland and the United States in the aftermath of the Famine. Large amounts of Irish people continued to cross the Atlantic up until the First World War with emigration to the United States far outnumbering that of emigration to Canada.

But if Ireland was losing much of its population to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, Canada was not fairing much better. Between 1871 and 1901, the rate of Canadian emigration exceeded that of Canadian immigration.⁵ Studies have shown that the Canadian emigration rate in the last three decades of the nineteenth century was higher than that of any European country.⁶ The US census of 1880 showed 717,000 Canadian-born residents of the republic, a number equivalent in size to around 17 percent of the population of Canada.⁷ The Canadian government was fully aware of the shortfall they had to make up in order to make the settlement of the Northwest a reality, and so spared little cost in funding emigration agents in the United Kingdom, as well as agents in the United States and in continental Europe. These agents played an active role in not only advertising the benefits of settling in the new lands of the Canadian Northwest, but also in determining what type of people would be suitable for settling those lands. They were especially cognizant of making potential emigrants aware that there was little work available in Canadian cities and that the

⁴ Angela McCarthy claims that this was also a significant problem in New Zealand during the same period, where there were complaints made about the ‘uselessness’ of the emigration agency in Dublin and the lack of Irish immigration from outside of Ulster. She notes for example that in 1873, of the 46 local agents in Ireland promoting emigration to New Zealand, 37 of them were in Ulster. Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: ‘the Desired Haven’* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005), 232.

⁵ Mabel F. Timlin, “Canada’s Immigration Policy, 1896-1910.” *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 26.4 (1960): 518.

⁶ Marvin McNinnis, “Immigration and Emigration: Canada in the late Nineteenth Century,” in *Migration and the International Labor Market 1850-1939*, eds. Tim Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson (London: Routledge, 1994), 137.

⁷ Marvin McNinnis, “Immigration and Emigration: Canada in the late Nineteenth Century,” in *Migration and the International Labor Market 1850-1939*, eds. Tim Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson (London: Routledge, 1994), 142.

government was only desirous of agricultural workers and domestic servants. The urban Catholic Irishman of the British and North American city was probably one of the most universally despised figures of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From American, British, and Canadian journalists and intellectuals on one side, to the Irish Catholic hierarchy and Irish cultural nationalists on the other, the urban Irish person seemed to embody all the social ills of industrial modernity, including crime, poverty, economic dependency, and potential political subversion. In the period between Confederation and the end of the Boer War, Canadian emigration agents tried to offer potential Irish emigrants an alternative to such a bleak vision of North American life, all the time aware of protecting their own country from Irish people who they deemed unsuitable economically, socially, or politically to Canadian national development. It was hoped that they could situate Canada in the eyes of potential emigrants as a “peaceable kingdom” where individuals and their families could find tranquil domesticity and political harmony in an agricultural society based on “gradual material accumulation.”⁸ Ironically, by the turn of the twentieth century, Irish cultural nationalists began to situate a future for Ireland along similar lines, even using Canadian emigration literature as an example of the agricultural development that could be achieved in Ireland if the people of the country were properly trained in modern agricultural practices.

The Image of Canada in the Irish Press

When it came to the inevitability of emigration, the press in Ireland was split over where the best destination for Irish emigrants would be. Metropolitan newspapers such as the unionist *Irish Times* in Dublin and the unionist *Belfast Newsletter* were generally in favour of emigration to other parts of the Empire over emigration to the United States. In contrast, most

⁸ Jason King, "The Feminization of the Canadian Frontier: Engendering the "Peaceable Kingdom" Myth in the Writings of Mary Anne Sadlier (1820-1913) & Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1887)." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 32.1 (2006): 52.

provincial newspapers in Ireland outside of Ulster favoured the opposite.⁹ Many letters to the press of Dublin agent James G. Moylan in the early 1870s were to the imperial-friendly *Irish Times*. In numerous letters he outlined the fact that while there was some anti-Catholicism in Canada, it was nothing compared to the anti-Catholicism of the United States, and that the Orange Order were not as bad as the American nativists.¹⁰ Moylan also referred to the kindness of French-Canadians in aiding the Irish in 1847-48 and that not only was there no reason to distrust Canadians, but that the Irish should be grateful for all they have done in the past.¹¹ Nevertheless, Irish-American opposition to emigration to Canada was a continuous struggle that Canadian agents had to face. The emigration agents emphasized Canada's North Americanness, a place where people could get a new start free from the prejudices of the old country. But Irish-Americans tended to emphasize Canada's Britishness, a "British colony-province" filled with "Little Englands".¹²

In 1875 the English-Canadian journalist William Henry Fuller wrote that it was a huge mistake to have allowed millions of Irish people to leave Ireland for the United States instead of directing most of them towards Canada. He believed that if the British government had offered free transportation to all British colonies at the time, then the Empire would not find itself in the position it is today, with millions of Irish-Americans nursing a feeling of hatred towards Britain and her Empire.¹³ Irish-Canadian Catholics were especially aware that positive information about Canada needed to be better distributed among the Irish in Ireland and the United States. In an editorial in *The Harp* in 1876, the editors stated that one of the reasons that

⁹ Provincial papers all over the Anglosphere were noted for their nationalist xenophobia in the nineteenth century. Donald MacRaild observed that the most virulent anti-Irishness in Britain came from local and provincial newspapers rather than national newspapers. Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939, 2nd ed.* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 162.

¹⁰ "The Advantages of Canada for Intending Emigrants," *Irish Times*, January 16 & 24, 1871, 2.

¹¹ "The Advantages of Canada for Intending Emigrants," *Irish Times*, March 13, 1871, 6.

¹² "Emigration to America or Canada – Which?" *Freemans Journal* July 16, 1872, 7.

¹³ William Henry Fuller, *The Colonial Question: A Brief Consideration of Colonial Emancipation, Imperial Federalism and Colonial Conservatism* (Kingston: British Whig, 1875), 26.

the Montreal-based journal was founded was to give the Irish in the United States and in the old country correct information about their Irish-Canadian brethren.¹⁴ One of the most important facts that Irish-Catholic Canadians wished to highlight was that they had free practice of their religion in Canada, some even acknowledging the role of the French in providing a Catholic-friendly space unknown in the rest of the Anglosphere.¹⁵ Emigrant agents also reminded Irish newspaper readers that even in predominantly Protestant Ontario and the Northwest, Catholics were not prevented from holding high office, including in the police force.¹⁶ One of the main differences between the United States and Canada highlighted by Canadian intellectuals of the period was that Canada allowed for the maintenance and expression of local and ethnic traditions whereas it seemed that the United States was calling for cultural and social uniformity.¹⁷

What Canada offered, many people thought, was an opportunity for the Irish to break free from the prejudice and restrictions of the old land. If the Irish were looking for political sovereignty, land ownership, and cultural respect and equality, then those did not necessarily need to be found in Ireland. As Irish Protestant Benevolent Society president and Canadian civil servant John George Hodgins wrote in 1875, there were a number of cultural, political, and personal desires shared by all Irishmen which could easily be fulfilled in Canada: being an ardent lover of constitutional liberty; being keenly sensitive to honour and reputation; wishing to see the nation one gives loyalty to grow and prosper; and finding a social and economic space to display one's powers and abilities.¹⁸ Hodgins noted that these were all qualities that many individuals desired, they were not just qualities of a particular group, ethnicity or religion.

¹⁴ "To Our Readers." *The Harp*, 2.10 (August 1876): 329.

¹⁵ "Letter to the Editor," *Irish Times*, June 14, 1873, 5.

¹⁶ "Irish Emigration to Canada," *Freemans Journal*, January 5, 1877, 7.

¹⁷ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 138.

¹⁸ J. George Hodgins, *Irishmen in Canada: Their Union not Inconsistent with the Development of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto: Lovell Bros., 1875), 11.

Canada could satiate the aspirations of individuals, families, and social groups by providing all that they desired in life but could not obtain at home.

If part of the problem with attracting emigrants to the Canadian Northwest was a feeling that Ireland had already lost too many people, another problem was the difficulty in imagining Canadian space, and how people would find a home there. Although in general Irish people who wanted to try their hand at farming preferred British colonies to the United States, they still had a hard time imagining life on the colonial frontier.¹⁹ In the Canadian situation, the difficulty of settling the land, the coldness of the winter, and the sense of loneliness that many felt, were often used as warnings to those thinking of emigrating. Many letters to the press complained that emigration agents gave a wrong impression of what life would be like in rural Canada, and that many new settlers were unprepared for the difficult first few years when regret and despondency could become a regular feature of one's frontier existence. Such complaints could be found in a letter to the *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* in England in 1874 by an English emigrant who had spent eight years in the backwoods of Ontario. The letter is interesting not only for the way it denotes the environmental adaptations that a labourer from Britain or Ireland would have to make in order to be a successful settler in Canada, but also for the suggestion that the labourer will have to become a different type of person in order to succeed, throwing off older, more comfortable and unquestioned beliefs about his place in the world. The letter writer remarked that the average agricultural labourer from the United Kingdom was not the brightest of fellows. He cares for little outside the work he does, and that his fathers have done before him. Once he is landed in the "fairy land" of Upper Canada, the shock to the system leads to a sense of deep regret, "Away from friends and kindred, cut off from old associations and old forms of amusement, without resources of his own, and from stereotyped habit unable

¹⁹ D.A.E. Harkness, "Irish Emigration," in *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*, ed. Walter F. Wilcox (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931), 279.

to adapt himself to things around, he too often becomes the most miserable of human beings, but with one fervent hope left – that he may speedily return to the ‘serfdom’ from which he but lately fled.”²⁰ This is obviously a very different experience to settling in the ethnic enclave of the North American city. The letter writer goes on to describe the litany of discomforts that the average labourer will have to endure in order to accomplish the establishment of his farm.²¹ But he also insists that if a man has intelligence and spirit and can practice self-restraint and self-denial, and is willing to put in the hard-work, and emotional, physical, and financial investment, he will succeed.

This is not just a warning about the enormous effort and energy an emigrant will have to make to become a settled landowner in Canada, it is also a story of self-transformation; cut off from the British social world that gave his life a comforting but self-limiting existence, the letter writer had to rely on his own internal resources. The notion of being English or Irish, Catholic or Protestant, middle-class or working-class, educated or uneducated should have little bearing on how one succeeded here.²² The emigrant’s old-world social status faded from view once he had to rely on inner strength, endurance, and self-motivation. One of the central fears propounded by people who were opposed to emigration to the Canadian Northwest was that it would be too different to the type of lives lived in Ireland. There may have been some truth in this, and what is notable about letters to the *Irish Times* from those who had succeeded in the Northwest was their readiness and motivation to endure the hardships of the first few years before they saw a return on their investments. This suggests that the Northwest did attract a

²⁰ Quoted in the *Irish Times* as “Mr. Arch and Canada – A Picture,” January 2, 1874, 6.

²¹ E.g. “When time for refreshment comes, he has served for his repast – what? Bread and cheese and beer, or bacon? Not at all. Salt pork, unleavened cakes and teas will be the best he can hope for. Potatoes are a luxury; beer is unknown, though ‘forty-rod’ whiskey is not. Arrived for the night at the house he may as well go to bed at once. There is no ‘public’ at which he can have his beer and a talk with friends; no neighbour likely to call in, no news, ‘no nothing.’ For all he can learn of the outer world, he may as well be in a lighthouse at sea.”

²² Another English article from 1890 suggested that a person must be ‘born again’ and forget what has gone before in order to be a success on the prairies of the new country. William Trant, “Prairie Philosophy.” *Westminster Review*, 134.1 (July 1890): 26.

certain type of individual, one who had a strong sense of a long-term future in Canada, and one who was willing and able to make the sacrifices needed.²³

Outside of attracting people to settle in the Canadian Northwest, one of the primary tasks of emigration agents was to dissuade people from settling in the cities.²⁴ While many politicians on Parliament Hill were happy that Canada had an emigrant agent in both Belfast and Dublin, some were so urban-o-phobic they thought that emigrant agents should not be stationed in the cities at all, as they are were not the kind of people Canada was looking for.²⁵ In 1875, an editorial in *The Harp* tried to chart a safe passage between wanting Irish people to settle the West, and asking for any more people from Ireland's increasingly shrinking population. Its answer was to recommend that the Irish of North American urban centres move to and settle the Northwest, so that they would not become some "drudge" in an overcrowded city.²⁶ In his report for the year 1875 Canadian agent J.S. Talbot stated that he was always very careful about who he recommended emigration to. He claimed that he could have induced many people to leave for Canada, but he believed that quality was more important than quantity.²⁷

However, even as early as the late 1870s it was noted that better education among the Irish population was leading to a greater desire for work outside the agricultural field. At a

²³ Even Australian emigration agents recognized the sort of resources of energy one needed to make it in Canada, especially during the winter. They advised Irish people to come to Queensland instead where one could work outside all year round. "Emigration to Canada - A Warning," *Irish Times*, July 26, 1875, 6.

²⁴ This is an important aspect of Irish-Canadian emigration history that is sometimes overlooked in the literature. Although there have been several insightful works on the role of the Canadian agents in Ireland during these years, e.g. G.R.C. Keep, "A Canadian Emigration Commissioner in Northern Ireland." *The Canadian Historical Review*, 34.2 (June 1953); Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Marjory Harper, "Enticing the Emigrant: Canadian Agents in Ireland and Scotland, c.1870 – c. 1920." *Scottish Historical Review*, 83.1 (Apr 2004): 41-58; few mention the active role the agents played in dissuading Irish emigrants from settling in the city, or outright refusing to supply information to people who they believed were not suitable for settlement in Canada. One of the few works to refer to this phenomenon has been Allan Rowe in his PhD thesis, see Allan Rowe, *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada. 1870s-1930s* (Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, 2008), 42.

²⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 1st Parliament, 5th Session, vol.1, 1872, 428.

²⁶ "Wise Counsels." *The Harp*, 1.12 (April 1875): 396.

²⁷ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 3rd Parliament, 3rd Session, vol.7, 1876, 8-95. Talbot also let it be known that because the Allan steamers did not call at Queenstown, few people were willing to go from the south of Ireland to Canada via Liverpool. He thought that Canada would have got more emigrants if there was a direct Cork to Québec line.

Commons Select Committee in Ottawa in 1878, Peter O’Leary, an agricultural observer, formally employed by the National Agricultural Labourers Union in England, gave evidence about what kind of emigrants would be best suitable for settling in Canada. O’Leary said that the Irishman had more book learning but the Englishman more industry.²⁸ He also remarked on how laws were being debated at Westminster which would keep children in school until they were thirteen.²⁹ He reminded the committee that when he was a boy, he went to work at the age of nine, but today [1878], labourers from Ireland and England were much more educated than they were even a few years before. By the time of the Irish food crisis of the early 1880s, Richard John Mahony, a Tory landlord in Co. Kerry believed that emigration to rural Canada was a non-starter, and that many people had a wrong idea about Irish people of the 1880s, “The truth is that the mass of the people have no taste for agriculture! Mechanics, mathematicians, writers for the Press, soldiers, traders, orators, - these they would be by nature and choice.”³⁰ But as the Canadian Governor-General Lord Lorne stated in 1883, men who desired town life, or women who wanted to be teachers or governesses should not come to Canada, the country needed agricultural people, and agricultural people only.³¹

The famine scare that raised its ugly head in Ireland in 1879 led many to believe that the time was opportune to provide state-assisted emigration to Canada to help the poor in the West of Ireland. When the second Irish Land Law act came forward at Westminster in 1881, there was a hope that money could be advanced to the Canadian government to help them settle families in the Northwest. Many members of the Home Rule Party at Westminster were opposed to such a scheme, Richard Power MP from Waterford stated that most Irish people preferred to go to the United States than Canada because that is where their friends and family

²⁸ Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 3rd Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 12. A2-34 – A2-46.

²⁹ Such a law was not introduced until 1900.

³⁰ “The Emigration Question,” *Freemans Journal*, April 12, 1881, 8.

³¹ “Editorial,” *Irish Times* 06 December 6, 1883, 4.

went. James O’Kelly MP from Roscommon said that the only parts of Canada worth living in were along the banks of the St. Lawrence and that land was already taken up, and that Canadians every day are leaving Canada to go live in the United States.³² At a Land League Convention in Dublin in 1881, Edward McHugh from Belfast stated that he had visited the Black Stone in Montreal a number of years before where it stated that 5,000 [sic]³³ people had died of ship fever in 1847. This statement was followed by groans from the crowd before McHugh added that the stone should also have read “‘Murdered by brutal Irish landlords.’ (Applause)”³⁴ He would go on to say that if the emigration clause was allowed to remain in the original bill, then the Irish people would continue to fill the graveyards of America. By October 1881, even the *Belfast Newsletter* was stating that even though they wished Canada well, they would prefer to see Protestants remain in Ireland.³⁵ Even though there was always a strong desire in Canada for new Irish immigrants, not everyone saw this desire as a positive step. *The Harp* asked how low could a nation have fallen if the lovers of progress and social elevation welcome famine and plague as a way of fulfilling their hopes for the future.³⁶ It seemed that some in Canada needed Ireland to be a space without a future so that Canada could better sell itself as the land of opportunity.

The Unencumbered Self and “Limitless Land”

Although many in Canada hoped that the country would get a better press in Ireland now that they had passed on their support for Home Rule to Westminster in 1882, the assisted emigration scheme that was supposed to begin in 1883 fell through. It was felt that the amount

³² *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 263 cols. 696, 12 July 1881. As the only urban spaces in Canada that were expanding at this time were Montreal and the southern towns and cities of Ontario, many Maritimers and rural Quebecers made their way to cities in the United States. Marvin McNis, “Immigration and Emigration: Canada in the late Nineteenth Century,” in *Migration and the International Labor Market 1850-1939*, eds. Tim Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson (London: Routledge, 1994), 150.

³³ It actually states 6,000 people.

³⁴ “The Land Convention,” *Irish Times*, April 23, 1881, 6.

³⁵ “Editorial,” *Belfast Newsletter*, October 21, 1881, 4

³⁶ “Irish Miscellanies.” *The Harp*, 7.11 (September 1882): 514.

of resources needed to move poor families across the Atlantic, settle them in the Northwest, and also provide them with proper agricultural training was more than either the British or Canadian government could afford and expect a valuable return on.³⁷ Despite initial enthusiasm surrounding potential emigration schemes such as that of the English Quaker James Hack Tuke³⁸, Canadian officials were increasingly doubtful about the suitability of the poor of the West of Ireland for life on the prairies. As early as February 1883, J.G. Colmer of the Canadian High Commission stated that most peasants in western Ireland were unsuitable for settlement in Canada. Colmer also rejected potential emigrants selected by the Poor Law Union.³⁹ The *Toronto Globe* remarked that “The Northwest is no place for the very poor.”⁴⁰ Meanwhile letters from the *Globe*’s special correspondent in Ireland revealed not only a sense of Connacht ignorance about Canada, but also a sense of hurt Canadian pride at the level of that ignorance. The correspondent noted that many of the people of the West of Ireland lived in “huts worse than our pigsties”, and that the people have been stuffed with talk that the laws in Canada are as bad as they are in Ireland.⁴¹ Nevertheless despite these setbacks the unionist press such as the *Irish Times* continued to point out the benefits of Canada over the United States. In one report given by two Irish observers who had visited the United States and Canada to find out how Tuke’s emigration scheme was progressing, they noted that the small towns and villages of Ontario were preferable “morally and religiously, for raw Irish emigrants than the large

³⁷ Even in the aftermath of the Famine, population pressure eased in the north and east of Ireland as family limitation became more prevalent, but population actually increased in the west of Ireland in the thirty years after the Famine maintaining higher levels of poverty up until the 1880s. S.H. Cousens, “Regional Variations in Population Changes in Ireland, 1861-1881.” *Economic History Review*, 17.2 (1964): 321.

³⁸ Tuke hoped to resettle entire families from Connemara and west Mayo onto lands in Manitoba and the Northwest. See Gerard Moran, “State Aided Emigration from Ireland to Canada in the 1880s.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 20.2 (1994): 1-19.

³⁹ Allan Rowe, *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada. 1870s-1930s* (Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, 2008), 78.

⁴⁰ “The Assisted Immigration Scheme,” *Toronto Globe*, August 13, 1883, 4.

⁴¹ “Our Irish Letter,” *Toronto Globe*, June 9, 1883, 6. But ignorance about Canada did not just exist in Ireland, emigration agents in the 1870s also found a general lack of knowledge about Canada in rural England. See Patrick A. Duane, “Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign, 1872-1915.” *Archivaria*, 19 (1984): 84.

towns and cities of the Eastern and Central states of America”.⁴²

But emigration agents in Ireland were *also* aware of the type of emigrant that Canada needed to settle the Northwest. Of all the Canadian emigration agents in Ireland during this period, none was as successful and as continuously employed as was Charles Foy in Belfast. Foy consistently reassured the government in Ottawa that he was focused on finding a better class of emigrant for Canada. He used complaints he found in the *Belfast Newsletter* about how Ireland was losing out to Canadian emigration agents who were taking the industrious and well-behaved to Canada, to show how good he was at his job, “These extracts are the best testimony as to the quality of the emigrants.”⁴³ In his following year’s report, he emphasized the fact that most of those who left from Ulster paid their own way, a sign he thought, of thrift, industry and a good omen for Canada’s future. He also stated, “I am very careful to advise the lazy, the dissolute, the broken down, ne’er-do-well, *not* to go to Canada” (my italics).⁴⁴ Just as he made sure he could find a better class of emigrant for Canada, so he reminded potential emigrants of the social advancement their families could make in there. In his pamphlets outlining the benefits of emigration to the North American Dominion he stated that he never heard of any second-generation labourers in Canada.⁴⁵

In another of Foy’s pamphlets he toyed with the idea of “independence”, outlining a path for independence that was personal rather than national, “Come on, here is the road to independence. Keep clear of Mr. Damnation Whiskey and you must become independent.”⁴⁶ Here Foy plays on the desire for Irish national independence by suggesting that real independence was actually the independence of the self. Emigration in this sense was being

⁴² “State-Aided Emigration,” *Irish Times*, November 29, 1883, 5.

⁴³ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parliament, 1st Session, vol.10, 1883, 14-214.

⁴⁴ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol.8, 1884,14-178.

⁴⁵ G.R.C. Keep, “A Canadian Emigration Commissioner in Northern Ireland.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 34.2 (June 1953): 154.

⁴⁶ Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 106.

sold as independence from the culture that limited your ambitions. He situates emigration not as a sad necessity, but rather an avenue of self-fulfillment and self-improvement. The *Toronto Globe* observed that the Irish peasant may be deficient of certain self-improving qualities that would be needed to make it in the Northwest, and it was unfortunate that in Ireland at least politicians talked very little about self-improvement.⁴⁷ But such independence was also an offer to be independent from the contemporary fluctuations and uncertainty of Irish land law and the sense of political disorder that continually reawakened in Ireland; free from a society and a history that consistently limited the opportunities for such self-realization. The agents were also selling the idea of an unencumbered self, one who was free to cross the world and reinvent themselves, rather than remain a person who was defined by the fact that they had no choice over where and when they were born; and whose social mobility was limited by historical and political forces not of their own making. Canadian historian Ian McKay has underscored how property ownership in Western Canada was not only sold as a way of acquiring some sort of material comfort and financial security but also as a means of acquiring social and political worthiness, “not only providing the legal qualification for formal participation in many political activities but also generating many of the core terms, respectability, propriety, prosperity initiative, improvement, free enterprise, of social and political debate.”⁴⁸ These terms would become the locus of self-understanding and aspiration for both an economic future and a potential political order. Just as the *Toronto Globe* reporter in 1883 was shocked at both the poor state of the “huts” that people inhabited in the West of Ireland, and the anglophobic sentiments of those same people, so the solution to such political and economic marginalization

⁴⁷ “Tenant Farmers,” *Toronto Globe*, February 23, 1880, 1. As Eric Hobsbawm observed in *The Invention of Tradition*, social values such as bourgeois self-improvement filtered down to working-class elites during the Victorian period. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 306.

⁴⁸ Ian McKay, “Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution: On Writing the History of Actually Existing Canadian Liberalisms, 1840s-1940s,” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, eds. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 385.

was to provide the prospect of a better future. A foreseeable future of material improvement would aid in undermining political radicalization. In a pamphlet which denounced the prospect of annexation to the United States at the end of the 1880s, William Pittman Lett spoke of both the limitless land and the limitless opportunities for development in Canada, where people from the overcrowded centres of Europe could better themselves on soil that was “practically inexhaustible.”⁴⁹ Here again the notion of a future of endless opportunity was equated with the idea of empty space, and one’s own freedom to shape and master the future of that space. As the *Irish Times* had put it in 1884, the Irishman in Canada was “a controlling part of the present and one of the architects of a future for which even speculation can find no limits.”⁵⁰

Escaping Parochial Britishness for Imperial Britishness

If there was a collective identity on which this notion of “independence” could be situated, it was not an Irish identity, but rather a British imperial identity. In her work on the development of British national identity between the Act of Union and the great reform period of the 1830s, Linda Colley highlighted the role of “men of first-rate ability from the Celtic fringe” who profited greatly from the expansion of the Empire.⁵¹ Colley reminds us that although Great Britain has frequently been referred to as “England” over the course of the past three centuries or so, the British Empire was almost never referred to as the “English” Empire. Scottish, Welsh, and especially Irish colonial statesmen were proving themselves able administrators of the Empire via opportunities that would not be available to them in the United Kingdom. As an example of this imperial confidence, William J. O’Hara of *The Harp* described how Irish people were striving peacefully and successfully “with their fellow-citizens of other origins, in working out the grand problem of national formation and national development in

⁴⁹ William Pittman Lett. *Annexation and British Connection: Address to Brother Jonathan* (Ottawa: Mason & Jones, 1889), 18.

⁵⁰ “The Irishman in Canada” *Irish Times*, September 5, 1884, 5.

⁵¹ Linda Colley. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 128-130.

this great portion of the North American continent.”⁵² He believed that the political elites at Westminster were blind to the success of Irishmen abroad and suggested that if Ireland could be towed across the ocean and anchored in the vicinity of Nova Scotia then “Canadian statesmen would soon show the statesmen of the Empire how to make her five millions and a half of Irish people prosperous and happy.”⁵³ Proximity to Britain and attachment to old and out of date land laws seemed to be a barrier to this notion of self-improvement as envisaged by many Canadians. As Davin frequently reminded his audiences, outside of Ireland the Irish were a glorious success, and potential rulers of lands all over the world. He warned those who may have anti-British sentiments that they would be foolhardy to make themselves aliens from an empire for which they had contributed so much.⁵⁴

The settler nation was a way for individuals to break free of the confines and limitations of their local home environment. In the early 1870s James Moylan had tried hard to repudiate some of the misconceptions about Canada he encountered in Ireland, (such that people lived in a “semi-barbarous condition” and that it was not a place for “suitable and congenial society”) by pointing out that in Canada there was an abundance of “true gentlemen” who have attained their position through education and true character, and not by the “supercilious and foppish” judgements of European society.⁵⁵ Moylan promoted the meritocracy of Canadian society over the confining class-based notions of European society, to show how Canadians appreciate people for their individual efforts rather than their social background. As Davin proclaimed in the federal debates on the Home Rule resolutions, “We live in a new country which emancipates us from Old World prejudices.”⁵⁶ The British Empire offered a transnational and globalized sense of Britishness, rather than the parochial Britishness one found in Ireland.

⁵² “The Irish Question.” *The Harp*, 6.8 (June 1881): 350.

⁵³ “The Irish Question.” *The Harp*, 6.8 (June 1881): 350.

⁵⁴ Nicholas Flood Davin, *Ireland and the Empire: A Speech Delivered Before the St. Patrick's Society, in Nordheimer's Hall, Montreal, on St. Patrick's Day, 1885* (Ottawa: Citizen Printing & Publishing Co., 1885), 15.

⁵⁵ “The Advantages of Canada for Intending Emigrants,” *Irish Times*, March 13, 1871, 6.

⁵⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 25, 1887, 106.

Bryan Lynch, president of the Toronto branch of the Irish National League, remarked that even though Irish Catholics sometimes complain of a lack of proper representation in the higher echelons of Canadian politics, they should be grateful that they were surrounded by a Protestant majority who were much more tolerant than the one found in Ulster.⁵⁷

However, with the failure of the first Home Rule Bill at Westminster in 1886, a new option would come to the fore to try and resolve Ireland's political issues: Imperial Federation. Imperial Federation was the hope that all of the British Empire could be federated as one political unity, with devolved government for each nation, colony, or region. Just as Home Rule was initially an idea based on the British North America Act, so the idea of Imperial Federation was also imagined through the successful experiment of Canada's confederation.⁵⁸ Better postal and telegraph communication as well as more affordable and faster ocean transportation meant that the informational barriers between the imperial metropole and the wider Empire were being removed.⁵⁹ When Canadian emigration agents advertised Canada, they did not advertise empty landscape vistas or rugged wilderness, instead they advertised the railways and individuals actively clearing the land.⁶⁰ One of the strongest supporters of Imperial Federation was the Catholic Archbishop of Halifax Cornelius O'Brien. O'Brien believed that because it was Canada that would become the model for Imperial Federation as a whole, it was inevitable that one day the country would take the lead in the federation and become its main driving force. It would also give to Canada a political and social mission in the world, becoming the northern light of a global order, the way that Ireland once was in the

⁵⁷ Bryan Lynch, *The Ulster Loyalists: A Reply to the Speeches of the Rev. Dr. Kane & Mr. G. Hill Smith Delivered in Mutual Street Rink, on the 9th September, 1886* (Toronto: [s.n.], 1886), 58.

⁵⁸ At the inaugural address of the Solicitors Apprentices Debating Society in Dublin in 1887, the Imperial Federation idea was debated, with those supporting it stating that such a federation should be based on the Canadian Constitution. "Imperial Federation," *Irish Times* November 12, 1887, 3.

⁵⁹ Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 146.

⁶⁰ Phillip Buckner, 'The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901', in Phillip Buckner ed, *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 73.

era of the Dark Ages. O'Brien believed that Canada had a "responsibility to the human race. The blessing which we enjoy we should seek to diffuse."⁶¹ Another strong supporter from the Maritimes for Imperial Federation was Francis Blake Crofton. Like O'Brien, he saw federation as a global mission that would end Irish agitation, promote alliance with the United States, end the world slave trade, and increase the chances of global disarmament.⁶² Like Davin, Crofton believed that the British Empire (outside the UK) was the domain where the sons of Ireland could find space for their talents and imagination. Even in Ireland, Christian Brothers' schools prodded their best pupils towards taking exams for the British civil service in the hope that they would advance the image of Irish Catholicism on the world stage.⁶³ The *Irish Times* kept up support for imperial expansion by publishing weekly articles on careers that were available in other parts of the Empire such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, and complaining that Ireland focused too much on the American Republic, when emigrants were often better appreciated for their talents elsewhere.⁶⁴ Journalist Bernard Latty writing in 1904 for the *Toronto Globe* observed that the Irish were becoming more and more educated and hoped that now they would see themselves as part of a great empire rather than a mere "appendage of England."⁶⁵

But despite these imperial pretensions Canada still had trouble selling itself as a space of promise and prosperity. While John A. Macdonald and Archbishop Lynch of Toronto had hoped that large numbers of Catholics from Ireland could make their home in the Canadian

⁶¹ Cornelius O'Brien, *Speeches Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Halifax, Nova Scotia, Branch of the Imperial Federation League, Held at the Academy of Music, Halifax, 4th June, 1888* (Halifax N.S.: Halifax Branch Imperial Federation League, 1888), 20.

⁶² Francis Blake Crofton, *For Closer Union: Some Slight Offerings to a Great Cause* (Halifax: A&W Mackinlay, 1897), 40-41.

⁶³ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 265.

⁶⁴ "Editorial Article 1," *Irish Times*, September 30, 1897, 4. Irish priest Dean Egan told the *Freemans Journal* that he had been in Canada for 28 years and had never got a cold, unlike in Ireland. He also reminded their readers that there were Catholic prime ministers in Canada (Thompson, Laurier) and Catholics in cabinet, but there was no hope of that in the U.S. "The Irish in Canada," *Freemans Journal*, August 18, 1898, 9.

⁶⁵ "The Co-operative Instincts of the Irish," *Toronto Globe*, October 29, 1904, 10.

Northwest, the politics of Ireland would continually interfere with such ambitions. The Phoenix Park murders in Dublin in 1882 had occurred days after the Canadian Senate had finished debating the *Local Self-Government for Ireland* resolutions and the British government were in no mood to listen to Canadians in favour of Home Rule for Ireland about anything, even emigration.⁶⁶ In addition to that, the nationalist press in Ireland was printing letters that were not painting a rosy picture of settlement in Canada. These included horror stories of emigrants ending up destitute in the Canadian winter,⁶⁷ the lack of work available outside spring and summer,⁶⁸ the sense of loneliness and isolation,⁶⁹ and the belief that people had been lied to by emigration agents.⁷⁰ In 1883 the Committee on Irish Emigration recommended that emigration to the United States should only be sanctioned for poorer families in the West of Ireland if they could produce a letter from a friend or family in the United States who was ready to receive them. If they could not produce such a letter, then they should be sent out to Canada.⁷¹ Such a proposal shows that emigration to Canada from the West of Ireland was just as much about ignoring family networks of chain migration in favour of a state-aided emigration system where individuals and families would have a greater obligation to state authorities. In an 1885 select committee hearing at Westminster on emigration, George L. Young, a land agent working in Ireland stated that it was difficult to try and get Irish people to go to Canada as most of them

⁶⁶ Gerald J. Stortz, "Archbishop Lynch and New Ireland: An Unfulfilled Dream for Canada's Northwest." *The Catholic Historical Review*, 68 (Oct 1982): 620.

⁶⁷ 'I was at Winnipeg during March and a part of April and saw several trainloads of emigrants arrive. I can scarcely think of five per cent of those who came from Ireland had any idea of the sort of climate they were coming to, ill-clothed and with very little money.' "The Canadian North-West," *Freemans Journal*, September 06, 1883, 6.

⁶⁸ 'The farmers here do not want families on their farm, neither are they disposed to engage single labourers by the year, their object being, to employ hired help in spring and harvest time, and dismiss them on the approach of winter.' "Irish Emigration to Canada," *The Nation*, January 05, 1884, 10-11.

⁶⁹ 'I am employed at my old trade ('fitter') on a railway. I am situated 100 miles from any human habitation. I never hear the toll of a bell on Sunday, never see the face of a priest – in fact life here is similar to that of a wild beast.' "Why we should not emigrate," *Munster Express*, March 15, 1884, 6.

⁷⁰ 'An agent told me there was lashins of work in Canada at five and six shillens [*sic*] a day and it was a mighty good country for a laborin' man; but a mighty poor country I've found it.' "Our Canadian Letter," *Dundalk Democrat* April 19, 1884, 6.

⁷¹ "Irish Emigration," *Weekly Irish Times*, July 28, 1883, 5. It should be noted that the committee also recommended that no pressure should be put on families to induce them to emigrate.

wanted to go the United States where their friends were. It therefore took a lot of persuasion to get them to go to Canada, but when they do, they tend to do better there than in the neighbouring republic.⁷² The message that patrician leaders were trying to put across was that once freed from the ethnic ghetto and social lifeworld of Irish-America, families and individuals would become more successful economic agents, not bound to the limitations of a culture which did not seem to place a high value on self-improvement. The *Irish Times* recognized that while no person should have to leave their country, Irish emigrants would be better off raising a farm in the Canadian Northwest than resting in the urban slums of the United States.⁷³ The newspaper admitted that emigrants may feel lonelier in Western Canada than among Irish communities in the cities, but that they would reap more over the long term, and also avoid the political machinations of the Fenians.⁷⁴

The Facilities and the Fear of the Urban Irish

The Irishman of the North American city was a continual bugbear of champions of the imperial cause. This man, who should be of great potential profit to the development of the Empire, was seen as an interminable curse. In 1885 Charles Foy wrote to the Minister of Agriculture stating that as conscientious public servants having the good of Canada foremost on their minds, all emigration agents make sure that “we do not burden [Canada] with emigrants to be a tax on the several national charitable societies.”⁷⁵ This means effectively that Canadian agents in Ireland were conscious of the fact that they did not want to give work to organizations such as the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, the St. Patrick’s Society of Montreal, or the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto. This could be a significant factor in the development of Irish societies as it was in urban areas of Canada that the Irish were most readily

⁷² Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885: Volume II, P.154

⁷³ “The Tramways Act,” *Weekly Irish Times*, November 10, 1883, 4.

⁷⁴ “Emigrants to Canada,” *Irish Times*, May 29, 1883, 6.

⁷⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 4. June 24, 1885, 2849-2850.

politicized. When John Costigan read out a list of Irish societies in favour of his Home Rule resolutions in the House of Commons in 1903, most of them were from urban centres such as Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and Québec City.⁷⁶ While the emigration agents sense of discrepancy aided Canada in receiving the right sort of emigrants, it may also have limited the visibility of urban Irishness in comparison to the United States.

While the city of the second half of the nineteenth century became a source of continual fear for political and intellectual figures, it was also a communication hub and an ethnic solidifier, a space where old-world local identities were fused in the name of political self-interest and social organization.⁷⁷ Far from being a place of modernist alienation, studies have shown that familial relationships remained strong in urban environments and ethnic identity was even reinforced.⁷⁸ In the cities patronage and personal connections would aid in the strengthening of ethnic networks of employment.⁷⁹ Historians of North American ethnicity have shown that local identities from the homeland were often usurped in order to strengthen the political capital of the ethnic community in a shared urban space.⁸⁰ In Montreal's *The Harp*, the editors criticized the intense localism of Irish emigrants as undermining Irish national identity, one article suggesting that there were too many counties in Ireland, "Law and conventionality made counties and districts; God made Ireland. This should be our glory."⁸¹ As a consequence, Irish nationalist activism was more intense among the Irish of urban North America than it was among those settling in rural North America. In his study of Irish nationalism in Toronto, Brian Clarke noted that middle-class Catholics mostly stayed clear of

⁷⁶ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903, 727.

⁷⁷ James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 6.

⁷⁸ James A. Henretta, "Community and Social Change in America by Thomas Bender." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 36.2 (1979): 293-294.

⁷⁹ William J. Smyth, *Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 199.

⁸⁰ Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, 'Transnationalism and the Age of Mass Migration, 1880s to 1920s', in Vic Satzewich and Lloyd Wong, eds, *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2006), 38.

⁸¹ "Irish Miscellanies." *The Harp*, 7.4 (February 1882): 163.

nationalism, especially professionals and successful businessmen. In Canada it was largely a working-class movement.⁸² As well as being more active politically, there is also evidence that urban Irish North Americans were more active in maintaining an Irish cultural identity. In her study of Irish language culture in urban North America at the time of the Irish cultural revival, Síobhra Aiken observed that Irish language culture more often than not developed in urban environments that had access to resources and communities focused on the maintenance of the Irish language.⁸³ There is also evidence of Irish language speakers in Canada deliberately avoiding rural work in order to remain in the city. A letter to the Minister of Agriculture from John Hoolahan, Special Agent for the Irish at the port of Québec in 1883, stated that a number of people who could only speak the Irish language could not be induced to go into country districts, preferring to remain in the cities “particularly at Toronto”.⁸⁴

The visible/invisible feature of Irish identity was largely based on this urban/rural divide. Allan Rowe, in his study of the Irish in Western Canada during this period, stated that the Irish of the rural West were largely invisible with little to distinguish them from other anglophone groups. But an Irish presence was much more active and evident in Winnipeg.⁸⁵ When Irish republican Michael Davitt visited the Northwest in 1892, he found very little English or Irish people on the prairie farms, with most of them trying their hand in the towns.⁸⁶ However, due to this greater visibility in urban environments Davitt also found that labour unions in the towns resented the influx of UK immigrants looking for work as artisans and

⁸² Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal, Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) 223.

⁸³ Síobhra Aiken, ““Ní cathair mar a tuairisg í”: (Mis)Representing the American City in the Literature of the Gaelic Revival?” *Éire-Ireland* 53.3 (2018): 118.

⁸⁴ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol 8. 1884, 14-137.

⁸⁵ Allan Rowe, *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada. 1870s-1930s*. (Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, 2008), 249.

⁸⁶ Michael Davitt, “Impressions of the Canadian North-West.” *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 31.182 (April 1892): 634-638. At a Commons Select Committee in Ottawa in 1901, the Inspector of Emigration Agencies found that continental emigrants were more likely to have saved up money to start a new life in the Northwest, and many came out in families. In contrast, many single Englishmen come with less and eventually drift off to the cities where it is easier to start with less money. Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 9th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 36. May 7, 1901, 365.

mechanics because they felt that Canadian jobs were being threatened.⁸⁷ While in general, the major railway and steamship companies were in favour of a more open immigration policy, urban unions favoured tighter controls.⁸⁸ By the 1890s Canada was receiving more immigrants from urban England whom the government felt were less suitable to agricultural life in Canada than the rural people of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, despite the declining numbers arriving from Ireland, in 1897 the government appointed a new trade commissioner for Ireland for trade between the two nations, but also promoting Canada as an emigration destination.

Battling the Press Outside of Ulster

When Charles Ramsey Devlin arrived in Ireland as the new trade commissioner, he was surprised by the hostility that greeted him in the nationalist press. On May 1st the *Nation* newspaper warned its readers that Manitoba was a kind of Siberia where Catholics were outnumbered twelve to one, and that nothing awaited the Irish emigrant there but “Godless slavery in an ice-bound land.”⁹⁰ The *Nation* would continue in this vein for the first couple of weeks of Devlin’s appointment, also attacking the Canadian emigration agent in Ulster, Edward O’Kelly.⁹¹ In a letter to the editor of the *Nation* printed in the May 15th edition, Devlin was left with no other option but to defend the Manitoba Schools compromise that he was accused of resigning over, back in Canada.⁹² The Manitoba Schools Question received a lot of

⁸⁷ While emigration agents assured the government that paupers were not coming to Canada due to the expense, they also made it known that “very few of the mechanical classes were coming to Canada.” Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 7th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol 5. 1892, 7B-82.

⁸⁸ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 65.

⁸⁹ Horace Plunkett had visited the Northwest on behalf of the Congested Districts Board in 1891 to see if it was still possible to settle people there from the West of Ireland, but in the end the board rejected the idea as much too expensive. Allan Rowe, *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada. 1870s-1930s*. (Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, 2008), 67.

⁹⁰ “Warning to Intending Emigrants,” *The Nation*, May 1, 1897, 1.

⁹¹ “Exile in Manitoba,” *The Nation*, May 5, 1897, 8.

⁹² As a Liberal, Devlin had recently resigned his seat in the Canadian House of Commons as he disagreed with his party’s stance on the Manitoba Schools Question. He believed strongly in the rights of Canadian Catholics to separate schools and was disappointed that the new Laurier government had compromised on the issue. The

negative press in nationalist Ireland because of what was seen as the hypocrisy of allowing Catholic minority rights to go undefended in some parts of the Empire while protecting the rights of Protestant minorities elsewhere (most notably in Ireland). Devlin wanted to remind the readership of the *Nation* that nowhere else in the British world have Catholics had more rights to the expression of their religion and the education of their children than they had in the older provinces of Canada. Politicians on Parliament Hill were taken aback with the scale of criticism of Devlin's position. Conservative opposition MP and Orange Order member Nathaniel Clark Wallace believed that the government was throwing money away on trying to attract Irish emigrants from outside of Ulster as he believed that people from that part of Ireland were hostile to British institutions and are therefore not wanted in Canada.⁹³ Nicholas Flood Davin stated that he understood why the Minister had sent someone of Devlin's standing to Ireland, reminding the House that it would be impossible for any Canadian to go to Ireland to promote emigration and get a good reception by nationalists. It was because Devlin was an Irishman, a nationalist and a Catholic that it was thought he could be trusted by the Catholic population of Ireland. However, Davin concluded that if a man of Devlin's Catholic nationalist credentials could not be trusted by the press in Ireland, then no Canadian could ever attract emigrants from Ireland to Canada.⁹⁴

But Devlin's Canadian literature did not just become an advertisement for emigration, emigration leaflets also became idea generators about what Ireland would need to do to develop its economy. For example, information about how Canada developed its farms through its own Ministry of Agriculture led to demands in the Irish nationalist press for more government aid

Laurier government would not back public funding of separate Catholic schools in Manitoba but supported instead the right of schoolchildren to have religious instruction in public schools for half an hour at the end of each day. Many Conservative party politicians believed that Devlin was being bought off by being offered a \$5000 a year government job overseas in return for backing down on the schools' issue. Devlin of course denied the charge, stating that he was crossing the Atlantic to fill up the Northwest with an Irish and Catholic population. "New Emigration Commissioner for Dublin," *Freemans Journal*, March 25, 1897, 5.

⁹³ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol.2, June 14, 1897, 4057.

⁹⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol.2, June 14, 1897, 4058-4059.

in developing the agricultural economy in Ireland.⁹⁵ Audiences who came to Charles Ramsey Devlin's lectures on Canada, were less interested in Canada as an emigration destination and more interested in how Canadian experimental farms worked, and how they could be adapted to Irish conditions to better train young farmers.⁹⁶ By 1899, Devlin's lectures increasingly acquired a nationalist tone, stating that the reason Canada had successfully developed its economy was because it had home rule and was left alone by England.⁹⁷ At the beginning of each lecture Devlin had to state that he was passionate Home Ruler and that he would never advise anyone to leave their homeland, he just wanted to highlight the good that Canada offered.⁹⁸ Commentators in Ireland observed how well the emigration pamphlets were put together stating that they were very interesting reading even if one was not thinking about emigrating.⁹⁹ Devlin stated that the Dublin office would be willing lend teachers and schools lantern slides about Canada so that their pupils could learn more about the country.¹⁰⁰ What Canada could offer Irish people was free grants of 160 acres of land, a fine climate, no rent, light taxes, free schools, good markets, rapidly developing industries, and large import and export trade.¹⁰¹ But if Canada offered all of these enticements as a part of fulfilling one's personal or economic potential, then where would any notion of Irishness exist in this future space?

The rise of the Land League and of Irish cultural nationalism in the last quarter of the

⁹⁵ 'Irish Educational Defects,' *Nationalist and Leinster Times* August 28, 1897, 4.

⁹⁶ "Canadian Experimental Farms," *Irish Times*, February 4, 1898, 5.

⁹⁷ "Cork Young Men's Society," *Irish Examiner* April 12, 1899, 5.

⁹⁸ "I am Irish," said Mr Devlin, "proud indeed of everything conveyed by the one magic word *Irish*; proud of the incomparable beauty of the *land*, with its silvery streams, fertile plains, and sacred hills; proud of its *history*, so full of deeds, greater than which have never been performed; proud of the charming *people*, with their million good qualities and their few faults, and attractive faults at that. I am Irish, and my hope is that one day Ireland will take her proper place among the nations of Europe. Then, when we have responsible government, we will have peace, happiness, and abundance. The Irishman will remain at home. But today the deplorable fact stares us in the face that many leave, Canadians wish to get as many of such as possible, and anyway it is well that they should know something of the land to which they propose going—whether they are fitted to face the conditions prevailing there." (my italics) "Lecture on Canada," *Irish Examiner* October 24, 1899, 6.

⁹⁹ "Recent Publications," *Irish Times*, July 26, 1901, 3.

¹⁰⁰ "From All Quarters," *Weekly Irish Times* November 23, 1901, 7.

¹⁰¹ "Irish Emigration to Canada," *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, December 8, 1900, 9.

nineteenth century meant that Irish people had formulated a different conception of their nation to that of the previous generation. From the time of the Land War in the early 1880s, a narrative developed of the land of Ireland being the foundation of the Irish nation and the strict inheritance of the Irish people.¹⁰² Even before the Land War, Canadian emigration agents in the south of Ireland had reported of the social and cultural capital that came with land ownership in Ireland. In 1878, agent J. Murphy in Limerick remarked that it was next to impossible to expect a farmer possessing only a few acres to emigrate from Ireland, “in such high estimation is a farm held.”¹⁰³ After the enactment of the 1903 Wyndham Act, which transferred much of the land of absentee landlords into the hands of peasant proprietors, cultural nationalists could finally realize the ideal of the Irish ownership of the Irish nation. In the Patrick Pearse edited journal of the Gaelic League *An Claidheamh Soluis*, one article warned people to ignore British “puffs” for Canada, “the pet colony of the British government”, and to stay home and work the land.¹⁰⁴ In the wake of the Wyndham Act, the Anti-Immigration Society was founded, not far from the Canadian emigration office in central Dublin. The society began distributing circulars issued by trades councils in Canada to help them with their cause. These circulars were warning potential immigrants from England that there was no work in the cities of Canada, and that even farm labouring positions were filled due to the enormous influx of new immigrants. A circular issued by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council in August 1903, and which was endorsed by the Trades Councils in Toronto, Kingston, London, Hamilton, Calgary, Grand Forks, and Vancouver, warned potential emigrants not to trust information provided by the Canadian government with regard to work available in Canada.¹⁰⁵ It may seem surprising that these Canadian organizations would be telling people in other

¹⁰² Anne Kane, “Narratives of Nationalism: Constructing Irish National Identity during the Land War, 1879-82.” *National Identities*, 2.3 (Nov 2000): 257.

¹⁰³ Canada. *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 3rd Parliament, 5th Session, vol 8. 1878, 9-161.

¹⁰⁴ “Gleo na gCath,” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 16 1904, 8.

¹⁰⁵ “Irish Emigration,” *Drogheda Argus and Leinster Journal*, September 19, 1903, 6.

countries not to trust the Canadian government, but at the same time they wanted to help their members obtain work and maintain higher wages without having to compete with new immigrants desperate for any kind of work, and willing to do that work for a lower wage. In 1904, the Anti-Emigration Society in Ireland even wrote to Prime Minister Laurier to ask him to remove Canadian emigration agents from the country. They received a reply from J.A. Smart, the Deputy Minister of the Interior:

You letter of 28th March last, addressed to Sir Wilfred Laurier, has been transferred to the Department of the Interior, which has to do with Immigration, and in reply to your request that the Government should withdraw its Immigration agents from Ireland, I beg to say I am not at all sure that such action would have any effect upon the purpose you appear to have in view. Immigration from Ireland to Canada is from the province of Ulster almost altogether, and I am inclined to think that the people who come here would in any event be leaving Ireland and perhaps for a foreign country.¹⁰⁶

The Canadian inspector of emigration agencies W.T.R. Preston wrote to the *Irish Times* to assure people in Ireland that the Canadian government was not carrying out a plan of indiscriminate emigration to Canada. Recognizing the resentment that some felt about how emigration agents had given an over-rosy picture of life in the prairies, Preston wanted to remind people that Canada only wanted people who were willing to work hard, and that there would be no easy accumulation of wealth in Canada.¹⁰⁷ In a later editorial the *Irish Times* warned that taking pride in people doing well abroad does not help the Anti-Emigration Society do its work.¹⁰⁸

By the dawn of the new century nationalist Ireland had caught up with Canada in terms of propounding an economic vision for the future. The *Sinn Fein* policy of the first decade of the twentieth century looked very much like the National Policy instigated by John A. Macdonald's government in the late 1870s, i.e. promote home industries by the introduction of

¹⁰⁶ "The Anti Emigration Society," *Donegal News*, August 27, 1904, 6.

¹⁰⁷ "Advice and Warning Respecting Canadian Emigration," *Weekly Irish Times*, March 18, 1905, 23.

¹⁰⁸ "Editorial Article," *Irish Times*, October 18, 1905, 4.

protective tariffs and develop the nation's agricultural capabilities.¹⁰⁹ Even political unionists such as Sir Horace Plunkett believed that the cultural revival in Ireland was helping the Irish peasant become more future focused by allowing him to have a stake in the maintenance of and development of Ireland's national life.¹¹⁰ Just as Canadian politicians had a vision of new settlers in the Northwest cultivating the qualities of self-development and self-improvement alongside developing and improving their own properties, so it was hoped that the new peasant proprietor in Ireland would adopt some of those same qualities.¹¹¹ But while patrician Canadians saw these opportunities of self-improvement as existing within the transnationality of the British Empire, for the cultural nationalists in Ireland that same empire was the embodiment of a ruthless materialism devoid of spiritual values.¹¹² By the beginning of the twentieth century hopes for Imperial Federation were beginning to fade as people thought more and more in nationalist terms. Even as early as 1891, Francis Blake Crofton detected the time for federation was passing as Canada was becoming the "be all and end all for Canadians, as Australia is for Australians."¹¹³ *An Claidheamh Soluis* believed that the land of Ireland was made sacred by the "rich intensity" of life that pervaded its history, and that the Irish people should feel privileged to be inheritors of "one of the richest possessions that has ever been."¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 172.

¹¹⁰ Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (London: John Murray, 1904), 85-88.

¹¹¹ Ian McKay, "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution: On Writing the History of Actually Existing Canadian Liberalisms, 1840s-1940s," in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, eds. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 350.

¹¹² John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 144.

¹¹³ Francis Blake Crofton, *For Closer Union: Some Slight Offerings to a Great Cause* (Halifax: A&W Mackinlay, 1897), 46. Knowledge of the cultural revival in Ireland was also making an impact on some Irish-Canadians, especially at the University of Ottawa where students took an active interest in the new cultural offerings coming out of Ireland. One could also see support for a form of Canadian nationalism that would break with the idea of British imperialism: "We behold the sad spectacle of a class of Canadians who are more English than the English themselves. Our first duty is to Canada. And yet in the face of all our prosperity, and despite the fact that the genius of our statesmen has ever labored to maintain our Federal Union, we find a miserable few who espouse every Imperial fad and wreck our constitution. Time will soon cast these degenerates into oblivion." E. Conway, "The Annual St. Patrick's Day Banquet." *University of Ottawa Review*, 3.7 (Mar. 1900 [i.e. 1901]): 362.

¹¹⁴ "Irish Nationality," *An Claidheamh Soluis*, May 20 1911, 7.

Irish cultural nationalists seemed to be fulfilling their vision of constructing what the geographer Doreen Massey has referred to as a reactionary sense of place; connecting place to a singular form of identity, rooted in history, and separated from the world outside.¹¹⁵ While the *Irish Times* recognized that most Irish emigrants to Canada turn to the land, and most Irish emigrants to the U.S. turn to the cities, by 1912 even its editors had to acknowledge that emigration was a national tragedy, and that people would be better off staying in Ireland and trying to develop the land at home.¹¹⁶

Canadian Emigration Agents, Cultural Nationalists, and the Urban Irish

In their book *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*, anthropologists Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing define what they understand by the concept of the ‘Rural Idyll’: “not only a nostalgic national story of a better and glorious past but also an individual story of a possibly better future...from urban contest, criminality and immorality to rural peace, order and pristine nobility.”¹¹⁷ This desire to escape urban criminality and immorality for rural peace, order and pristine nobility can be seen in the desires of both the Canadian government and Irish cultural nationalists, with the Canadian government offering the individual story of a better future, and the Irish cultural nationalists the nostalgic story of a better and glorious past. The Canadian government offered a better future for those whom it considered resourceful and self-reliant. There was a high price in emigrating to the Canadian Northwest, not only in terms of the initial cost but also in terms of the time and energy an individual or a family would need to invest before they would see a return on that investment.¹¹⁸ Some emigrants who had become

¹¹⁵ Doreen Massey, “A Global Sense of Place.” *Marxism Today*, 38 (June 1991): 24-29.

¹¹⁶ “Editorial,” *Irish Times*, March 22, 1912, 6.

¹¹⁷ Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*. (London: Routledge, 2000), 319.

¹¹⁸ The Canadian government were generally not in favour of subsidizing individuals who were thinking of emigrating. Firstly, because there was no guarantee that they would remain in Canada after they arrived, and secondly, they believed that attracting people who could pay their own way was a good way of weeding out those who were not resourceful. However, some agents such as John Webster in Dublin stated that Canada was losing the ability to attract able young Irishmen to Canada because he was unable to offer subsidization on travel costs. Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 8th Parliament, 5th Session, vol 10. 1900, 13-39.

successful farmers wrote to the *Irish Times* to inform potential emigrants that life was not going to be easy in Western Canada, that if they were used to cultured surroundings, then they would be in for a severe shock as they would be expected to engage in “menial work that back home they would consider beneath their dignity”.¹¹⁹ For women there was no work for trained nurses, governesses, factory girls, or educated women, only domestic servants.¹²⁰ Emigrants would need to be prepared to make many sacrifices in the beginning, and may have to invest anything up to ten years of their time before becoming comfortably off.¹²¹

Such an investment of time, money and energy was not a decision that could be taken lightly, and agents spoke of individuals who would return to them for more detailed information over several weeks. In her study of emigration agents during this period, Marjory Harper noted that Canada could be a place of interest for those who had little or no overseas contacts. She has described the agents’ job as translating a “vague restlessness into a concrete design to emigrate.”¹²² Because people who used emigration agents were less likely to travel by a prepaid ticket from friends and family, they needed to be absolutely certain they were making the right decision. A report from agent George Leary in Dublin in 1894 gives some indication of this difference between emigrants to Canada and emigrants to the United States:

It is frequently noticed that passengers going to Canada take more capital than those going elsewhere.

This feature was forcibly apparent to me last spring in Lough Foyle, where an American liner was taking on passengers for New York and Boston, and a Canadian liner was at the same time taking passengers for Montreal and the West. The American steamer had by far the great number of passengers but the Canadian had the greatest bulk of personal luggage, and the difference in appearance and conversation in favour of the passengers to Canada was apparent to every one.¹²³

The larger amount of luggage may be an indication of greater wealth, but it may also

¹¹⁹ “Farming O Western Canada,” *Irish Times*, June 14, 1913, 19.

¹²⁰ “Emigration to Canada,” *Irish Times*, November 8, 1913, 24.

¹²¹ “Emigration to Canada – A Warning,” *Irish Times* December 15, 1913, 8.

¹²² Marjory Harper, “Enticing the Emigrant: Canadian Agents in Ireland and Scotland, c.1870 – c. 1920” *Scottish Historical Review*, 83.1 (Apr 2004): 58.

¹²³ Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 7th Parliament, 5th Session, vol.9, 1871, 13-62.

be an indication that more families were travelling to Canada than individuals, and that those families had the intention to settle in Canada permanently. For those emigrating from outside of Ulster, there were probably few friend and family networks they could rely on.¹²⁴ But, as an enthusiastic member of the British Empire with a prominent history of state support for Catholic institutions, Canadian authorities believed they could make themselves an appealing destination to those classes in Irish society who wished to invest in the future of their families, and thereby developing the nation's natural resources.

However, many nationalists in Ireland were not impressed. *The Freeman's Journal* noted that there were two reasons why any country would need emigrants: one was the overdemand for work; the second was to populate desolate areas for the sake of building up the country. And they believed it was for this second reason that Canada was looking for immigrants.¹²⁵ Canada's plan was then to use Irish bodies as the soil for a new nation: "This is Canada's need; first, bands of victims – pioneers, the romantic call them – then, later, on the ruins of these, the happier throngs who will reap in joy where others sowed in sorrow. The free farms are, of course, not given in the tilled or tillable neighbourhoods of pleasant towns, of markets and merriment, but in the dreary neighbourhood of nature's wildest freaks and savagery." If Eastern Canadians were considered too unprepared for Western Canada, then Irishmen were "a hundred times less likely to succeed." In contrast, unionist newspapers like the *Irish Times* still spoke in favour of Canada if a person from Ireland really saw no other option but emigration. At the end of the day they should remember that as Irishmen they were in possession of the greatest empire the world had ever seen, "while too often in the United States and elsewhere they learn to brood over long-dead wrongs and harbour undying

¹²⁴ Houston and Smyth remind us that outside of the cities, Irish Protestant relations in Ontario had greater unity and continuity than Irish Catholic relations. Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 77.

¹²⁵ "America, Canada, or Ireland?" *Freemans Journal*, October 7, 1909, 6.

animosity.”¹²⁶

This contrast between the Irish in Canada and the Irish in the United States was a common refrain all throughout this period. In fact, complaining about events that happened centuries ago became one of the prime markers of Irish identity. As Goldwin Smith had written in 1886: “Such a measure of prosperity as [Canada] enjoys she owes to the energy, good sense, and thrift of a Saxon yeomanry, giving its mind to husbandry and not to the memory of the wrongs suffered by its ancestors under the Normans.”¹²⁷ Irish diaspora historian Donald Akenson has reminded us that many Irish Catholics emigrated to Canada before the Famine and that the majority of them settled in rural areas where they became just about as successful as their Protestant neighbours over time. Akenson’s work challenged traditional assumptions made by historians of Irish-America where Irish Catholics were seen as urban, technologically unadaptive, and lacking in commercial initiative.¹²⁸ But Goldwin Smith’s interpretation of the differences between Irish-Canadian Catholics and British-Canadian Protestants shows that such binary thinking was prevalent even among respected British-Canadian intellectuals of the period. Smith’s identarian assumptions about Britishness and Irishness are largely based on behavioural interpretations, e.g. the more successful you are as an independent farmer, the more “British” you are, the more you complain about past wrongs from centuries ago, the more “Irish” you are.

The visibility of the Irish in urban North America has led to a number of assumptions about Irish identity in general. One of the first assumptions is that “Irish” is a communal identity, one that is most visible when Irish people congregate together in communities, social groupings, and political associations. The role of friend and family networks in attracting Irish

¹²⁶ “Editorial,” *Weekly Irish Times*, January 20, 1912, 10.

¹²⁷ Goldwin Smith, “The Home Rule Fallacy,” *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 12.65 (Jul. 1882): 3.

¹²⁸ See Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).

people to the United States was hugely important in the maintenance of such a communal identity. In contrast Canadian emigration agents in Ireland were selling the idea of self-advancement and independent property ownership through hard work. Careful not to be accused of lying to potential emigrants, Canadian emigration literature stated that farming knowledge was not essential, and that Victorian virtues of courage and determination were more useful.¹²⁹ This is the figure of McGee's, and Dewart's and Crawford's poems that manages to build their home out of the wilderness for themselves and their families. Ethnic identity should have little bearing on anyone's potential success in the Canadian Northwest; what was needed was individual temerity and perseverance. But some observers at the time believed that Irish ethnic identity did play a role in a preference for urban settlement over rural settlement. As well as the evidence of Irish language speakers who preferred to remain in larger cities like New York and Toronto, many Irish immigrants preferred the Irish social life of the city. Irish social reformer and unionist Sir Horace Plunkett wrote in his 1904 book *Ireland in the New Century* that part of the reason that an agricultural people like the Irish were not taking up the land available on the western prairies was the potential loss of a social order more evident in North American cities: "Making all allowances for the depressing influences which had been brought to bear upon the spirit of enterprise, and for their impoverished condition, I am convinced that a prime cause of the failure of almost every effort to settle them upon the land was the fact that the tenement house, with all its domestic abominations, provided the social order which they brought with them from Ireland, and the lack of which on the western prairie no immediate or prospective physical comfort could make good."¹³⁰

A second assumption about Irish identity derived from urban settlement is that the Irish are backward-looking, obsessed with historical injustices, and historical wrongs perpetuated

¹²⁹ Patrick A. Duane, "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign, 1872-1915." *Archivaria*, 19 (1984): 81-82.

¹³⁰ Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (London: John Murray, 1904), 32-33.

by England. Much was made of the fact that the urban Irish were more politically assertive, especially regarding their antipathy towards Britain and the Empire. But for an individual focused on their own future success, such a history was irrelevant. As Canadian politicians such as Nicholas Flood Davin and unionist newspapers such as the *Irish Times* reminded their audiences, the Irish were more successful throughout the broader British Empire than they were in the United States or in the United Kingdom. However, as emigration agents outside Ulster reported, many Irish did not want to emigrate to a dependency under the British flag. This could be confusing and frustrating for Canadian authorities, as Ireland was part of the United Kingdom and under the same British flag as Canada. Canada after all derived its sovereignty from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, where Ireland was at the very centre of the Empire.¹³¹ Irish emigrants choosing Canada during this period were either those for whom Canada's Britishness was part of its attraction, or those for whom Ireland's historical rancour with Britain was irrelevant to how they viewed their own future. Horace Plunkett stated that the Irish habit of living in the past gave the Irish a "present without achievement, and a future without hope."¹³² For Plunkett, the resolution to Ireland's problems lay not in trying to resolve past grievances, but in reforming the Irish national character, to make Irish people more self-sufficient. As many of the poems of Irish-Canadians attested to, a hope of Canada's political future was the transcendence of historical enmities between the peoples of the United

¹³¹ This gulf in knowledge was made apparent after the appointment of Irish-Quebecer Charles Ramsey Devlin as Canadian Trade Commissioner to Ireland in 1897. In January 1902, Devlin gave a controversial interview to the *Montreal Witness* claiming that one of the reasons that he had been unable to attract more emigrants to Canada was because many of the Irishmen he encountered did not like the British flag and did not want to emigrate to another country under that flag. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 3, 1902, 619-621. Conservative Orange MP Sam Hughes was outraged at Devlin's interview and refused to believe that such anti-Britishness was as pervasive in Ireland as Devlin made out. Hughes believed that 90% of the people of Ireland were "true at heart to the British Empire" and it was only because they had not been educated in the proper way, that they failed to appreciate British institutions and the civil and religious liberties that they represented. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 2, April 17, 1902, 3025-3026. Separately, the Canadian Minister of Finance William Stevens Fielding announced that the British flag would fly over the Canadian Parliament in honour of St. Patrick's Day. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 17, 1902, 1309.

¹³² Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (London: John Murray, 1904), 10.

Kingdom.¹³³

A third and final assumption about the Irish in urban North America was that they were poor and economically unadaptable. Those Irish who managed to acquire economic success were thought to have done so in spite of their Irishness rather than because of it. The visibility of an Irish identity then was based on the stereotypes of a people who were communal, backward-looking, and economically unadaptable. The more the Irish conformed to assumed Anglo-American norms, i.e. as individuals future focused on their own economic success, the less visible an Irish identity became to outsiders. Donald MacRaild believed that the English became invisible as an ethnic group in North America because they were a group that did not have a communal story of oppression to tell, and also because by the later nineteenth century they had become a culture that prized individuality. Such may also have been the fate of Irish individuals who recognized the economic opportunities open to them as British citizens on the Canadian frontier. Canadian emigration agents were looking for those individuals who could visualize their success ten years into the future and see a home for themselves and their families on virgin land that had no history.

But by this time Canada was industrializing just as fast as the rest of the developing world. The percentage of people living in urban areas virtually doubled in Canada between the time of the Northwest Rebellion to the time of the First World War, from about 25% to 50%.¹³⁴ During the Irish revolutionary period between 1916 and 1923, an increase in Irish political activity was seen in British North American urban centres such as Montreal, Toronto, Halifax, Winnipeg, and St John's, showing how increased urbanization could lead to the re-emergence

¹³³ Some Canadian imperialists even believed that due to its size, Canada would one day out-populate the United Kingdom and consequently become the centre of the British Empire. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 125.

¹³⁴ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 114.

of political networks of ethnic identification.¹³⁵ Donald Akenson has claimed that the Irish were more important to the cities than the cities were to the Irish, and it is certainly true that the figure of the post-Famine urban Irishman of North America caused a lot of political, social, and cultural anxiety in establishment circles on both sides of the Atlantic.¹³⁶ But the North American city was also the space where Irish communal identity could be more readily expressed and regularly encountered, maintaining a communicative engagement with the land of origin. In attempting to fulfill their role of finding the right class of immigrant for Canada and deterring what they deemed to be the wrong class of immigrant, Canadian emigration agents in Ireland may have played an important role in limiting the maintenance of such a communal identity in Canada.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ See Allan Rowe, *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada, 1870s-1930s* (Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta, 2008); Simon Jolivet, *Le Vert et le Bleu : Identité Québécoise et Identité Irlandaise au Tournant du XXe Siècle* (Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2011); Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916*, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); and Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

¹³⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).

¹³⁷ Although focused on the period between Canadian Confederation and the First World War, many of the themes highlighted in this chapter have been common features of emigration between Ireland and Canada all throughout Irish-Canadian history. Laura J. Smith has shown that as early as the 1820s authorities in Canada believed that the poor Irish peasant could best fulfill his or her potential on the Canadian frontier. See Laura J. Smith, "The Ballygibbins: British Emigration Policy, Irish Violence, and Immigrant Reception in Upper Canada." *Ontario History*, 108.1 (Spring 2016): 5; Linda Fitzgibbon has shown that as late as the 1960s, Canadian officials in Ireland were conscious of not openly advertising for Irish emigrants as it was still believed in official government channels in Ireland that emigration was a national tragedy and should not be officially encouraged. See Linda Fitzgibbon, *Roots and Routes: Memory and Identity in the Irish Diaspora in Canada* (Doctoral Thesis, Concordia University, 2019), 34-60.

Chapter 5 – “Backward”: Language and Modernity in Ireland and Canada

The persons so apt to laugh at a blunder seem not to remember that this emigrant population comes from parishes where nothing but Irish may be spoken, and where they picked up English without knowing its grammar – that they acquired it by ear - and spoke it by rote.

- *From “Mr. McGee’s Lecture Before the St. Patrick’s Literary Association” True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, January 7, 1859, 5.*

Those who utter Saxon thoughts in Saxon tongue may laugh at us. Well, be it so. But give us one who learns, or attempts to learn, the Irish language, and you give us a thinker, not a brawler – not a political tool, but a patriot. We say attempts to learn; for if he only acquire a few phrases or words, and is proud of them, it is enough; the raw material of nationality is in him, and it will be manufactured one day.

- *From “The Irish Language.” The Harp, 2.7 (November 1875): 234.*

These two quotes sixteen years apart highlight the self-consciousness of linguistic identity among numerous Irish people and the fear of being laughed at because of their linguistic peculiarities, whether speaking Irish-English or learning Irish-Gaelic. McGee reminds his Montreal audience in 1859 that many non-literate Irish speakers had to learn the English language entirely by ear, and if they sounded strange that was not due to lack of intellectual acumen, but rather because they took the initiative to learn a language entirely without the aid of formal education. Sixteen years later, an editorial in Montreal’s *The Harp* pre-empted the expected derision that would be incurred by those educated members of the city’s Irish Catholic community who wanted to learn something of Ireland’s Celtic language, by stating that long after there had been political revolution in Ireland, the Irish language would still be a sign of the nation’s immortality. Fear of being laughed at for speaking “Irish,” whether Irish-English or Gaelic seemed to be a common concern for both non-literate Irish immigrants and university educated journal writers. In a satirical essay published in Toronto in 1880, a J.T. McAdams writing under the pseudonym “Captain Mac” observed that unlike their francophone compatriots, the Irish in Canada spoke very little, if at all in their native language. While “Lower Canadians” monopolized the conversation without a care if their anglophone interlocutors could understand them or not, Captain Mac claimed that the Irish were not “guilty

of such a gross breach of etiquette.” An extended example of Captain Mac’s satire gives some indication of the strength of feeling that was felt by those who were ashamed to speak Irish; and also, by those who were ashamed *of those who were ashamed* to speak Irish:

When a man or woman steps on board the vessel which is to bear him or her away from Ireland, he or she leaves all knowledge of the grand old language behind, as if it were an article of useless luggage upon which freight charges had to be paid, and when they arrive in America they cannot speak or understand a word of it. When asked if they speak Irish the answer invariably is, "No, it was not spoken in the town I came from, but it was spoken in the town adjoining ours." I believe there are a few honourable exceptions who are proud to know the language in which St. Patrick expatriated the snakes, and Brian Boru inspired his warriors with great zeal for his cause, but whenever they speak it they are laughed at and ridiculed by those of their countrymen who expended the last vestige [*sic*] they possessed of it in pouring farewell blessings upon their landlord's head.¹

Captain Mac goes on to refer to those who are ashamed of the Irish language as “degenerates,” a common term used by the more zealous Irish language activist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With such strong emotions surrounding the use of language among the Irish diaspora during this period, it is not surprising that many journalists, writers, politicians, and language activists would look to other parts of the British Empire to understand how other peoples dealt with societal change and language upheaval during this period. As a predominantly Catholic population within the purview of the British Empire, French-Canada could provide several instructive routes as to how to deal with linguistic and cultural preservation.

Language Loss and the Loss of Identity

As is clear from McGee’s speech, before the advent of a national education system in Ireland in 1831, most rural Irish speakers in Ireland learned English through contact with English speakers from eastern and urban Ireland.² At the same time Irish nationalist leaders

¹ Captain Mac. *The Englishman in Canada: A Satire* (Toronto: Belford & Co., 1880), 16.

² Raymond Hickey, “Development and Diffusion of Irish English,” in *Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects*, edited by Raymond Hickey, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), 91.

such as Daniel O’Connell were advocating English language use as a way for Irish people to advance in the nineteenth century world.³ While there has been solid evidence of Irish language users in Canada in the nineteenth century, it is thought that most people who emigrated to British North America in the early nineteenth century were anglophone or at least bilingual English/Irish speakers.⁴ In McGee’s lecture, he lauds the ability of the Irish to learn English by ear as an attribute of a natural Irish facility with languages. He then goes on to give examples of great intellectual figures of the early medieval Irish church and their reputation among the scholars of Europe. The desire to be validated in the present, in this era of British imperial magnitude, becomes a search for Ireland as the great civilizer of ancient times, a kind of pre-modern Greece to Britain’s very modern Rome. Here, the idea that the Irish have finally been civilized through the acquisition of the English language is considered a false one. In a Victorian world which valued self-betterment through education, the Irish needed to reclaim their heritage as great civilizers and educators. Many Irish Catholic writers and thinkers were not only creating an Irish past they could identify with as Irish, but also a past they could identify with as “civilizers”. It would be through this interpretative control of the past that they could better meet the rapid transformations of the present.⁵

³ Raymond Hickey, “Development and Diffusion of Irish English,” in *Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects*, edited by Raymond Hickey, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), 106.

⁴ In her 2012 article “Finding the Irish language in Canada”, Sarah McMonagle refutes David A. Wilson’s and Donald Akenson’s simplistic assertions that most Irish people who emigrated to Canada before the Famine were English speakers. See Sarah McMonagle, “Finding the Irish language in Canada.” *New Hibernia Review* 16.1 (Spring 2012): 140-141. While monoglot Irish speakers were more likely to be found in Munster and Connacht, most Irish immigrants to Canada before 1845 were from Ulster and Leinster. See Cecil J. Houston, William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 32. Nevertheless, some scholars believe that there was a high level of bilingualism in Ireland by 1800, especially in Leinster and Ulster and around port towns and cities in Munster and Connacht. See Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 87. An example of such a bilingual figure who seemed to be both literate in English and fluent in Irish was Colonel James Fitzgibbon, clerk of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly, who in 1836 was chosen to “keep the King’s peace” among Irish workers during the election season in the town of Cornwall, specifically because of his knowledge of the Irish language. See Library and Archives Canada. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada from the 8th day of November, 1836 to the 4th day of March 1837* (Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1837), A5-41.

⁵ For Irish language historian Tony Crowley, much of the idealism of the Gaelic League was similar to the conservative philosophy as expounded by Edmund Burke one hundred years before. In *Reflections of the Revolution France*, Burke had stated “a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those

The Irish language revival had an early start in Canada. By the late 1870s there were attempts by people in Montreal to set up Irish language classes. There was even a hope that “Thigin thú Gaelic?”* [*sic*] would become as popular as “Parlez-vous Francais” in the years to come.⁶ At the proceedings of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish language in Dublin in 1882, it was remarked that there was probably more Irish spoken in New York, London, Liverpool, and Glasgow at that time than there was in Dublin.⁷ Before the 1870s, there was a strong hope that the study of Irish culture could overcome differences of politics and religion in Ireland.⁸ If near universal English-language literacy in Ireland was finally going to make the Irish more British, then the Irish language may be the only living connection that the people of Ireland had to a pre-British past. In his study of language politics in Ireland between 1366 and 1922, Tony Crowley has underscored the common belief that before the nineteenth century, the Irish language was seen by English colonizers and Irish colonized alike as a central marker of Irish inadaptability to English norms.⁹ While for some the language represented a radically separate sense of Irishness, for others it was the proof of the historical primacy of the Irish over the English. In one letter to Montreal’s *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* in 1883, an anonymous writer titled ‘Eireanach’* [*sic*] believed that without the Irish language, Ireland’s history and geography would be fundamentally different. Ireland would merely be considered an English province, and Irish history a simple product of English colonization.¹⁰ In a speech

who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.” See Tony Crowley, *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2004), 149.

⁶ “The Gaelic Revival” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*. November 6, 1878, 5. *Thuígeann tú Gaeilge? (Do you understand Irish?)

⁷ “Proceedings of the Congress Held in Dublin, 1882,” in *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*, editor Tony Crowley (London; New York: Routledge. 2000), 182.

⁸ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University, 1996), 11.

⁹ In Crowley’s words “What both the colonizers and the colonized agreed upon was the central belief that the Irish language was the key to a distinct, in fact radically separate, sense of Irishness: for the one Irish was a problem, for the other it was a necessity.” Tony Crowley, *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2004), 147.

¹⁰ “Many modern writers place the era of history at the foundation of Rome. Their language reaches no further back, and they have only uncertainty and speculation beyond. It is not wonderful that some learned men among them, in seeking a way out of this labyrinth, have stumbled on the luminous idea that mankind are evolved from

given to the Royal Society of Canada in 1883 titled “Language and Conquest”, John Reade remarked that language was an expression of a nation's mind and character, comprising its spiritual and intellectual history. He then asked if there were a people in the wide world more independent than the French Canadians.¹¹ This increase in nationalist consciousness in the later nineteenth century was partly a product of shared education systems. The educated individual could now find him or herself graduating into the imagined community of the nation, with an awareness of similarity with his fellow generation of students, and an equal awareness of dissimilarity from the imagined communities of other nations. This new sense of subjectivity could not be provided by a universal history, but only by a consciousness of difference.¹²

This notion of communal difference was important as there was a fear in some Irish nationalist circles that many of the arguments made in favour of, and against Home Rule were all about the Britishness of the Irish. In his speech *Dismemberment No Remedy*, Goldwin Smith stated that the union of Ireland and Britain was nature’s union, and that their common language was the strongest bond of nationality. For this reason the Act of Union could not be repealed as the cultural connection between the two islands was now too strong.¹³ Similarly from a pro-Home Rule standpoint, Nicholas Flood Davin made the argument that Irishmen had stood beside Englishmen and Scotsmen over the last two hundred years building the British Empire, and its success and the success of the Irish were inextricably linked. Therefore anyone “who would try to make an Irishman feel that he is an alien in the British Empire is either an ignoramus or a scoundrel.”¹⁴ In the aftermath of the failure of the first Home Rule bill, an

apes. Yours, etc. Eireanach’ “Correspondence” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, April 4, 1883, 5. * Éireannach (Irish person).

¹¹ John Reade, *Language and Conquest: A Retrospect and a Forecast*. (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1883), note, 32. After the success of French-Canadian poet Louis Frechette in winning Montyon Prize from the Académie Française, Reade believed that French Canadian literature at that time was more highly regarded than English Canadian literature.

¹² Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 75.

¹³ Goldwin Smith. *Dismemberment No Remedy* (London: Cassell & Company, 1886), 29.

¹⁴ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, April 25, 1887, 104.

increasing discrepancy between political and cultural nationalism came to the fore. In a debate in the pages of the *Nation* newspaper in 1888, one Irish-American wrote to say that the reason that the 1886 Bill failed was that it was based on the Canadian model and the reason it would not work was because Canada was not a “distinct nation”. Another ‘Eireanach’ [*sic*] wrote in to say that the French-Canadians at the present moment were a more distinct nation than the Irish because they had “clung to their language, manners, and distinctive ideas so tenaciously.”¹⁵ Adding a swipe to the Irish-American, he added that he didn’t even think of the United States of America as a distinct nation, because even though they had a political existence, their language, manners, and thoughts all came from England. He finished by saying that the French-Canadians were more independent under the British crown than the Americans were as a republic.

The 1890 Canadian Parliamentary Debates on National Languages

The Irish linguistic contrast with Québec could not have been more striking. While people in rural Ireland were abandoning the language of their ancestors, urban Québec was becoming more and more francophone.¹⁶ Québec was industrializing at a much faster rate than Ireland and French-Canadians were increasingly leaving behind rural life for non-agricultural jobs in the towns and cities.¹⁷ An article in Montreal’s *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* encouraged Irish Catholic parents in Montreal to insist on the teaching of the French language

¹⁵ “Irish Nationality: To the Editor of the Nation,” *Nation*, March 24, 1888, 6. It is not known whether this is the same Eireanach that wrote to Montreal’s *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* five years before, but his knowledge of French-Canadian culture in the letter would seem to suggest so.

¹⁶ On a trip to Ireland in 1889, the Québec editor of the Catholic newspaper *La Verité*, Jules-Paul Tardivel, remarked that he heard very little Irish spoken in Ireland and felt that at least French-Canadians did not have to suffer the humiliation of losing their language like the Irish. When he finally did encounter some Irish speakers in Galway, he found that their English was easier to understand than the Irish-English of Irish anglophones. Tardivel also found Ireland less violent than he assumed it would be. Recognizing the power of the new communications technology to quickly disseminate knowledge around the world, Tardivel believed that individual incidents of violence were “overdone” because information travelled across the world at such lightening speed. Jules-Paul Tardivel, *Notes de voyage en France, Italie, Espagne, Irlande, Angleterre, Belgique et Hollande* (Montréal: E. Sénéchal, 1890), 33-63.

¹⁷ Garth Stevenson, *Parallel Paths: The Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Québec* (Montréal, Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 177.

in the schools under Irish taxpayers control as it would be useful for their education.¹⁸ By the 1890s linguistic tension was becoming more prominent in Canadian public life. The question of whether language plurality aided the solidification of national identity, or undermined it, was the subject of a bill brought forward by D'Alton McCarthy in January of 1890. McCarthy wished to amend the North-West Territories Act to get rid of the dual language provision. As there were very few francophones settling the West, he felt that such a provision was not needed. But McCarthy had gone further in speeches he made the month before, demanding that French Canadians should cherish not only the political institutions of Canada, but also what he referred to as "our glorious British past" and look forward also to a glorious future.¹⁹ McCarthy made a cultural nationalist argument from an English-Canadian perspective, echoing the ideas of Edmund Spenser in Ireland in the sixteenth century, McCarthy believed that as long as children in Canada were educated in French rather than English, they would remain French "to all intents and purposes."²⁰ In the debate he led on parliament Hill, McCarthy quoted numerous contemporary linguists to show that it is language and not blood that forms nations.²¹ He believed that the fundamental question of Canada's future was not whether Canada was going to be annexed to the United States but whether Canada was going to be English or French.²² He highlighted the example of the relationship between Irish-Canadian and French-Canadian Catholics, claiming that they should love each other but they did not and that was due to the fact that they spoke different languages.²³ In response many MPs disavowed McCarthy's claims that the Irish and French didn't get on, with various French-Canadian MPs reiterating

¹⁸ "Boys, Learn French," *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, July 17, 1889, 4.

¹⁹ Carl Berger. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Second ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), 135.

²⁰ D'Alton McCarthy, *D'Alton McCarthy's Great Speech Delivered in Ottawa, December 12th, 1889* (Toronto: Equal Rights Association, 1889), 11.

²¹ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, January 22, 1890, 43.

²² Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, January 22, 1890, 43.

²³ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, January 22, 1890, 49.

the fact that the French helped the Irish during the Famine.²⁴ But MPs would also disavow his central argument that it was language that formed nations. Davin reminded McCarthy that the Saxon was continuously denounced in Ireland in the Saxon tongue.²⁵ William Mulock stated that just because there was a diversity of language did not mean there was a diversity of politics. One could not just look at the example of Ireland but also at the example of Switzerland where people spoke different languages within the same nation-state.²⁶ David Mills believed that the most obvious argument was closer to home. Canada and the United States were not part of the same country even though they mostly spoke the same language.²⁷ One French-Canadian MP even dismissed McCarthy's bill by claiming that insisting on the provision of one language was a form of communism.²⁸ Liberal leader Wilfrid Laurier sought to reassure McCarthy that in the future Canada would remain British, but not necessarily unilingual anglophone. He also warned that politicians should be wary of treating francophones poorly, the example of Ireland showed that when you treat people poorly they resist.²⁹ Sir Richard Cartwright (whose wife came from Cork) stated that the Irish language had died on its own, but that if you intentionally put up barriers to race, creed or language you provide an excuse for backlash.³⁰ Like Foran before him, Cartwright noted that language used to attack a particular culture or nationality, only becomes grist to the mill for the development of nationalist consciousness among those being attacked. McCarthy's bill was eventually rejected in favour of leaving it to the provinces to decide their own language policy.

But language awareness was becoming ever more evident in high political circles. Just a month after McCarthy's bill was rejected, British Columbia senator Thomas Robert McInnes

²⁴ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 13 & 20, 1890, 592; 611-612; 929. Notably no politician from outside Québec questioned McCarthy's claim.

²⁵ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 12, 1890, 540.

²⁶ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 13, 1890, 579.

²⁷ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 13, 1890, 630.

²⁸ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 18, 1890, 823.

²⁹ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 17, 1890, 739-743

³⁰ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, February 18, 1890, 840-841.

introduced a bill in the Senate to make Gaelic an official language of Canada.³¹ McInnes had been born in Nova Scotia to Scottish Gaelic-speaking parents. He believed that if Canadian politicians were willing to defend the right of the small numbers of francophones in Western Canada to speak their language, then surely they would also defend the right of Gaelic-speaking Canadians to speak their own language. McInnis claimed that his ability to speak with his fellow senator John O'Donohue of Toronto in Gaelic showed that the differences between Irish and Scottish Gaelic were less than the differences between the English spoken in Northern England and the English spoken in southern England.³² Many senators voiced their opposition to the bill and much was made of the fact that Gaelic was not a language of modernity. Senator Kaulback of Nova Scotia believed that in the parts of Scotland where Gaelic was still spoken, people were more interested in fairies and legends than in the development of philosophy or science. Kaulback claimed that his own German ancestors stopped speaking German in North America because they did not want to be behind the times or to be laughed at by others.³³ The bill was eventually defeated by 42 votes to 7. Most of the French-Canadian and Irish-born senators voted against the bill.³⁴ The attitude of the senators was summed up by senator McDonald from British Columbia when he said that Gaelic was the language of poetry, but it was not the language of science or commerce.³⁵

Douglas Hyde's Case for the Necessity of the Gaelic League

However, it was through science and commerce that language enthusiasts around the

³¹ McInnes was born in Nova Scotia to Scottish Gaelic-speaking parents. A graduate of Harvard University, he served in the Union Army during the American Civil War. He later moved to New Westminster, British Columbia, and after serving sixteen years as a Canadian senator, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia in 1897.

³² O'Donohue was born in Tuam, Co. Galway in 1824, and came to Canada in 1839.

³³ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 18, 1890, 303-304.

³⁴ Among those voting against the bill were senators James Dever (born in Donegal), George Howlan (Waterford), Edward Murphy (Carlow), and Frank Smith (Armagh). The only Irish-born senator voting for the bill was Michael Sullivan (Kerry). Senators David Wark (Derry) and surprisingly John O'Donohue (Galway) abstained.

³⁵ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 18, 1890, 309.

world were becoming increasingly aware of each other's causes. The increasing speed of communications technology and the widespread distribution of print media across the Atlantic world and across the British Empire meant that more and more cultural nationalists were able to identify their experience with the experiences of other small nationalities under the thumb of imperial power. Future Ontarian premier and Scots Gaelic speaker, George W. Ross spoke up for bilingual education in the Ontario legislative assembly highlighting the fact that in the United Kingdom, the British government did not refuse the teaching of Irish, Welsh or Scots Gaelic.³⁶ As the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, the purpose of language learning in education became more pointed. The notion of the usefulness of a language in a practical and material sense, came up against the idea of language as the accumulated knowledge of an entire people's history and way of life. Defense of the old language signified defense of tradition against the subversion of modernity.³⁷ It was surrounding such ideas about the nature of language that Douglas Hyde would make his infamous speech to the National Literary Society in Dublin in 1892 "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland." Hyde believed that over the course of the nineteenth century, most Irish people had ceased to be Irish without ever becoming properly English. Just as John Lawrence Power O'Hanly's Irish immigrants in Toronto a generation earlier were floating on a sea of doubt and uncertainty, by the 1890s many Irish nationalists in Ireland had become a kind of cultural anomaly, anglophone anglophobes, neither one thing nor the other. Hyde noted that figures such as Goldwin Smith used Ireland's anglo-reality as proof that Home Rule for Ireland was a pointless exercise:

I wish to show you that in Anglicising ourselves wholesale we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality. What did Mazzini say? What is Goldwin Smith never tired of declaiming? What do *The Spectator* and *Saturday Review* harp on? That we ought to be content as an integral part of the United Kingdom because we have lost the notes of

³⁶ George William Ross, *French Schools: Speech Delivered by the Hon. Geo. W. Ross, in the Legislative Assembly, April 3rd, 1890, in reply to Mr. T.D. Craig, Member for East Durham* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890), 7.

³⁷ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 119.

nationality, our language and customs.³⁸

Hyde went on to ask if Irishmen would purchase material prosperity at the price of their ethnic or national distinctiveness. He came to the conclusion that while most Englishmen would, most Irishmen would not.³⁹ The maintenance of the Irish language was more than just an ability to converse in the ancient tongue, it was also supposed to provide a barrier to the base materialism of the Anglo-Saxon world. This idea had been around since the time of the Young Irelanders, when Thomas Davis denounced British utilitarianism as something which “measures prosperity by exchangeable value, measures duty by gain, and limits desire to clothes, food and respectability.”⁴⁰ Towards the end of his speech Hyde made reference to a woman in Boston who told him that the Irish became Americanized before they even landed in the United States, and if they failed to become Americanized straight after landing, then they wouldn’t be really Irish. Here was a fear that turned the Irish diaspora on its head. Instead of being a people found throughout the Anglosphere who shared a common Irish heritage, by the 1890s it was believed that much of Ireland itself was filled with pre-packaged British, American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African citizens, ripe to be shipped off and readily assimilated on arrival, just add water (the Atlantic or the Irish Sea). The actual Irish (for Hyde those who spoke the Irish language) made up a tiny percentage of the world’s Irish population, and by the end of the nineteenth century, did not even make up the majority of people living in Ireland. The historical division between Gaeltacht and Galltacht had been reversed, and Ireland was believed by many language activists at the end of the nineteenth

³⁸ Douglas Hyde, “The Necessity of De-Anglicising Ireland,” in *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891–1922*, eds. Declan Kiberd and Patrick J. Mathews (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), 42–46.

³⁹ Donald Akenson would no doubt disagree with Hyde’s belief. In many of his works on the Irish Diaspora, Akenson has concluded that many Irish parents both at home and abroad believed that “individual initiative, free competition, and the unfettered right to accumulate capital were socially desirable”. D.H. Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America* (Ontario: P. D. Meany Publishers, 1985), 23.

⁴⁰ Quoted in John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 97.

century to be mostly a Galltacht (a land of foreign culture).⁴¹ It was under such ideological ferment that Conradh na Gaelige (The Gaelic League) was founded in 1893.

Reviving and Defending Language Use in Montreal and Ottawa

Across the ocean in Canada, the fall of Parnell and the veritable lack of new immigrants coming from Ireland meant that the 1890s were a time of generational change among Irish-Canadians.⁴² The death of Patrick Boyle in Toronto in 1891 led to the eventual folding of the *Irish Canadian* newspaper in December 1892.⁴³ And throughout the rest of the 1890s Irish nationalist organizations in Canada became more focused on Canadian Catholic issues and providing greater benefits to their members.⁴⁴ Nevertheless news of the cultural revival in Ireland did make its way into many publications on the Canadian side of the Atlantic. Joseph Kearney Foran became the editor of the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* in 1893 and made regular references to the new cultural awareness that was developing in Ireland. Reminding his readers that they were part of a great chain of historical inheritance, he conjured the image of Irish mothers singing the Celtic language as they “rocked the cradles of our great great-grandparents,” emphasizing that it was in the Irish language that the faith of their ancestors was protected.⁴⁵ He looked back to the material landscape of Ireland, eulogizing the material remnants of the medieval era, with round towers as lighthouses of European learning. When Foran looked back to the past he saw a civilization of “great deeds, noble records, just laws, sublime poetry, and pure religion.”⁴⁶ As he had previously done when writing for *The Harp*, Foran extolled the virtues of the pre-Christian Celtic druids who maintained lofty

⁴¹ Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 198.

⁴² The 1890s would mark the lowest immigration numbers from Ireland to Canada in the nineteenth century, with less than a thousand immigrants landing from Ireland every year.

⁴³ Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal, Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 251.

⁴⁴ Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002) 150.

⁴⁵ “The Irish Language” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, May 23, 1894, 9.

⁴⁶ “The Irish Language” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* August 29, 1894, 9.

principles before the arrival of Patrick, before their culture “dovetailed” as he put it, with Patrick’s new Christian ideals. When considering what the mark was of a successful civilization Foran compared the Irish Catholics of his day with the political and economic success of the British and the Americans. He believed that politics was ultimately transitory, that governments came and went, and legislative changes had their effect but that Ireland could not be a proper nation unless it maintained its cultural identity.⁴⁷ Like many later Irish revivalists Foran felt that the Irish future lay in the discovery of the Irish past. Communicating with the Gaelic past would be like a voyage of discovery. Reviving the Irish language may take years if not generations, but the children of the future would reap its benefits.⁴⁸ Uncovering the Gaelic past would give the Irish back their pride and distinctiveness.⁴⁹ As John Hutchinson has written, the early revivalists were not just interested in a scientific understating of the Irish past, they also sought to unearth a coherent Irish identity in space and time.⁵⁰ The deep past was a place where all Irish people could find a common identity overcoming differences in the present.⁵¹ After all, persuading people that their differences do not matter and that they are all part of the same group is an aspect of all politics, not just identity politics.⁵²

But as an Irish-Québecer Foran did not just feel that the revival of Irish was important, he also used the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* to defend the use of French in the public sphere, especially from attacks by other Irishmen. He felt that the revival of the Irish language and the protection of the French language went hand in hand with the protection of the faith. Foran believed that those who attacked the French language in Canada also attacked the

⁴⁷ “The Irish Language” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* August 29, 1894, 9.

⁴⁸ “The Irish Language” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* August 29, 1894, 9.

⁴⁹ As Aidan Doyle has observed, for the Gaelic Leaguers, language was not so much a question of competence but of willingness. Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 178.

⁵⁰ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 87.

⁵¹ Examples of this effort to overcome difference in the present through re-narrating the past can be found in some of the poems in Thomas D’Arcy McGee’s *Canadian Ballads* such as “Apostrophe to the Boyne” and “International Song”.

⁵² Rogers Brubaker *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 60.

Catholic Church. While he acknowledged that the mother tongue of the vast majority of Irish Canadians was English, he also defended his right to speak French stating that “because a man does not speak, read or understand French - either on account of his incapacity or unwillingness to learn it - does not give him a right to keep others in the same ignorance.”⁵³ Despite this admonishment of some of his Irish compatriots he went on to remind them that the bond of faith that united Irish Catholics and French-Canadians would win out over everything, “our interests in time are the same, our interests in eternity are identical, and we have a glorious future before us if we join hands on the threshold of our country's career and march shoulder to shoulder down the slopes of Canadian history.”⁵⁴

In the early days of the Revival period, there was a hope that such a cultural renaissance could transform not only the Irish people but also the image of Ireland abroad. Like the beginning of the Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt twenty years before, the Gaelic League started out as a pluralist organization that sought to gather a broad base of supporters across Irish society.⁵⁵ Even in the *Belfast Telegraph* there was a hope that the Gaelic Revival could strengthen Ireland's distinctiveness, which had been increasingly lost in union with Great Britain.⁵⁶ However, as Partha Chatterjee has highlighted in his intellectual history of Indian nationalism, the search for a singular sense of identity can divide as much as it can unite.⁵⁷ One Canadian example of challenging any narrow sense of cultural nationalism was seen in *The Owl*, the student newspaper of the University of Ottawa. In a strong defense of the Irish use of the English language, the students noted that Irish people had long been identified with the English language and they had no intention of giving it up anytime soon. But the Irish were

⁵³ “The St Jean Baptiste” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, June 27, 1894, 8.

⁵⁴ “The St Jean Baptiste” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, June 27, 1894, 8.

⁵⁵ Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 180.

⁵⁶ “A Patriotic Movement” *Belfast Telegraph*, March 21, 1895, 6.

⁵⁷ Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 115.

also endowed with a specific reason to use the English language and that was to propagate the Catholic faith. The editors of the newspaper justified the loss of the Irish language as God's will for them to keep the faith and evangelize the world. Their Catholicism endured despite the Penal laws against their ancestors, and their Catholicism would endure in Canada through the English rather than the French language.⁵⁸ Abandoning the Irish language then was not an abandonment of Irish identity, but merely a refocus. For Burke and Stets, if people cannot restore the situational meanings to match their identity-standard meanings, then the only thing that can reduce this discrepancy is for the identity standard to change to match the meanings.⁵⁹ Catholicism and not the Irish language would give Irish Catholics prestige and distinctiveness in Anglo-Protestant America.

Foran believed that a full-scale revival of the Irish language was impossible in the near future but in the meantime English language writers were doing their best to create literature with "Celtic power."⁶⁰ Whether in Canada or in Ireland individuals sought to make their various identities (e.g. anglophone and Irish) compatible and not contradictory. Political scientist Maureen Whitebrook has claimed that "The narrative unity of the self is more about the unity of narratives than the unity of the self."⁶¹ The idea of Canadian federalism for Quebec's francophones for example, was about marrying a linguistic distinctiveness *from* Canadian anglophones to a political union *with* Canadian anglophones. In a Saint Patrick's Day address at the University of Ottawa in 1897, a student by the name of L. Payment stated that the French Canadians would preserve their beautiful language and would resist anybody who tried to take it from them, as it was a precious heritage inherited from their forefathers. But he also quoted Sir Étienne Paschal Taché, one of the fathers of Confederation, in honour of French-Canadian

⁵⁸ "The Revival of the Celtic Tongue." *The Owl*, 8.9 (May 1895): 451.

⁵⁹ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 180.

⁶⁰ "Ireland's Ancient Speech" *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, June 3, 1896, 4.

⁶¹ Maureen Whitebrook, *Identity, Narrative, and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 118.

loyalty to the crown, “the last gun fired for British supremacy on this continent will be fired by a French Canadian.”⁶²

Such loyalty to the crown emitted by a non-anglophone people was commended on the other side of the ocean as Irish language and educational activists looked to other parts of the Empire for examples of cultural pluralism. The nationalist *Nation* newspaper observed that in different parts of the Empire non-English languages were used in both an official and in a political capacity. They were impressed to learn that in the streets of Québec the policeman did not understand questions in English “much less reply to them”. Official notices were published in French with or without an English translation and yet people in Ireland were expected to give up their ancestral language for the tongue of the stranger.⁶³ Other newspaper reports noted that in Québec bilingual signs were ubiquitous, with for example, the names of railway stations in both French and English.⁶⁴ The Bishop of Boyle highlighted the fact that a separate school system had been established in Ontario and Québec and that there were also Catholic universities in Canada where teachers and the governing body were almost exclusively Catholic.⁶⁵ By the turn of the twentieth century Québec and Canada were more frequently mentioned in the Irish nationalist press in order to underline what Ireland was missing in terms of established religious institutions and a bilingual language policy. Irish religious and cultural leaders began to situate Ireland not only in relation to Britain and the United States, but more frequently in comparison and in identification with other regions of similar size and population to Ireland.

At the opening of the Gaelic Society of Montreal in March of 1899 Emmanuel B. Devlin (nephew of the late Montreal MP Bernard and brother of the future Galway MP Charles

⁶² “St. Patrick’s Day in the Morning and Afternoon.” *The Owl*, 10.7 (March 1897): 380.

⁶³ “The Mother Tongue,” *Nation*, November 7, 1896, 11.

⁶⁴ “The Irish Language in National Schools,” *Freeman’s Journal*, February 17, 1900., 7.

⁶⁵ “Catholic University Question” *Freeman’s Journal*, December 24, 1898, 7.

Ramsey), said it was the duty of Irish people to know something of their language and their history. At the same meeting Justice Charles J. Doherty stated that if they were going to keep the Irish race alive, they must have a mother tongue.⁶⁶ Such nationalist rhetoric about keeping the Irish race alive underscores the symbolic importance of learning Irish as a mark of distinctiveness from one's anglophone compatriots. Although many of the Irish "race" in this society would have been perfectly healthy, their sense of Irishness seems to have been on life-support and learning the language would be the only antidote to this terminal decline. Svetlana Boym refers to this taking on of national subjectivity as the secular transformation of fatality into continuity, and of contingency into meaning.⁶⁷ It is taking Edmund Burke's notion of tradition as a partnership between those who are living and those who are dead as a practical exercise in shared meaning, a meaning shared with those who no longer exist, except in the evidence of their language.⁶⁸ The Gaelic League felt that preserving the language was the only way of maintaining continuity with the Irish past and keeping the "real nation" in existence.⁶⁹ Two weeks later the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* noted that the Canadian-born members of the language class were learning Irish better than the Irish-born.⁷⁰ Classes would continue throughout the year with the creation of a ladies branch and also a demand for an Irish chair at a high school in Montreal.⁷¹ The Montreal branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians claimed to be the first division in North America to open and close their meetings in Irish.⁷² The following year classes would begin in Ottawa.⁷³

⁶⁶ "The Gaelic Society of Montreal Celebrates Emmet's Anniversary" *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* March 11, 1899, 5.

⁶⁷ Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 42.

⁶⁸ David Lowenthal. *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 250. As Lowenthal remarks, it is not that the Irish live in the past but rather that Ireland's history lives in the present, and each generation brings "their horizon of expectation to that liturgy"

⁶⁹ "The Turning of the Tide" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, October 7, 1899, 469-470.

⁷⁰ "Talks to Gaelic Students" *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* March 25, 1899, 5.

⁷¹ "Items of News" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 8, 1899, 62.

⁷² "Notes" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 13, 1900, 698.

⁷³ "The Gaelic Movement." *University of Ottawa Review*, 4.2. (October 1901): 77. The Ottawa students recognized that the first Irish classes began in Québec and Montreal, "as was to be expected."

For Hobsbawm, invented traditions are a response to the novel situation of an economy demanding constant change and innovation.⁷⁴ They allow for the comfortable repetition of communal norms over regular periods of time. By the end of the nineteenth century education was considered the proper sphere to instill the value of tradition. The importance of education to nationality was laid out in an article in *An Claidheamh Soluis* in April 1900. The article stated that elementary education ignored nationality while higher education denationalizes, implying that national ideas were best inculcated in secondary school education.⁷⁵ Some Gaelic Leaguers believed that it was not the fault of the Irish themselves that the language was in decline but rather the ecclesiastical authorities in Ireland who failed to revive and maintain the language.⁷⁶ Some writers in *An Claidheamh Soluis* believed that the Catholic Church only got behind a national project when it started to become popular and successful.⁷⁷ Other language activists accused Irish parish priests of deliberately addressing their Irish-speaking parishioners in “finest Maynooth English” as a way of augmenting their own stature in the community.⁷⁸ But perhaps the greatest evidence of Irish priests as aggressive anglicizers was in North America where they often insisted on new Catholic immigrants speaking English. An article published in the New York journal *Irish Republic* in 1897, asked why was it that the Irish North American church attacked the just aspirations of French-Canadians who wished to save their children from the degradation the Irish had fallen into by adopting the language of their conquerors.⁷⁹ To many non-anglophone Catholics, it seemed that the Irish Catholic Church was more interested in competing with the “civilizing” mission of the British Empire than

⁷⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2.

⁷⁵ “Nationality and Education” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 7, 1900, 55.

⁷⁶ “Letter from Canada ‘Notre Langue’” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, September 1902, 443.

⁷⁷ Donnchadh Ruadh, “Irish in County Wexford,” (1899) in *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*, editor Tony Crowley (London; New York: Routledge. 2000), 190.

⁷⁸ Frank Hugh O’Donnell, “The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Farmer,” (1903) in *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*, editor Tony Crowley (London; New York: Routledge. 2000), 208.

⁷⁹ Edmond De Nevers, *L’Âme Américaine: Les Origines. La Vie Historique* (Paris: Jouve & Boyer, 1900), 334-338.

maintaining the faith.

But while some Irish language activists identified their experiences with other minority groups, others believed that the Irish in Ireland needed to focus on themselves. Politics had become too enmeshed with the idea of nationality to the detriment of the later, “We are all Irish, Tory and Nationalist, and yet there is every chance, mean-spirited as we are, that, while we squabble about politics and foreign wars, what remains of the native language may go, and, once gone, there is no hope of rekindling its dead fires.”⁸⁰ By the turn of the century the Gaelic League increasingly defined any sense of Irish nationality as invested with the Irish language. It became Gaelic League policy in November 1901 that anyone who abandoned Irish could not be considered Irish.⁸¹ Anyone who opposed the teaching of the Irish language or refused to teach it should be considered enemies of Ireland.⁸² Increasingly language was not just about defending cultural history and identity, it was also marker of fundamental psychological and even biological differences between peoples. The English language was twisted all out of shape in the mouths of Irish people and it was unfitted to the expression of “the peculiar mental attitude” of the Irish.⁸³ If the Irish mind pre-existed English, then it could only be properly expressed through the medium of the Irish language.⁸⁴ The critique of Irish-English, or Anglo-Irish as it was more commonly referred to, was a constant feature of the Gaelic League periodical *An Claidheamh Soluis*. Some argued that the Irish Literary Revival in English did not diminish Irish identity, far from it. New writing in Ireland in the English language was

⁸⁰ Agnes O’Farrelly “The Reign of Humbug” (1901) in *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*, editor Tony Crowley (London; New York: Routledge. 2000), 203. Chatterjee observed that Indian nationalists believed that they could absorb different cultural identities without changing the core essentialism of Indian nationhood, but they usually ignored the considerable internal struggles that occurred while maintaining their political identity. Partha Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 169.

⁸¹ “The Gaelic League’s Public Policy.” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, November 16, 1901, 566.

⁸² “Natural but not National.” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, December 21, 1901, 664.

⁸³ Agnes O’Farrelly “The Reign of Humbug” (1901) in *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*, editor Tony Crowley (London; New York: Routledge. 2000), 203.

⁸⁴ Tony Crowley, *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2004), 150

infused with what some referred to as “Irish Spirit”.⁸⁵ But others believed that if literature in the English language was denoted as Irish literature, then why not Irish literature in any language, as long as it was infused with a “Celtic note.” One letter writer to *An Claidheamh Soluis* compared Anglo-Irish literature to a comic inauthenticity. When Gaelic Leaguers asked people to “Labhair Gaeilge” (speak Irish) they sometimes get the retort “An’ amn’t I spaking Irish?”. “The picture labelled, ‘This is a cow’ will occur to many.”⁸⁶ Twenty-five years before the creation of René Magritte’s famous surrealist painting *Ceci n’est pas une pipe*, this Irish language scholar was highlighting the discrepancy between signifier and signified, but in a much more personal way. The assumption behind his sarcastic quip was that Irish-English was a stage-Irish version of Irish identity, and that all Irish people who spoke English with the “brogue” were essentially stage-Irish in the eyes of the Anglo-American world. Irish-English was neither properly English nor properly Irish, but rather a degraded form of both. On the other hand, Irish people who spoke “proper” English would just be considered British. Therefore, the only way out of this stage-Irish/British binary was to speak *as Gaeilge*.

Defending Catholicism from “Anglo-Saxon” Materialism

One Canadian who took the obligation to revive the Irish language very seriously was a young nineteen-year-old student at the University of Ottawa by the name of John Joseph O’Gorman. O’Gorman was born in Ottawa in 1884, the grandson of Irish immigrants, and would go on to become one of the most energetic Canadian priests of his generation.⁸⁷ In writing for the *University of Ottawa Review* in 1903 he stated: “whether Ireland shall commit national suicide by accepting English civilization, or whether she shall regain her proper place among the nations by assuming a neo-Gaelic civilization, that is the question. There is no

⁸⁵ “Irish or Anglo-Irish” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 10, 1903, 744.

⁸⁶ “Irish or Anglo-Irish” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 10, 1903, 744.

⁸⁷ Mark George McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada’s Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 82.

alternative: Ireland must be Irish or English and must decide in this generation.”⁸⁸ He would go on in his article to say that the Celts once ruled all of Europe except Greece and Southern Italy. It is quite clear that again there is an imperialist mindset at play, Ireland may not be able to compete with England today, but one only has to look at ancient times to see which was the older, grander, and more enlightened civilization.

O’Gorman tried to understand why the Irish lost their language over the previous one hundred years. He set out several reasons, the first one being that Irish Catholics had a special mission to Catholicize the British Empire and the United States, creating a kind of Anglo-American Catholic culture. But if this was the reason the Irish Catholic diaspora lost much of their indigenous culture, what was the reason for the Irish in Ireland? O’Gorman recognized that notions of aristocracy and rank and wealth in Ireland were English, and people of Gaelic culture from the beginning of the Penal Laws all the way up to the disaster of the Famine believed English civilization to be superior. Like others in the Gaelic League, he believed that Irish people fell into the fatal error of believing that politics was nationality, and that English was necessary for commercial intercourse and good government. They never realized in their craze for forgetting Irish they would forget their nationality.⁸⁹ He then went on to question whether Anglo-Saxon civilization was not only anti-Catholic but also anti-Christian. He believed that everything that was coming into Ireland from England such as saloons or newspapers were pernicious, and that English culture was ruining everything Irish. He went on to state that the anglicized Irish peasant was far behind the unanglicized Gael morally and religiously.⁹⁰ Nineteenth century stereotypes of backwardness were being turned on their head, if the Irish were behind the English in terms of material advancement, they could at least say

⁸⁸ John J. O’Gorman, “The Irish Question: A Study of the Gaelic Revival.” *University of Ottawa Review* 5.7 (March 1903), 330.

⁸⁹ John J. O’Gorman, “The Irish Question: A Study of the Gaelic Revival.” *University of Ottawa Review* 5.7 (March 1903), 336.

⁹⁰ John J. O’Gorman, “The Irish Question: A Study of the Gaelic Revival.” *University of Ottawa Review* 5.7 (March 1903), 340.

that they were ahead in spiritual edification.

In the following month's edition of the *Review*, O'Gorman identified Ireland's struggle to use Irish with other smaller nations trying to protect their individuality from the imperial powers of Russia, Germany, and France.⁹¹ He also highlighted the bourgeois ideology of the Gaelic League, an organization that sought to promote strong Victorian values among the people of Ireland such as self-reliance and self-respect. When O'Gorman asked what the role of Ottawa's students should be in the Gaelic Revival, he made an interesting defense of their own anglophone culture. While he recognized that they themselves lived within a chiefly "Anglo-Saxon" culture in Canada, he deemed this culture as not as debasing as the one found in Ireland. He hoped that in the future Irish North Americans would learn all they could about the Irish language, or at least gain some knowledge of it. Although he believed this future was not going to arrive anytime soon, he still held out a hope that the language could be taught in North American schools and colleges. The University of Ottawa had become bilingual again two years before, despite the protests of some anglophone students and staff. Nevertheless, O'Gorman felt that his fellow Irish-Canadian students should embrace bilingualism, "and the first language we should study, after English, our national one, - should be the Irish the language of our ancestors."⁹² It is noticeable here that O'Gorman not only identifies English as the national language of his Irish-Canadian fellow students, but also that the first language they should study after English should be Irish. This, in a Catholic university with a bilingual English and French policy. It is difficult not to see an air of resentment in O'Gorman's writing as the university had ended its 27-year-old unilingual English policy just two years before due to the increasingly high numbers of francophone students enrolling at the college.

O'Gorman's tirades against Anglo-Saxon materialism were very much like Henri

⁹¹ John J. O'Gorman, "The Irish Question." *University of Ottawa Review*, 5.8 (April 1903): 402-403.

⁹² John J. O'Gorman, "The Irish Question." *University of Ottawa Review*, 5.8 (April 1903): 406.

Bourassa's defense of French-Canadian life and culture during the same period. For while O'Gorman may have denounced "Anglo-Saxonism" in Ireland, those Canadians who most seemed to encapsulate the vision of the Gaelic League were French-Canadians, not Irish-Canadians. A year before O'Gorman's article, the French-Canadian theologian Mgr. Louis-Adolphe Paquet gave a speech in Québec City titled 'La Vocation de la Race Française en Amérique' in which he outlined the mission of francophones in North America as spiritual rather than material, "Our mission is less to handle capital than to stimulate ideas; less to light the furnaces of factories than to maintain and spread the glowing fires of religion and thought, and to help them cast their light into the distance."⁹³ While Québec intellectuals may have feared the role of English-Canada on French-Canadian life, they were even more fearful of American influence.⁹⁴ They feared not only the liberal secularism of the United States with regard to education, but they also feared the aggressive assimilationist policies of its political and cultural classes, (one only had to look at how the Irish Catholic clergy in the U.S. sought to assimilate French-Canadians as evidence of such a policy). Two months before Paquet's speech, Henri Bourassa had given a similar speech outlining the religious and idealistic future of French-Canadians. Like the Gaelic League's opposition to the popular British culture of the day, Bourassa situated French-Canada in opposition to the "brutalizing materialism" and "love of money" of their anglophone counterparts. He thought that for anglophones, money was a source of action and power, while for French-Canadians it merely fostered a love of ease and idleness.⁹⁵ This was a common feature of cultural nationalists' critique of modernity, where they would take negative stereotypes of their culture and turn them into positive ones. Not a superstitious, backward, or irrational people, but rather a spiritual people tied to older, more

⁹³ Louis-Adolphe Paquet, "A Sermon on the Vocation of the French Race in America," (1902), translated in *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*, editor Ramsey Cook (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 154.

⁹⁴ Garth Stevenson, *Parallel Paths: The Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Québec* (Montréal, Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 192.

⁹⁵ Henri Bourassa, "French-Canadian Patriotism: What it is, and what it ought to be," (1902) in *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*, editor Ramsey Cook (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 154.

enduring, and morally superior forms of life.⁹⁶ When passing through western Québec on a longer tour to Asia in 1903, a Father Coleman from Ireland was most impressed with the bilingualism of French-Canadians in the area. He remarked that the English, the Irish, and the Scottish of the area were “backward” for not learning French even though it was spoken all around them every day.⁹⁷ A word often used to denote a lack of initiative in rural Irish and Québec life, the new guardians of Ireland’s native culture could now use *backward* to describe the loss of linguistic distinctiveness among the Irish of Ireland and the diaspora. Writing in 1904, the editor of a new Irish-English dictionary Father Patrick S. Dineen, maintained that although the Irish language lacked significant scientific terminology, this just meant that it was a better vehicle for “pure literature”.⁹⁸ Like other members of the Gaelic League, Dineen had a penchant for denouncing English life and literature in crisply verbose English prose:

London life, and the life in the great English cities, is in a corrupt and degenerate stage, and its contagion is spreading far and wide. Without, perhaps, our fully perceiving it, Dublin and other Irish cities and even many country districts are becoming tainted by the foul effluvia that exudes from that mighty but degenerate mass of human beings. Against this growing contagion, against the encroachment on every side of English influence, there is one powerful antidote: it is that the rising generation should be inoculated with the spirit of their ancestors, should drink Irish traditional lore at the fountain head, and should have their souls steeped in the health-giving waters of native literature and legend.⁹⁹

Such anglophone anglophobia would become a staple of the Irish-Ireland philosophy as espoused by D.P. Moran. For Moran Irish nationality was a Gaelic Catholic nationality that had little to do with the world of politics. Ireland had become confused by politics, and political

⁹⁶ Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 32.

⁹⁷ “Bilingual Teaching in Canada” *Dundalk Democrat* July 11, 1903, 13. Coleman was staying with a family in Aylmer, Québec, and was impressed that they spoke English in his presence and French among themselves. The family may have been that of Charles Ramsey Devlin (who had just been elected the Irish Parliamentary Party MP for Galway in 1903), or Joseph Kearney Foran, both of whom were from Aylmer, and both of whom were bilingual.

⁹⁸ Revd. Patrick S. Dineen, *Lectures on the Irish Language Movement* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1904), 8.

⁹⁹ Revd. Patrick S. Dineen, *Lectures on the Irish Language Movement* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1904), 48.

nationalism was in danger of undermining Ireland's cultural distinctiveness.¹⁰⁰ For the Gaelic League, Irish nationality rested with the language. Ireland unfree was still a nation, but an independent English-speaking Ireland may not be a nation.¹⁰¹ A sense of this fear of Englishness can be seen in a letter written to Toronto's *Catholic Register* from an Irish-language learner in Montreal in 1905. He asked: "Who would be called a West Briton? Where is the distinction, where is the line of demarcation? Where, then, is the difference? The Irish language is the only barrier, the only proof that we are an entirely different and distinct people...so long as you only speak the language of England, you will find it very difficult to convince him that you are not an Englishman."¹⁰² This Irish fear of being mistaken for an Englishman was also used in *The University of Ottawa Review* as one of twelve reasons to learn Irish. The Irish language was described as the most fundamental distinctive, and essential mark of Irish nationality.¹⁰³

Irish-Canadian students and staff at the University of Ottawa had a marked interest in the language revival in Ireland. When Dr. William Patrick O'Boyle, president of the Gaelic Society at the university, gave a speech on the Gaelic Revival, he stated "Since bilingual study is beneficial [...] why neglect a language so pure and so venerable, fitted especially for the mental gymnastics of the Celtic mind?"¹⁰⁴ O'Boyle went on to say that the Irish had carried the

¹⁰⁰ Such sentiments about politics and nationality were also held by Jules-Paul Tardivel, the editor for *La Verité*. Tardivel criticized Henri Bourassa's Nationalist League for focusing too much on the idea of a bilingual Canadian nationalism that stretched from coast to coast. For Tardivel and the writers of *La Verité* the only nationalism that mattered was a French-Canadian nationalism. However, he agreed with Bourassa that 'national feeling had nothing to do with political party spirit'. See "J.-P. Tardivel and Henri Bourassa: A Controversy," (1904) translated in *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*, editor Ramsey Cook (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 148. Tardivel and Moran struck unusual figures in their respective nationalist milieus. Tardivel was born in the United States and only came to Québec in his late teens where he developed his fluency in French and became a staunch French-Canadian nationalist. Moran spent many years in London working as a journalist before returning to Ireland in 1899 to start the weekly newspaper *The Leader*. Although a staunch cultural nationalist, he never mastered the Irish language.

¹⁰¹ "Language and Autonomy," *An Claidheamh Soluis*, February 4, 1905, 8.

¹⁰² "Communication from Mr. J.P. O'Neill," *Catholic Register* July 27, 1905, 8.

¹⁰³ "Twelve Reasons to Learn Irish," *University of Ottawa Review*, 8.9 (June 1906): 421-423. This was a reprint from 'Gaelic League Pamphlets'.

¹⁰⁴ "Lecture Delivered to the D'Youville Reading Circles" *Catholic Record*, March 11, 1905, 1.

faith abroad, so let those who remain at home hold up the Celtic ideal. Staff and students at the university believed that the Irish Catholic diaspora and the Irish in Ireland had different goals and objectives. One was to spread the faith throughout the English-speaking world, while the others were to act as curators to a glorious heritage of language and culture. However, in Canada, the Irish-Catholic diaspora had a unique position to defend, as their ability to spread the faith was not just curtailed by Protestants but also by non-anglophone Catholics. O'Boyle had been one of the signatories to a letter to the Apostolic Delegate to Canada the year before, complaining that the decision to make the University of Ottawa bilingual in 1901 had led to dissatisfaction with the quality of teaching, and that many English-speaking staff and students had left for other third-level institutions. While not objecting to the right of French-Canadians to establish and support their own institutions, the academic signatories believed that there should be at least one university in Canada for the exclusive use of English-speaking Catholics.¹⁰⁵ And if an inability to maintain their role as Catholic proselytizers was not enough, the Gaelic Revival in Ireland was more often highlighted in Canada as a reason to maintain and encourage French language rights, than as a mark of cultural regeneration among Irish-Canadians. Writing in *La Verité* the journalist Omer Héroux compared the language situation in Ireland to that in Canada, and concluded that French-Canadians should be grateful that they did not have to revive a dead language, and that they should insist upon their language being respected while respecting it themselves.¹⁰⁶ The Canadian minister of Marine and Fisheries, Raymond Préfontaine praised the actions of the Gaelic League in Canada in trying to revive Irish cultural traditions. He said that French-Canadians had been striving to do the same thing

¹⁰⁵ *A Searchlight Showing the Need of a University for the English-Speaking Catholics of Canada* ([Ottawa: s.n., 1905?]), 20-24. One of the reasons for separate institutions given was as follows: 'English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics will never unite in a single university. They differ not only in language, but in nationality and temperament. Even in parishes where the two nationalities are together, there is continual strife and contention.'

¹⁰⁶ "The Revival of Languages (Translated from *La Verité*)" *Catholic Register* August 23, 1906, 7.

for generations and that is why the Gaelic League had their full sympathy and support.¹⁰⁷

Bilingualism in North America and the Empire

Héroux also recognized how times had changed in recent years, “never before had the relations between language and the soul of a nation been understood.”¹⁰⁸ Supporters of the British Empire had come to recognize this fact also, and believed that a political Britishness should complement older cultural loyalties rather than trying to marginalize them.¹⁰⁹ As literacy become more prevalent in different parts of the Empire, more and more imperial administration fell into the hands of locals.¹¹⁰ With this increase in administrative work, signing one’s own name on required documentation became more common. Sometimes when people in the south and west of Ireland signed their names in Irish on official documents (such as applications for dog licenses), their signatures would not be accepted. The Irish Parliamentary Party even raised this issue at Westminster, asking the question that if in Canada people were allowed to sign their names on an official document in French why were people not allowed to sign their names in Irish in Ireland?¹¹¹ As part of his case defending the right to have a dog licence issued in an Irish name, one lawyer in Kinsale underlined the fact that the language question existed in other parts of the King’s dominions and that one could look to Canada for a sensible policy on the question of bilingualism.¹¹² In the *Southern Star* newspaper it was noted that not only were French and English used in an official capacity in Canada, but Dutch and English were also used in an official capacity in South Africa. The paper went on to claim that the war office had no problem in using the Irish language on its posters to induce an Irishman to join the British

¹⁰⁷ “Irish in Canada” *Irish Independent*, December 2, 1905, 5.

¹⁰⁸ “The Revival of Languages (Translated from La Verité)” *Catholic Register* August 23, 1906, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Hilary M. Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge UK; New York, 2011), 9.

¹¹⁰ For example, in Ireland, civil servants increased tenfold between 1861 and 1911. John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 259.

¹¹¹ *Hansard*, HC Deb. Vol. 130 cols. 734, 23 February 1904.

¹¹² “Interesting Cases (From Our Reporter),” *Skibbereen Eagle*, November 11, 1905, 9.

Army, but that same Irishman had the possibility of going to jail if he did not sign his name in English when applying for his dog license.¹¹³

By 1905 while *An Claidheamh Soluis* was comparing the language situation in Ireland with that of other countries of the Empire, the weekly paper was also comparing the language situation of the Irish diaspora with other cultural groups in the United States. For example, half a million Czechs in the United States had ten newspapers in their own language but millions of Irish people had no newspapers in their own language.¹¹⁴ Some indigenous nations of North America had their own newspapers in their own languages such as the Chippewa and the Sioux, but no Irish language newspapers for the Irish.¹¹⁵ In the Gaeltacht in Cape Breton, the people had their own priests who could preach to them in Gaelic; obviously Nova Scotia was much more of a reality than the “New Ireland” that was spoken about across the sea.¹¹⁶ The question had to be asked how could the Gaels of Nova Scotia have preserved their language and the 20 million Irish have not? In a speech given in Pontoon in the West of Ireland, John Fitzhenry of the Gaelic League acknowledged that French Canadians living under British rule had maintained their identity by having their language passed down to them from father to son for over two hundred years. Beneath cries of “no, no” from the crowd, Fitzhenry went on to berate the Irish who had lost their language and traditions on the other side of the ocean. There was a belief by many that a greater Ireland had been created beyond the waves, but he believed this to be all “bosh”, the millions who had gone to America and to England and Scotland were lost and were “lost forever to the Irish people.”¹¹⁷ In cultural nationalist terms, revival of historical culture and tradition was considered the best way to meet the demands of modernity. But the America on the other side of the ocean was modernity *without* tradition. Certain members of

¹¹³ “Irish Land Notes,” *Southern Star*, March 17, 1906, 7.

¹¹⁴ “Bruscar” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, July 14, 1906, 6.

¹¹⁵ “Gleo na gCat” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 5, 1907, 7-8.

¹¹⁶ “Gleo na gCat” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, September 14, 1907, 7.

¹¹⁷ “Aeridheacht at Pontoon” *Western People*, July 21, 1906, 8.

the Gaelic League even believed that the concept of greater Ireland undermined the development of cultural tradition in Ireland. *An Claidheamh Soluis* remarked that the American letter asking people to “come out” was part of an inevitable chain migration that was more damaging to Irish culture than the London newspaper or music hall songs. These “deserters” as one Gaelic Leaguer referred to them, would not leave the Irish people of the Gaeltacht alone, they constantly induced others to come out with them.¹¹⁸

Such denigration of the efforts of the Irish diaspora to keep in contact with the Revival mission would seem a tad unfair. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were numerous attempts to hold language classes in Canada (notably all in urban centres).¹¹⁹ By 1906 there were about six Irish language classes occurring in Ottawa, with an enrolment of around one hundred, most of them being under the age of 21.¹²⁰ That such a young cohort of students were attending classes should have come as no surprise, as part of the Revival mission was trying to promote language learning as something empowering and adventurous. The idea of the language as a gallant adventure was supposed to encourage schoolchildren to see themselves as goal orientated. As stated in *An Claidheamh Soluis* “we are working for Ireland, we are young soldiers of Ireland, soon we shall be men and women shaping the destiny of Ireland.”¹²¹ The Revival mission was about more than grammar rules and the teaching of Irish pronunciation, it was also national, moral and sacred. Language activists in French-Canada wondered why Irish North Americans could not see a similar moral mission in their own efforts to preserve their language. The editors of *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec* had read an English-language article in *Guth na Bliadhna* published in Perth, Scotland, which asked why,

¹¹⁸ “The Greater Ireland” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, December 7, 1907, 7-8.

¹¹⁹ The revival of the language was seen in some Canadian quarters as just another example of the illogical and irrational nature of the Irish mind. When learning that the Dublin City Council had decided to adopt the Irish language in all of its official correspondence, the *Toronto Globe* stated that the Toronto City Council had done some peculiar things in its time but nothing to beat this record. “Note and Comments” *Toronto Globe*, May 31, 1906, 6.

¹²⁰ “A Voice from the West,” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 26, 1907, 8.

¹²¹ “The Point of View” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, September 14, 1907, 7.

if Gaelic-speaking Catholic Canadians were losing their language to increased anglicization, did they not enlist the help of French-Canadian Catholics who seemed to be doing quite well resisting anglicization. The editors of *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec* were pleased with *Guth na Bliadhna's* interest in language issues in Canada, but at the same time it was unfortunate that their Irish compatriots in North America did not feel the same way.¹²² Writing in the *Skibbereen Eagle*, the former professor at the University of New Brunswick, William F.P. Stockley underscored the fact that it was the non-English-speaking province of Québec, which had maintained its identity and prevented its absorption into English-speaking America, and yet was contented by a loose imperial bond.¹²³ Québec had been much less trouble to the Empire than Ireland was in its English-speaking union with Britain. Stockley was impressed that unlike the rest of Canada all levels of education in Québec from primary to third-level were “sectarian.”¹²⁴ But he also noted that the Protestant minority in Québec were very appreciative of this sectarianism as it allowed them to have control of their own schools.

But by 1909 if there was one area of education where language and religion were causing the most controversy, it was at the university level. The question of bilingualism at the Catholic university of the nation's capital had become a source of controversy in both Canada and Ireland. Language had become a central and thorny issue with regard to the establishment of the National University of Ireland in 1908, with prominent cultural figures such as Patrick Pearse arguing for the compulsory matriculation of the Irish language at the university. The argument became a generational one, with prominent members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Jesuits who were responsible for Catholic fee-paying schools, and older members of the Gaelic

¹²² “Conservation Des Langues Nationales.” *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec*, 21.19 (19 décembre. 1908): 294-295. Neither journal seemed to be aware that most francophone senators had voted against Thomas McInnes' bill to make Gaelic the third language of Canada back in 1890.

¹²³ “National Value of Irish” *Skibbereen Eagle*, September 21, 1907, 8.

¹²⁴ W.F.P. Stockley, “School Systems in Canada.” *The New Ireland Review* 27.2 (April 1907): 75-76. He also felt that the greatest enemy to ‘French-Canadianism’ was the Irish-Catholic Canadian, (whom he disparages in much of his writing about education in Canada by constantly referring to leading Irish-Canadian Catholics as “English” Canadian Catholics, e.g. ‘a leading “English” Canadian Catholic paper’).

League believing that compulsory Irish at the university level would alienate many students who would choose to go to Protestant third level institutions instead.¹²⁵ On the other side of the debate, Sinn Féin, the Christian Brothers (who were mainly responsible for the teaching of the lower middle-class), and younger members of the Gaelic League were in favour of compulsory Irish at the university level. Among those showing their support for compulsory Irish matriculation at the new university was an Irish language society from Ottawa, Cumann Muinntreach na nGaedheal.¹²⁶ In a letter to *An Claidheamh Soluis* they stated that if there were students in Ireland who did not wish to learn their own language, they should not be allowed into the university, “Are there not other schools already for those Englishmen?” They let the editors know that unless the language of Ireland was made compulsory at the new university then it could not call itself an Irish University.¹²⁷ The debate over compulsory Irish at the university was a long and fractious one, which Irish language historian Tony Crowley has described as sinking to a low tone. The leader for the campaign for compulsory Irish was Fr. Michael O’Hickey who said of his Irish-speaking opponents of compulsion “to be opposed by the colonists is one thing we are accustomed to; to be opposed by a section of our own, no matter how worthless and degenerate, is not to be endured.”¹²⁸ The resolution for compulsory Irish was eventually passed by a narrow margin.

¹²⁵ Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 184. A similar argument was made earlier in the decade against the introduction of bilingualism at the University of Ottawa, which had already driven some anglophone students and staff to non-Catholic colleges and universities.

¹²⁶ This was not the first time Canadian Catholics had taken an interest in the establishment of third-level Catholic institutions in Ireland. As early as 1879 the Canadian Catholic Bishops wrote a letter to Queen Victoria outlining their support for establishing a Catholic University in Ireland. As part of their evidence for the necessity of such an institution they asked Queen Victoria to look to the University of Québec. They believed that the Canadian Catholic Church was just as much a defender of conservative social values as the British political order, especially in the current age when the masses were under the destructive influence of “irreligion and impiety” In 1879 there was a Catholic University in Canada where Catholics made up 43% of the population, but in Ireland there was no Catholic University in a country where 76% of the population was Catholic. “The University Question: Address from the Canadian Bishops to the Queen,” *Nation*, April 26, 1879, 10.

¹²⁷ “From Canada” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, January 30, 1909, 12. One of the signatories of the letter was Seaghan S. Ó Gormáin, Sagart (Father John J. O’Gorman).

¹²⁸ Quoted in Tony Crowley, *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2004), 145-146.

Language Preservation and National Distinctiveness

The debate over language at the new university was another chapter in situating Ireland and its historical culture in opposition to England and Englishness. The desperation felt by many Gaelic Leaguers that Ireland was going through irreversible changes meant that they had to make people conscious of what Ireland was losing in terms of a national culture. Change was seen as something that was damaging ultimately to Ireland's past and its people. Ireland's stasis then was something desirable; stasis of culture denoting endurance of identity.¹²⁹ If language was the ultimately marker of identity, then being a native English speaker denoted your English identity. Gaelic League co-founder Eoin McNeil believed that ultimately *Celtic* was a linguistic identity rather than a racial one, and that identity rested in a knowledge of the language.¹³⁰ Endurance of Ireland's historical non-anglophone identity was also what marked out the Irish as not just another form of anglophone culture. One of the main differences between Gaelic Leaguers and their Fenian counterparts was that Gaelic Leaguers were just as critical of American culture as they were of the British Empire. Despite receiving support from Irish-American benefactors, *An Claidheamh Soluis* was particularly scathing of American national identity, believing that it was just an offshoot of English identity.¹³¹ Although they acknowledged that there were many Irishmen whose avowed patriotism was unreproached, those Irishmen wanted for Ireland a commercial success rather than a distinctive cultural identity. They admonished these patriots for believing that nationality was only sentiment or memory of our ancestors.¹³² This fear of American cultural influence was something shared by Henri Bourassa who was more fearful about French-Canadians being driven into the hands of the United States due to the Francophobia of fellow Canadians, than he was about the

¹²⁹ Katrin Urschel. "Chronotopic Memory in Contemporary Irish-Canadian Literature." in *Memory Ireland*, vol. 2, *Diaspora and Memory Practices*, ed. Oona Frawley (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012), 41.

¹³⁰ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 124.

¹³¹ "Language: The Telephone of Time" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, May 8, 1909, 11.

¹³² "The English Mind in Ireland," *An Claidheamh Soluis*, May 15, 1909, 9.

Francophobia itself. Bourassa believed himself to be more British and less American than many of his anglophone compatriots, and tried to convince many of them that if they were fearful about American cultural influence in Canada, then they should support a nationwide bilingual language policy so as to guard Canada's cultural distinctiveness.¹³³ As for Irish Catholics in North America, some French-Canadian religious leaders considered those Irish who were not "ultra-américains" as the ones most interested in learning Irish, for they had realized like the Polish, the Germans, and the French-Canadians that language was the guardian of faith.¹³⁴

One notable Canadian who had a life-long interest in Gaelic language and culture was the literary critic John Daniel Logan. In 1909, when Logan was editor of the Toronto *Sunday World* and a member of the Toronto branch of the Gaelic League, he published an essay attempting to explain to a Canadian audience the new Ireland that had developed over the previous twenty years or so. For Logan the new cultural movement justified the right of the Irish Gaels to a "rational continuation of a glorious past."¹³⁵ It involved both the industrial advancement of the Irish people and also intellectual progress, one that brought about a new ambition and social pride. Such noble ambitions should help the Irish achieve social unity. As a humanist, Logan believed that the work of the Gaelic League was as much psychological and social as it was political and cultural. He believed that the study of the language as well as

¹³³ Garth Stevenson, *Parallel Paths: The Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Québec* (Montréal, Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 192-193.

¹³⁴ "La question des nationalités et des langues aux États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord considéré dans ses rapports avec le choix des curés et des évêques." *La Revue Franco-Américaine*, 3.10 (1er août 1909): 310. One of the more unusual beliefs that francophone commentators had about the Irish in North America was that the "brogue" was an actual dialect that many Irish religious leaders were keen to maintain in order to safeguard Irish Catholic uniqueness. Jules-Paul Tardivel wrote in 1900: "Faute d'une langue propre, le *brogue*, l'anglais parlé à l'Irlandaise, remplaçait, chez les Irlandais, la langue maternelle des autres peuples; et il existait une relation très étroite entre le maintien du *brogue* et la conservation de la foi dans toute sa pureté et sa force. J'ose dire qu'il est moralement impossible qu'un Irlandais qui conserve le *brogue* dans toute sa naïveté, puisse abandonner entièrement *the auld faith*, la vieille foi, qui lui a été enseignée dans ce langage particulier à la race irlandaise; tandis qu'on trouve malheureusement beaucoup de protestants ou d'indifférents dont les noms, plus ou moins anglicisés, trahissent leur origine celtique, mais dont le langage ne se distingue plus de l'*américain* ordinaire." Jules Tardivel, *La Situation Religieuse aux États-Unis* (Montréal: Cadieux & Derome, 1900), 214.

¹³⁵ John Daniel Logan, *The Making of the New Ireland: An Essay in Social Psychology*. (Toronto: Gaelic League, 1909), 7.

ancient Irish arts and customs would aid in spiritual regeneration. The Gaelic League was not only to serve Ireland but to serve humanity because it worked to enfranchise and exalt “the spirit of man.”¹³⁶ Such changes in Irish life were also communicated to audiences in Montreal. In 1910 at the provincial convention of the Québec Ancient Order of Hibernians in Montreal, it was remarked that Irish life had changed considerably in the last twenty years and that if an exile returned back to Ireland now, he or she would not recognize the place.¹³⁷ The Gaelic League’s influence on education was providing a strong sense of narrative coherence and continuity with the past. For the Hibernians, duty and commitment were of paramount importance to the future of the language, individuals were made to feel that they were inheritors of a unique culture and it was a duty upon them to help maintain it.

In all this optimism for overcoming the loss of language and culture, for Irish cultural nationalists French Canada seemed like a veritable oasis of everything they dreamed Ireland could be. In trying to imagine a cultural future for Ireland, Gaelic Leaguers saw in Québec a vision of their preferred destiny, a way of maintaining cultural independence within the Anglo-American world. Any attempt by official authorities in Ireland to restrict the use of Irish in official channels could now be challenged by highlighting how bilingualism was mandated in other parts of the Empire, especially in Canada. Irish cultural nationalists wanted the same kind of power and status that they believed French Canadian political and religious leaders had in Québec. Such power and status given to the French language in Québec was an example of a sense of independence that went much deeper than simple political sovereignty. In the Irish case, power would mean control of the education system; and status would mean respect and esteem given to the language by not only those in power but also by the population at large. If

¹³⁶ John Daniel Logan, *The Making of the New Ireland: An Essay in Social Psychology*. (Toronto: Gaelic League. 1909), 20.

¹³⁷ “The Irish Renaissance” Ancient Order of Hibernians, *Official Journal, Provincial Convention, Ancient Order of Hibernians of the Province of Québec, at Hibernian Hall, Richmond Street, Montreal, September 10, 11, 12, 1910* (Montréal: s.n., 1910), 27.

the Irish had control over their education system, as the French-Canadians and the Boers had control over theirs in Québec and South Africa, they could have “kept English in its place,” by being forced to share the social and cultural space in a bilingual society.¹³⁸ Some Gaelic Leaguers believed that the Irish language did not even have the same status in Ireland that the English language had in Québec. If English had been given dual status with the majority language of Québec, then why hadn’t Irish been given dual status with the majority language of Ireland?¹³⁹ Not only in its language laws and customs was French Canada lauded by the Gaelic League but even in its popular literature, which compared much more favourably to Irish language publishing at the time in Ireland. The first popular history of Canada, François-Xavier Garneau’s *Histoire du Canada* appeared in 1845, it was a huge success and was a major influence on later French-Canadian writers. *An Claidheamh Soluis* described Garneau’s work as the first great literary stimulus to racial self-respect. It was hoped that with the study of Irish would come a new popular history of Ireland in the Irish language.¹⁴⁰ Again, French-Canada was a model to follow in how to galvanize and develop new Irish language literature.

But if the Gaelic League were on a mission to gain power and influence in Ireland, could they also have a similar influence in the Irish diaspora? It was obvious from the Irish Catholic press in Canada that many North American Irish clergy believed that the Irish of Ireland and the Irish Catholics of the diaspora had different vocational missions. And while francophone commentators in North America admired the unity and vigorousness of the Irish Catholic diaspora, they were also wary of their assimilationist tendencies. The journal *La Revue Franco-Américaine* was founded in 1908 as a way of trying to make francophone communities across the continent more aware of each other, and even though journal writers believed that the practical patriotism of the Irish was a commendable trait that francophones should imitate,

¹³⁸ “The Bilingual Ideal” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, August 24, 1912, 8.

¹³⁹ “Irish Under Home Rule” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, February 17 1912, 7.

¹⁴⁰ “Irish Literature” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, March 9, 1912, 7.

they also believed that too often this patriotism turned to fanaticism, and that francophones were too much on the wrong end of it.¹⁴¹ But it was in the battle over Ontario's school law Regulation 17, that this confrontation between the Irish-Canadian and French-Canadian clergy would gain international attention.

¹⁴¹ Antonio Huot, "Que faut-il faire?" *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 7.1 (1er mai 1911): 12-13. This article had as its subject "La résistance à l'invasion irlandaise-saxonne en Amérique." No doubt the average Gaelic Leaguer would be shocked and disappointed by such an appellation as "irlando-saxonne."

Chapter 6 – ‘Their cause is our cause’: The Gaelic League & Regulation 17

To all struggling nationalities, to all resisting minorities, she offers a marvellous example of the possibility of preserving the spirit and characteristics of the race against all odds. The Irish people – in Ireland – are perhaps the only sample of a conquered race preserving its ethnical identity in spite of the fact that it has, to a large extent, - though not to the degree which many Irish-Canadians imagine, - adopted the language of the conqueror.

- *From Henri Bourassa, Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914 (Montreal: Le Devoir 1914), 1.*

Not only as brother Catholics, but as Gaels, our hearts go out to them in their just and holy struggle. Their cause is our cause. Their enemy our enemy. Their efforts to conserve a distinctive, clean, national existence, to uphold pure ideals, and Catholic principles against a paganized civilization, hungry to devour both them and us, all these are ours also; then, their gallant fight and defiant shout ‘Never’ to the Anglicizer’s demand, constitute for the Gaels of Ireland an inspiration and a trumpet call.

- *From Rev. Michael J. Phelan, “The Language Question in Canada – a Lesson for the Gael.” Irish Ecclesiastical Record 12.5 (October 1918): 314.*

The editor and founder of Montreal’s *Le Devoir*, Henri Bourassa, found it remarkable that the Irish had managed to retain a strong and distinctive sense of identity despite the fact they spoke “the language of the conqueror”; but for Gaelic Leaguers like Fr. Michael J. Phelan of Limerick, the fact that French-Canadians had preserved their language surrounded on all sides by an anglophone culture was an even more impressive feat. Both men believed that the maintenance of their national languages rested with their respective educational systems. With the rise of mass literacy at the end of the nineteenth century in both Europe and North America, the role of education became of paramount importance to ideas of national development. The increasing speed of communications technology also allowed language groups in Europe and across the British Empire to become more aware of each other’s struggles. Just as the Gaelic League in Ireland had used knowledge of Québec’s language laws to challenge the unilingualism of Ireland’s civil administration, many French-Canadians and Franco-Americans used their knowledge of the language revival in Ireland to deride the attempts of Irish North American clergy to anglicize Catholic institutions. Henri Bourassa’s newspaper *Le Devoir*,

founded in 1910, proved to be especially interested in the Gaelic Revival, often lauding the attempts of cultural nationalists in Ireland to insist on the teaching of the Irish language in schools.¹ For nationalist historian Ernest Gellner it is the monopoly of education rather than the monopoly of violence which most defines the role of the modern nation-state. Educating individuals outside the traditional sphere of the family, “men are no longer formed at their mother’s knee, but rather in the *école maternelle*.”² In Canada this distinction between the monopoly of state violence and the monopoly of state education would come to the fore during the conscription crisis of the First World War, as the duty to serve one’s country in a time of war came up against the right to have one’s child educated in one’s preferred national language.

Much has been written about the school law Regulation XVII in Ontario between 1912 and 1927, and its role in the evolution of a Franco-Ontarian identity.³ From the Irish-Canadian perspective much of this focus has been on that of Bishop Michael Fallon of London, Ontario.⁴

¹ Charles-Phillipe Courtois, “Echoes of the Rising in Québec’s Conscription Crisis: The French-Canadian Press and the Irish Revolution between 1916 and 1918,” in *1916 in Global Context: An Anti-Imperial Moment*, eds. Enrico Dal Lago, Róisín Healy, Gearóid Barry (Abingdon UK; New York, Routledge, 2018), 39.

² Ernest Gellner, “The Coming of Nationalism and its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class,” in *Mapping the Nation*, editor Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 109.

³ Margaret Prang “Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910–1917.” *Canadian Historical Review* 41.4 (1960): 281-307; Peter Oliver, “The Resolution of the Ontario Bilingual Schools Crisis, 1919-1929.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 7.1 (1972): 22-45; Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975); Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict the Origins of the French- Language Controversy in Ontario* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987); Gaétan Gervais, “Le règlement XVII (1912-1927),” *Revue du Nouvel Ontario*, n° 18 (1996): 123-192; Pellegrino Stagni, *View From Rome: Archbishop Stagni’s 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (McGill-Queen’s Press-MQUP, 2002); Frederick J. McEvoy, “‘Naturally I Am Passionate, Ill-Tempered, and Arrogant...’: Father Matthew J. Whelan and French-English Conflict in Ontario, 1881–1922.” *Historical Studies* 72 (2006): 54-70. Jack D. Cecillon, *Prayers, Petitions, and Protests: The Catholic Church and the Ontario Schools Crisis in the Windsor Border Region, 1910-1928* (McGill-Queen’s Press-MQUP 2013); Michel Bock, “L’évêque Scollard et la question canadienne-française. Le diocèse de Sault-Sainte-Marie au cœur du conflit franco-irlandais (1904-1934).” *Cahiers Charlevoix*, volume 10, (2014): 13–63; Michel Bock and François Charbonneau, *Le siècle du Règlement 17: regards sur une crise scolaire et nationale* (Sudbury: Éditions Prise de parole, 2015).

⁴ John KA. Farrell, “Michael Francis Fallon Bishop of London Ontario, Canada 1909-1931: The Man and his Controversies.” *CCHA Study Sessions* 35.1 (1968): 73-90; Michael Joseph Fitzpatrick, *The Role of Bishop Michael Francis Fallon, and the Conflict Between the French Catholics and Irish Catholics in the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question*. (Masters thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1969); Pasquale Fiorino, “The Nomination of Michael Fallon as Bishop of London.” *Historical Studies* 62 (1996): 33-46; Adrian Ciani, Adrian. “‘An Imperialist Irishman’: Bishop Michael Fallon, the Diocese of London and the Great War.” *Historical Studies* 74 (2008): 73-94; Jack D. Cécillon, “Turbulent Times in the Diocese of London: Bishop Fallon and the French-Language Controversy, 1910–1918,” in *Schooling in Transition: Readings in Canadian History of Education*, eds. Sara Z. Burke and Patrice Milewski (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 302-320.

Fallon has historically been seen as a strong imperialist, one who constantly criticized what he termed as the nationalism of the francophone church.⁵ But perhaps an even more interesting Irish-Canadian supporter of Regulation 17 was John J. O’Gorman, a former student at the University of Ottawa and an ordained priest, who continued his multilingual religious education at the Grand Séminaire in Montreal and other Catholic institutions in continental Europe.⁶ O’Gorman was a huge enthusiast for the Irish language and had spent summers in the West of Ireland learning Irish. He had also met Patrick Pearse and even interviewed Eoin MacNeill in Irish in Dublin at the beginning of the First World War.⁷ In the middle of the Irish War of Independence O’Gorman gave a speech in Ottawa calling for Britain to listen to Dáil Éireann’s demands for a free government and end martial law in Ireland.⁸ But O’Gorman was also a strong supporter of Regulation 17 which restricted the teaching of French in Ontario schools after the first two years of schooling. Why would such an outspoken devotee of Irish political and cultural nationalism support an educational law in Ontario that called for the restriction of the teaching of French in favour of English?

The Battle Over Education in Catholic Ontario

The University of Ottawa became a fully-fledged university in 1889 as language rights became a more prominent issue at the federal level. Writing in the student newspaper the following year, a young graduate by the name of M.F. Fallon underscored the importance of

⁵ Complaints were made to the Vatican about Fallon by various Canadian and even American priests and bishops, but despite the complaints made, recent research has shown that, in the end, the Vatican favoured Irish North American bishops over their francophone counterparts due to a belief that the francophone church would not be able to expand much outside Québec. Wrapping up the Catholic faith in the French language many believed, would keep potential converts away from the Church, sustaining an image of foreignness. See Matteo Sanfilippo, "Les relations des Irlandais et des Canadiens français à l'aune des archives vaticanes," in *Le Québec et l'Irlande: Culture, histoire, identité*, eds. Linda Cardinal, Simon Jolivet, et Isabelle Matte (Québec, Septentrion, 2014), 50-83.

⁶ Mark George McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 82.

⁷ John J. O’Gorman, *Ireland Since the Larne Gun-Running: A Chapter of Contemporary History*, (London, Canada: Catholic Record Office, 1920). 11.

⁸ John J. O’Gorman, *Ireland Since the Larne Gun-Running: A Chapter of Contemporary History*, (London, Canada: Catholic Record Office, 1920). 24.

religious faith over all other identifications, including national identity. In an article titled 'Ireland's Golden Age,' Fallon wished to remind his readers that it was between the sixth and ninth centuries that the Irish made their greatest contribution to civilization, and it was as Christians that they made this contribution in the eyes of God.⁹ When Jesus said "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice sake", he was not speaking of Gaelic clans whose reward was of this world. Ireland's glory was because of Christian education. Nations have no heaven.¹⁰ Fallon's anti-nationalist history was to underline his belief that the role and purpose of the Irish Catholic diasporic clergy was to educate their people to maintain the faith as their ancestors had done. It would be through the control and development of education that the Irish North American church could protect and propagate the faith and play a leading role in the cultural development of the continent.

The Manitoba Schools Question which began in 1890 led to an increasing focus on language as a medium of education alongside the role of religious instruction. While in Ontario the separate schools' issue was understood as being independent of the bilingual schools' issue, Irish Catholic clergy were increasingly concerned that the two issues were being conflated in the minds of Ontario's Protestant majority.¹¹ Much of the Irish-Canadian clergy in Ontario were concerned with the poor quality of teaching in the province's separate schools. Since 1885 the teaching of English had been compulsory in Ontario schools; except for children who did not understand English. Bilingual schools took full advantage of this caveat.¹² The Irish-Ontarian clergy was fearful that if it were proven that bilingual Catholic schools were underperforming, this could put the entire separate schools' system in Ontario at risk. With the Manitoba schools

⁹ For Raymond Williams, the myth of the Golden Age can be used by the subaltern as a way to envision a new future. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42-43.

¹⁰ M.F. Fallon, "Ireland's Golden Age." *The Owl*, 4.1 (September 1890): 7.

¹¹ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 98-99.

¹² Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 161.

question taking up much of the time on Parliament Hill, many questions began to be asked about the relationship between language and religion in primary education. While many anglophone politicians maintained a strong support for religious education, they did not feel the same way about bilingual education.¹³ In a debate on the issue in the Senate, Senator Richard Scott believed that allowing the French to use their language as a mode of education outside Québec was merely one of sentiment.¹⁴ Senator Bellerose of Québec shot back at the Catholic Scott, stating that it was because of such patriotic sentiment that the Irish had suffered, and had also not become the slaves of England, just as it was sure that the French would not become the slaves of the English in North America. He expressed disappointment that in the past French-Canadians have aided the Irish in Canada, but when it came time to return the favour, the Irish sided with their “masters” the English.¹⁵ Part of the reason for siding with their masters over the Manitoba Schools Question was given by Irish-born PEI Senator George Howlan, who believed that minorities should not be allowed to rule over majorities. With an eye placed firmly on Ireland, he stated that the Northwest should be able to decide its own language policy, just as the Irish people of Ireland should be able to decide their own political policy.¹⁶

Francophone frustration with such attitudes led more of their intellectual class to look to Ireland for examples of shared cultural experiences. However, suggestions that the English spoken in Ireland was as uniquely different as the French spoken in Canada, was met with scorn by some Irish-Canadian voices. In replying to an article in *La Verité* which suggested that the language spoken in Cork and in Killarney was not exactly like English, the *Catholic Record* of London Ontario, sought to assure its francophone compatriots that the main language

¹³ Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1952; 1998), 182.

¹⁴ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, September 3rd, 1891, 550. Scott was instrumental in establishing the separate school system in Ontario.

¹⁵ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, September 3rd, 1891, 552.

¹⁶ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, September 3rd, 1891, 553.

spoken in Ireland was “purely English” with little or no relation to the Irish language. Because of this, the *Record* suggested, anglophone Catholics were better able to defend their faith from “souters” and Protestant proselytizers. Being fluent in English meant being able to “appeal to history and quote Scripture” in defence of the faith.¹⁷ In contrast, Protestant proselytizers prefer encountering unilingual Irish speakers in the West of Ireland as it was here that they could “impose on the ignorance and exploit the poverty of the aborigines.” Such a dichotomy between different knowledges of language highlights how Irish identities were situated in a historical binary. Those Irish with no knowledge of the English language were ascribed “aboriginal” status, while those with a knowledge of English could “appeal to history.”¹⁸ For Irish Catholics, knowledge of English allowed them to both remember and recount their shared history, as well as meet the challenges of progress and modernity. The *Record* even advised francophones going to New England for work that they would be better equipped to maintain their faith if they had a good knowledge of the English language. From an Irish-Canadian Catholic point of view, the abandonment of the Irish Gaelic language, was essential for the propagation of the faith. At one St. Patrick’s Day Banquet at the University of Ottawa, student Hugh J. Canning said that it was God’s plan for the Irish to lose their language but not their religion so as to be instrumental in converting the English-speaking races. It was the destiny of the Irish people abroad to make Ireland the mother country of English-speaking Catholicism.¹⁹ Even as Irish emigration to North America declined over the course of the 1890s, the Irish were still considered hugely important to the education of Catholics in North America. The archbishop of Baltimore wrote in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* that while he understood that cultural

¹⁷ “Does the Loss of the National Tongue Imply the Loss of the Divine Faith?” *The Catholic Record*, August 8, 1891, 4.

¹⁸ Joep Leerssen has shown that as the Irish population become increasingly literate in the English language in the late nineteenth century, difference from the non-literate Irish-speaker became more prominent. The literate anglophone was anchored to the reality of historical progress, while the non-literate Irish speaker was connected to timeless ideal of peasant authenticity. Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University, 1996), 197-198.

¹⁹ “Entertainments – St. Patrick’s Day.” *The Owl*, 5.8 (March 1892): 364.

groups in Ireland no longer wanted people to emigrate, Irish immigrants were still essential for the interests of the Catholic religion in North America, as Catholicism was largely bound up with the Irish people.²⁰ As a result of this linguistic self-consciousness, Irish-Canadian Catholics were much more sensitive about how they were viewed in Anglo-Protestant eyes than how they were viewed in Franco-Catholic eyes.²¹ By the 1890s the Irish-Canadian clergy were becoming more aware that separate Catholic schools in Ontario were seen as inferior to public schools. Newspapers were filled with reports that stated that francophone teachers in Ontario schools were not properly qualified, and some of the nuns and brothers teaching in the schools had not even completed a high school education.²² By the end of the century the Irish-Ontarian clergy realized that they would have to improve the standard of schooling in Ontario's Catholic schools if separate schooling was to survive.

For Eric Hobsbawm the linguistic and cultural nationalism of the late nineteenth century was born out of a frustration with being seen as subordinate to a larger unit intent on conforming to some universal standard of progress.²³ In both the United States and the British Empire such a universal standard of progress could best be measured through English-language literacy. Irish North American clergy argued that anglicizing new Catholic immigrants helped protect them from Protestant proselytization. In contrast, some Catholic clergy from non-anglophone cultures claimed that English was “the high road to Protestantism.”²⁴ Such arguments about linguistic determinism became more prevalent at the dawn of the new century, as the University of Ottawa decided to return to the bilingualism of the pre-1874 era. Irish-

²⁰ “Irish Emigration to the United States” *Drogheda Independent*, February 13, 1897, 6.

²¹ In the Canadian Senate, another Ontarian Irish Catholic, Sir Frank Smith, stated that he did not feel any pity with the francophone minority of Manitoba, because he felt that Protestants were always ready to do right by Catholics. Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, July 11, 1895, 665-666.

²² Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 65-66.

²³ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 41.

²⁴ Yves Roby, *The Franco-Americans of New England. Dreams and Realities*, trans. Mary Ricard (Sillery, Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 142.

Ontarian members of the university were angered by this change in policy as they believed that there should be at least one Catholic university in Canada exclusively for anglophones. Francophone Catholics already had two universities in Canada, the University of Laval and the University of Montreal, and were increasing in number in eastern Ontario. In the census of 1871, the Irish made up 67% of Ontario's Catholics, by 1901 they made up just 53%. Over the same period French-Canadian Catholics had increased from 22% to 40% of the Ontarian Catholic population.²⁵

Irish-Canadian students and staff were becoming increasingly resentful of the growth of the French-Canadian population in and around Ottawa, so much so that in 1901 a number of them signed a petition calling for the abolition of French teaching at the university.²⁶ The petition was largely ignored. One way that this resentment manifested itself was by failing to acknowledge the role that French-Canadians played in aiding Irish Catholics in Canada. At St. Patrick's Day banquets at the university in that first decade of the new century, Irish-Canadian students claimed that Irish Catholics had made their way in Canada when they arrived with limited means and friends few in number; despite facing numerous prejudices they had fought hard for success.²⁷ Acknowledging others help would seem to undermine an Irish belief in their own powers of self-improvement. Their exalted destiny was now to try and evangelize the English-speaking peoples of the world, but such a destiny was not something that they were willing to share with other Catholics, "this is our task, not that of our co-religionists and countrymen of the province of Québec."²⁸

In debates over bilingual schools, Irish politicians on Parliament Hill made frequent

²⁵ Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 23.

²⁶ Linda Cardinal et Simon Jolivet « Nationalisme, langue et éducation : les relations entre Irlandais catholiques et Canadiens français du Québec et de l'Ontario aux XIXe et XXe siècles, » in *Le Québec et l'Irlande: Culture, histoire, identité*, eds. Linda Cardinal, Simon Jolivet, et Isabelle Matte (Québec, Septentrion, 2014), 107.

²⁷ "St. Patrick's Day." *University of Ottawa Review*, 4.7 (March 1902): 383.

²⁸ "Mainly About Books." *University of Ottawa Review*, 6.8 (April 1904): 389.

reference to the fact that anglophone Catholic schoolchildren were not getting a good education because they were left in the hands of francophone schoolteachers that were not sufficiently qualified.²⁹ Because of this, many had to look elsewhere for a good education. Newly elected Québec MP Henri Bourassa used the tried and tested technique of referring to Irish history as a way to claim francophone rights, suggesting that the Irish were not loyal to Britain because they were “a people whose language was taken away from them.”³⁰ In other words, there were political implications to educating the locals in the language of the colonizer. As American and Canadian difference showed, just because two peoples spoke the same language did not mean they would be willing to share the same national identity. By 1905 across Europe and the developed world, language nationalisms were becoming more and more vital to the expression of national distinctiveness. One witness to such events in Canada was William F. P. Stockley who had begun his teaching career as a professor of English at the University of New Brunswick and had become an observer of Canadian political and cultural issues for Irish and Catholic publications. Commenting on the Manitoba Schools Question for the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* he rebuked the attitude of the “English” Catholics towards the French in Québec.³¹ He stated that the Irish having lost their language seemed to berate the French-Canadians theirs and attack bilingualists, instead of “being up doing like them.”³² Stockley’s admiration for French-Canadian culture was the beginning of a continuing lauding of their way of life in the writings of Irish language revivalists, “They have traditions, they are deep rooted in Canadian soil, they have their heart in the country perhaps more than any; they

²⁹ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 1st Session, vol 3. April 11, 1905, 4358. Orangeman Sam Hughes questioned the usefulness of separate Catholic schooling altogether. He even ended up quoting the American Congressman and Clan-na-Gael member John F. Finerty in support of his argument. Finerty had spoken out against denominational schools in the United States. Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 1st Session, vol 2. April 4, 1905, 3780.

³⁰ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 1st Session, vol 5. June 30, 1905, 8590.

³¹ W.F.B. Stockley, “The Canadian Northwest Schools Question.” *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 30.119 (July 1905): 486. Notice that Stockley uses the punctuation weapon of the scare quotes “English” to undermine and question Irish-Canadian Catholic identity.

³² W.F.B. Stockley, “The Canadian Northwest Schools Question.” *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 30.119 (July 1905): 486

have a literature, a history beyond all comparison, more stirring than can show; they were the pioneers; they have tenacity now and solidity, a real national life.”³³ French-Canada provided a living example in the present of what a Gaelic Ireland could be, surrounded on all sides by an anglophone culture.

Francophones believed that Irish North Americans could learn something from their mother country, respect the language of your fellow Catholics.³⁴ For while Irish-Ontarian clergy held fast to the idea that new Catholic immigrants should adapt to the anglophone reality of Western Canada, many French-Canadian clergy believed that the Irish did not have the numbers to make this happen. In a letter to the Vatican in 1907 Cardinal Bégin of Québec noted that “French-Canadians, thanks to their marvellous fertility [would continue to] spill over into the neighbouring provinces and notably Ontario, this fortress of Protestantism ... on the contrary [the Irish], no doubt for good reasons, do not practice the divine precept, ‘grow and multiply and fill the earth.’”³⁵ In attempting to meet the material success of their Protestant neighbours, Irish-Canadian Catholics were following a similar trajectory in terms of life and career choices. The increasing goodwill between Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic Ontarians seemed to be in direct proportion to the increasing animosity among Canada’s Catholics. In the House of Commons, Orange Grand Master and Ontario MP Thomas Sproule remarked that he had to defend himself more from French-Canadian politicians than he did from Irish Catholic politicians, because Irish people, Orange and Catholic understood each other better.³⁶ Similar

³³ W.F.B. Stockley, “The Canadian Northwest Schools Question.” *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 30.119 (July 1905): 486

³⁴ “Chronique Mensuelle,” *Le Propagateur*, 2.12 (décembre, 1905): 357.

³⁵ Quoted in John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni’s 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 122. As a recent study has shown, the stark difference between the fertility rate of Irish-Canadian and French-Canadian Catholics was a product of very different family practices. In their study of ethnic groups in nineteenth century Montreal, Patricia Thornton and Shelly Olson have shown that Irish Catholic Montrealers not only had smaller families than their francophone counterparts, they even had a lower fertility rate than Protestant Montrealers. See Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton, *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011), 130-150.

³⁶ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol 3. June 6, 1906, 349.

sentiments were echoed by future *Catholic Record* editor Father James T. Foley who claimed in 1909 that French-Canadians were blind to what was best for the future of Canada and the future of the Church, and that in general Protestants had more “admirable traits of character” as they were willing to do justice to those who proclaimed loyalty to Canada.³⁷ Foley strongly believed that francophone Catholics were sacrificing both the future of the Church and the future of the country in insisting on extending the use of French outside Québec. The Irish were best placed to bridge the gulf between the ancient church and the reality of progress that engulfed the Anglosphere. Many Irish-Canadian Catholic leaders felt themselves to be the voice of a minority religion in the majority language of Canada. Although a linguistic minority within the Canadian Catholic Church, much of the discourse used by Irish leaders was that the francophone church was too French and not Canadian enough, rather than not English enough.

Francophones in *La Revue Franco-Américaine* responded to claims that English should be privileged over all other languages by quoting Douglas Hyde on the language question at the National University of Ireland. Hyde had said that the national voice in Ireland wanted a nationalized education rather than a denationalized education. *La Revue* sought to remind Irish North Americans that ideas around nationality had evolved, acknowledging the great changes that had occurred in Ireland over the previous twenty years or so, “Des deux côtés de l’Atlantique, on ne professe plus les mêmes idées sur les questions nationales, les idéaux ont changé...”³⁸ In an extended article published in *La Revue Franco-Américaine* later that year, the editors sought to challenge some of the claims put forward by an anonymous Irish-Canadian cleric in a letter to Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of State for the Holy See.³⁹ The letter

³⁷ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni’s 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), xxxi.

³⁸ Joseph Léon Kemner Laflamme “La question des langues et l’épiscopat dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre.” *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 3.5 (1er mars 1909): 20-21. How strange, LaFlamme continued, to see the zeal of the vanquished become the zeal of the vanquishers.

³⁹ The original letter was written in 1905, it was discovered and printed in the Henri Bourassa’s newspaper *La Nationaliste* in 1908. Among the claims made was that francophone bishops could not identify with their

stated that among other things, anglophone Catholics could not trust francophone bishops with regard to the development of educational practice as the results in bilingual schools had been so poor. The response claimed that the Irish-Canadian Catholic was one who made too many doctrinal concessions to Protestantism. Irish-Canadian Catholics made their way better in business than French-Canadians because they concentrated all their energy on the things of this world instead of the next.⁴⁰ And, as a consequence, there was more true liberalism among the Irish of Ontario and other provinces than there was among French-Canadians.⁴¹ After recounting the great and historical relationship between the Church in Ireland and the Church in France, *La Revue* asked why did such a relationship not exist in Canada? Instead, they thought, the Irish in North America flatter the English and Americans to find common cause against French-Canadians.⁴² *La Revue* quoted one Irish priest who stated that even though the Irish had lost their language in Ireland, they were still able to retain the faith because of the strength of family tradition and community spirit, much like the francophones of Québec. But the Irish in foreign lands were perhaps more to be pitied than blamed.⁴³ Here a geographic or territorial claim was made about Irish identity, that even though the Irish had lost much of their language in Ireland, they were still rooted to the soil with regard to their history and cultural inheritance. There was also the implication that North American Irish Catholicism was, in its own way, a kind of Protestant Catholicism, in that, unlike in Québec or in Ireland, the Church had had to adapt itself to the Christian pluralism of anglophone North America. As religious

Catholic flock outside Québec, and that francophone education in Canada was too old fashioned to deal with the demands of the modern world. This was especially true the letter stated, regarding athletic exercise. English language education placed a special focus on athletic societies and exercise. The complaint was that francophone education placed little focus on physical development and consequently, young francophone men were less successful in social and business life.

⁴⁰ « Réponse aux Prétendu Griefs de Catholiques Irlandais au Canada Contre les Catholiques Français du Même Pays. » *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 4.2 (1er décembre 1909), 94.

⁴¹ « Réponse aux Prétendu Griefs de Catholiques Irlandais au Canada Contre les Catholiques Français du Même Pays. » *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 4.2 (1er décembre 1909), 97-98.

⁴² « Réponse aux Prétendu Griefs de Catholiques Irlandais au Canada Contre les Catholiques Français du Même Pays. » *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 4.2 (1er décembre 1909), 105.

⁴³ « Réponse aux Prétendu Griefs de Catholiques Irlandais au Canada Contre les Catholiques Français du Même Pays. » *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 4.2 (1er décembre 1909), 106.

scholar Michele Dillon has observed, American Catholicism has always been shaped by secular forces and a Protestant culture of individual freedom, something that has been long facilitated by the American Catholic Church.⁴⁴ It has been a central tenet of religious life in Anglo-North America, that individuals can positively choose how they wish to be religious. This was quite unlike Catholic Ireland or Catholic Québec at their height, where the Church acted as a kind of national church and where its power and authority were well integrated into the fabric of everyday life and society. The charge that the Catholic faith was not well protected in an Anglophone culture of Christian pluralism became more prevalent once Michael Fallon became bishop of London, Ontario in December 1909.⁴⁵

Bishop Michael Francis Fallon and the Background to Regulation 17

Fallon was horrified by what he saw as the continuing failure rate in Ontario bilingual schools.⁴⁶ He complained that bilingual schooling was really French schooling and that Ottawa was the capital of an English-speaking country.⁴⁷ He questioned the amount of French people in eastern Ontario, claiming that just because somebody put down *French* as their origin in the census, did not mean that person had the ability to speak French; to be of French ethnicity after all did not automatically make one a francophone.⁴⁸ The census could easily be used as a

⁴⁴ Michele Dillon, "The Difference Between Irish and American Catholicism," in *Are the Irish Different?* ed. Tom Inglis (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press: 2015), 110-120.

⁴⁵ As far back as the 1860s in the United States, complaints were made that new Catholic emigrants were losing their religion as the established Irish-American clergy were not adapting to these new immigrant cultures. German merchant Peter Cahensly claimed that German Catholics were leaving the Church in North America to join German-speaking Lutheran congregations. Cahensly suggested to the Vatican that national parishes should be adopted in North America, where appointed priests would speak the national language of their congregation. Cahensly's ideas were endorsed by Honoré Mercier, the premier of Québec, but rejected by Irish-American bishops who feared that this would keep Catholicism alien to the mainstream of American life. The bishops were reassured that the Pope had rejected appointing national bishops. See Yves Roby, *The Franco-Americans of New England. Dreams and Realities*, trans. Mary Ricard (Sillery, Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 147-148.

⁴⁶ Terence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 171.

⁴⁷ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 111.

⁴⁸ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 111.

political tool as its results were open to interpretation. What after all was it recording, ethnic and cultural identifications, or language ability?⁴⁹ Feeling the threat to the future of francophone education in Canada, the Congrès de l'association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario, held in Montreal in January 1910, was attended by many politicians and ecclesiastics. The Congrès maintained that Canada was a bilingual country and that people across the country had a right to educate their children in French.⁵⁰ Many Irish-Ontarian clergy would have disagreed. The Catholic Bishop Michael Fallon argued, (like the Protestant D'Alton McCarthy a generation before), that Canada was essentially an English-speaking country and its capital city should reflect that.⁵¹ Fallon would receive authoritative support for his views on Catholicism and the English language at the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal in 1910.

Among the attendees at the Eucharistic Congress was the Archbishop of Armagh, Cardinal Logue. The Irish cardinal was especially impressed with the way that French-Canadians had remained loyal to their Catholic faith as well as to the crown, and on returning back to Ireland after the Congress told the national press there should be nothing to fear from Home Rule as Québec had proved to be a model society of it in action.⁵² But it was the remarks of the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Bourne that really caught the eyes and ears of much of the press at the event. In a speech to the Congress he said he hoped all of the world's English-speaking nations would come back to the Holy See, but this could only be achieved by making the future of the Church in North America, thoroughly anglophone. He remarked

⁴⁹ Similar feuds were waged in New England, where the Irish battled with francophones on their interpretation of local census results, the French claiming in one diocese that there were more French speakers than there were those of Irish ethnicity, while the Irish argued that only French-speakers born in the United States should be considered American, therefore the Irish-Americans would outnumber the Franco-Americans. Yves Roby, *The Franco-Americans of New England. Dreams and Realities*, trans. Mary Ricard (Sillery, Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 191.

⁵⁰ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), xviii.

⁵¹ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 111.

⁵² "Cardinal Logue and Home Rule: The Loyalty of the Canadians" *Irish Times*, October 26, 1910, 8.

that “Until the English language, English habits of thought, English literature – in a word the entire English mentality is brought into the service of the Catholic Church, the saving work of the church is impeded and hampered.”⁵³ Speaking in French in reply to the bishop at the same event, Henri Bourassa wished to remind the Congress that it was the French people of North America that had protected and nurtured the faith all throughout the previous centuries. He stated that it was not right that the French should be denied their right to speak French, and that while it was true that Canada should not be French, it was also true that Canada should not be exclusively English. Canada was an Anglo-French nation, by political constitution and ethnic composition. He received a standing ovation from the enthusiastic Montreal crowd.⁵⁴

Although not present at the Congress, Fallon was outraged by what he saw as Bourassa’s attack on Archbishop Bourne, he felt that the Church was under attack by those who put language before religion. Bourassa replied in kind, turning much of the rhetoric of the Irish-Ontarian clergy against them. It was the French-Canadian that received a special mission from God to be the torch bearer of the Catholic faith on the continent; it was the Irish who put language before religion by insisting that every child be educated in English; it was the Irish who were more interested in being Irish than in being Catholic. He went on to accuse Fallon of being “the providential man so earnestly desired by the Orange Lodges.”⁵⁵ As Foran had noted in regard to anti-Irish histories, negative portrayals of an identity that one holds in great esteem are an important part of reinforcing and solidifying one’s commitment to that identity.⁵⁶

Denunciations of Fallon’s aggressive stance led to increasing charges of ungratefulness

⁵³ “Archbishop Bourne and English” *Irish Times*, September 13, 1910, 6.

⁵⁴ Michel Bock, *A Nation Beyond Borders: Lionel Groulx on French-Canadian Minorities*, trans. Ferdinanda Van Gennip (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 150.

⁵⁵ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 107.

⁵⁶ Identity theorists Burke and Stets claim that greater commitment to an identity leads individuals to maintain a greater correspondence between self-in-situation meanings and identity-standard meanings by trying to change the responses of others, rather than by adjusting the identity standard down. Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 168.

by the francophone press against the Irish in Canada. *La Revue Franco-Américaine*, complained that the Irish were persecuting francophones in Acadia and New England, conspiring against the French in the West and ostracizing them in Ontario, claiming that the Irish wanted to do to the French language what the English did to the Irish language.⁵⁷ If the world awaited the triumph of Home Rule in Ireland and applauded the resurrection of the Irish language, why did French-Canadians have to suffer the encroachments of an Irish hierarchy “qui mesure son ambition sur la stérilité de ses oeuvres.”⁵⁸ In another letter translated from the *Ottawa Free Press*, a letter writer named “Patriote” asked why would the Irish want to learn the language of their ancestors. If it were not going to make them richer or augment their bank accounts than what would be the point? He then suggested creating a movement to send Bishop Fallon to Ireland so that he could speak to the Irish about the folly of bilingualism.⁵⁹ It was left to an American publication, the *Detroit Free Press*, to outline what was unusual about the stance of the Irish-Ontarian Church hierarchy:

One of the strangest anomalies of the situation is that the Irish Catholics and the Orangemen of the province are fighting under the same standard – resisting the inroads of the French Canadians. And some of those who are in the vanguard of the army fighting the battle against the French tongue are affiliated with the poet WB Yeats’ Sinn Fein society (ourselves alone), an organisation that has for its purpose the restoration to old Ireland of her ancient language.⁶⁰

It is not clear who the *Detroit Free Press* could be referring to as being in the vanguard of fighting bilingual education as well as being a staunch supporter of cultural nationalism in

⁵⁷ “AH! ILS SONT SORTIS!... “ *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 6.1 (1er novembre 1910):26-29. In the same issue they republished an article in the Gaelic American translated into French which criticized Bourne’s speech at the Congress. The article stated that French like Irish, was more suited to the teaching of religion than the materialist language of English.

⁵⁸ “Questions actuelles – Une nouvelle forme de l’impérialisme.” *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 6.3 (1er janvier 1911): 208.

⁵⁹ “Abolissons d’abord le Gaélique!” *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 6.5 (1er mars 1911): 33. Patriote went on to quote law professor Sir Frederick Pollack who stated that the French language was the most beautiful instrument yet found for the expression of human thought. Patriote then continued “Mais le Gaélic ! ! ! —quels sont les grands écrivains qui ont guidé la pensée de l’humanité ... en gaélic ?—Pas de réponse.... Commençons donc par abolir le gaélic, puis nous pourrons tourner nos efforts vers un travail un peu plus difficile, l’expulsion du français d’Ontario.”

⁶⁰ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 87. WB Yeats was never actually a member of Sinn Féin.

Ireland, but the only major figure who fitted that description would have been John J. O’Gorman.

From evidence of a number of letters published in its pages, O’Gorman seems to have been a subscriber to the journal of the Gaelic League *An Claidheamh Soluis*, and he, more than any another figure, seems to be the one called upon to defend Fallon in the face of criticism from Ireland. In the months following the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal, French-Canada had become a topic of interest for many observers in the Irish press. In March 1911 *An Claidheamh Soluis* published the first of a series of articles on ‘Bilingual Canada’ by Boer War veteran and future Irish senator Colonel Maurice Moore.⁶¹ The first article began by stating that the fight for the French-Canadians to save their language had a direct interest for Irishmen. Moore went on to explain the history of Catholicism in Québec and the history of the Irish relationship with the French.⁶² He agreed with some Catholic writers in Québec who stated that the Irish were ungrateful to the French by wanting to impose English on them in the schools. The article finished by quoting from the *Chambers Journal* in London that the Irish Catholics of Canada would seem to like the country to be annexed by the United States so that they would no longer have to live under British or French domination.⁶³ In a second article, the Canadian correspondent for the Catholic *L’Univers* in France found it curious to see the Irish so concerned about the language of their “old oppressor,” and that the Irish in Canada were left behind by the Irish of Ireland who were working hard to revive their old tongue. The reporter went on to accuse the Irish Ontarian church of gross ingratitude towards the Canadian French,

⁶¹ The article was in English and was reprinted in French in the June 1912 edition of *La Revue Franco-Américaine*.

⁶² “Bilingual Canada I” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, March 25, 1911, 8. However, Moore seemed to know very little about the history of the Irish Catholic church in Canada or why church members would have spent so much time successfully establishing a network of institutions outside the rule of the francophone church. See Marguërite Corporaal and Jason King. "Irish Global Migration and Memory: Transnational Perspectives of Ireland's Famine Exodus." *Atlantic Studies* 11.3 (2014): 306-314.

⁶³ “Bilingual Canada I” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, March 25, 1911, 9.

as many members of their church had died helping the Irish in 1847.⁶⁴

It goes to show the increasing speed of transatlantic and worldwide communication that the March 25 edition of *An Claidheamh Soluis* had made its way across the Atlantic allowing for replies in the following weeks. The weekly paper *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec* thanked *An Claidheamh Soluis* for its positive coverage of the language issue from a francophone perspective, and had to admit that it was surprised to read such sympathetic views from Irish nationalists on the language question in Canada.⁶⁵ But another voice from Canada was not so sympathetic to Moore's article. Writing under the pseudonym "Seanán", a Gaelic League supporter from Canada wrote to defend the Irish-Ontarian clergy.⁶⁶ Seanán found it strange to read an attack on the Irish-Ontarian church from a non-denominational publication like *An Claidheamh Soluis*. He assured the journal and its readers that in Ontario there was no francophone congregation that did not have the Word of God preached to them in their own language. This was unlike Ireland where he claimed he had personally witnessed congregations where "95% of the people did not know English" and where the priest did not know Irish and the Word of God was preached in grandiose English.⁶⁷ Seanán defended Fallon saying that he had done more for Franco-Ontarians than the clergy in Ireland have done for Irish speakers. He also wanted to remind *An Claidheamh Soluis* that while there were two national languages in

⁶⁴ "Bilingual Canada II" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, March 25, 1911, 9.

⁶⁵ "Un Voix de Dublin" *La semaine religieuse de Québec*, 23.37 (22 avril 1911): 578. Voices from Gaelic Scotland would also join in the debate. A French translation of an article from *Guth na Bliadhna* in Aberdeen appeared in *La Revue Franco-Américaine* in April denouncing Cardinal Bourne of Westminster for his attitude towards the French language in Canada. A letter was also published in *An Claidheamh Soluis* at the end of April from the editor of *Guth na Bliadhna* to say that his sympathies were with the French-Canadians on the language issue. See "L'archevêque Bourne au Canada (traduit du gaélique)." *La Revue Franco-Américaine*: 6.6 (1er avril 1911): 437-439; and 'Language and Nationality in Canada' *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 29 1911, p.5.

⁶⁶ Although 'Seanán's real name was never identified, there is some evidence to suggest that this was John J. O'Gorman from Ottawa. A letter in Irish appeared in *An Claidheamh Soluis* in the June 11 edition signed by 'An Irish Canadian Priest', again criticizing *An Claidheamh Soluis* for its attitude towards the Irish-Ontarian bishops. In its response the journal suspected that 'An Irish Canadian Priest' was the same writer as 'Seanán'. Two years later, a letter signed by John J. O'Gorman claimed that he was the only priest in Canada who preached an annual sermon in Irish. See 'La Langue, C'est Leur Foi' *An Claidheamh Soluis* June 10, 1911, .9-10; and 'Gaelic in Canada' *An Claidheamh Soluis* February 15, 1913, 8.

⁶⁷ "Bilingual Canada III – Language and Nationality" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 22, 1911, 9-10.

Canada, the language of the Canadians of Irish descent was English. Like Henri Bourassa and Michael J. Phelan after him, he drew a distinction between Irish-Canadians and the Irish in Ireland, “The people of Ireland are quite free to cheer on the French if they want to, and those of them that come to Canada are quite free to become French if they care to. But do not confound the language question in Canada with that in Ireland. In Canada two national languages are struggling for possession of a certain portion of territory. In Ireland, the one and only national language is struggling for life against the language of the conqueror.”⁶⁸

If the costs of giving up an identity are high, then commitment to that identity is also high.⁶⁹ Loss of separate schooling in Ontario would undermine the maintenance of the Catholic faith outside of Québec, just as loss of bilingual schooling would undermine the basis of a bilingual Canada outside Québec. In 1910 the Ontario Department of Education had commissioned a report on bilingual education in the province, which finally appeared in February 1912. The report maintained that a large proportion of teachers in these schools had little or no qualifications and that there was very little focus on the teaching of English. The report came to the conclusion that children learn best when taught in their maternal language for the first two years.⁷⁰ The new law would come into force in July when not only would every teacher have to have a fluent knowledge of English to be able to teach in Ontario, but French could only be used in the first two years of teaching, after which all education in Ontario schools had to be done entirely in English.⁷¹ Bishop Fallon had written to the Ontarian minister of education in January to say that he had no antipathy to any people or any language, the question was simply one of improving educational standards across the board. He made the argument that if a concession was made for the teaching of French, then why not for the

⁶⁸ “Bilingual Canada III – Language and Nationality” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 22, 1911, 9-10.

⁶⁹ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 47

⁷⁰ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), xviii.

⁷¹ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 167.

teaching of German, Hebrew, Italian, Polish or even Irish? He let the minister know that if he wanted to, he could mandate the teaching of the Irish language in every Catholic school in Ontario.⁷² This was meant to show the ludicrousness of allowing any language other than English in the teaching of Ontario's children.⁷³ But voices in both Canada and Ireland were strenuous in denouncing the law.

Throughout 1911 *La Revue Franco-Américaine* continued its derision of Irish North Americans for what they saw as their hypocritical attitude towards the French language. If Irish-American journals loved to highlight how much Irish was spoken in New York, why couldn't they be more sympathetic to the language cause of Franco-Americans in New England? If it was honourable for the Irish in America to speak their national language surely it was just as honourable for the French?⁷⁴ Acadien journalist, Valentin A. Landry noted that since France ceded Canada to the British, "L'Angleterre nous a reconnu le droit de pratiquer notre religion, de parler notre langue...je le demande, sommes-nous partie d'un royaume irlandais, ou bien du royaume britannique?"⁷⁵ Landry felt that the Irish were denying rights that had already been bestowed upon Canadian francophones by the British. For years many French-Canadians and Franco-Americans had claimed that it was the Irish who were the great enemies of the French language in North America, and now the Irish-Ontarian clergy seemed to be proving their point. At a speech given to the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Toronto on St. Patrick's Day 1912, Henri Bourassa let his audience know that French-Canadians had given moral support to the Gaelic League over the previous ten years in its campaign to establish a bilingual Ireland. Therefore, what was right for Ireland was right for Canada, "les vrais

⁷² Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 164.

⁷³ Fallon did not even believe that francophone children should be taught in French during the first two years of school as Regulation 17 permitted.

⁷⁴ Joseph Léon Kemner Laflamme, "Bloc-Notes." *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 7.2 (1er juin 1911): 151.

⁷⁵ Valentin A. Landry, "Voix D'Acadie." *La Revue Franco-Américaine* 7.4 (1er août 1911): 253.

Irlandais doivent être justes.”⁷⁶

Irish Voices Opposed to Regulation 17

Reaction on the Irish side of the Atlantic proved to be one of disbelief and acute embarrassment to the idea that Irishmen were working for the suppression of the French language. In November 1911, (before the introduction of Regulation 17), the francophile head of the London branch of the Gaelic League, William Gibson, gave a lecture in Skibbereen in which he stated that members of the League were scandalized to learn that fellow Irishmen, born and bred in Canada, co-operated with the English in trying to marginalize use of the French language.⁷⁷ The following January he gave a speech in Maryborough (Portlaoise) stating that if the Irish people had the pluck and courage of the French Canadians, they would win their struggle for their national existence and their language.⁷⁸ It was not unusual for the Gaelic Leaguers to use the example of French-Canadian cultural and linguistic maintenance as a way to shame the Irish at home and abroad for abandoning the Irish language. Articles in *An Claidheamh Soluis* stated that if O’Connell had spoken Irish the way that Papineau had spoken French, there would be no need for a language revival today;⁷⁹ and that compared to the vast majority of Irish Americans, the Franco-Americans of New England had numerous daily and weekly newspapers in their own language.⁸⁰

By the time news of Regulation 17 had reached Ireland even the pro-unionist *Irish Times* could not refrain from criticism. The paper, a long-time advocate for emigration to

⁷⁶ “Au Tableau D’Honneur.” *Les cloches de Saint-Boniface* 11.7 (1 avril 1912): 88.

⁷⁷ “Language and Nationality” *Southern Star*, November 1911, 6. There were numerous francophiles in the Gaelic League. As well as William Gibson, William F.P. Stockley had taught French and English at the University of New Brunswick. Gaelic League founder Douglas Hyde felt that French should be the foreign language studied in Irish schools rather than German, because of the historical relationship between Ireland and France. He also felt that German and English were too pedantic for the “Irish soul.” “The Intermediate” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, June 21, 1901, 233.

⁷⁸ “Lecture at Maryboro: The Necessity of Preserving the Irish Language” *Leinster Express*, January 13, 1912, 5.

⁷⁹ “The National Language in Politics” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 20 1912, 9.

⁸⁰ “The Burden of Routine” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, February 11, 1911, 7.

Canada in preference to the United States, argued that a principle was a principle, and that Irishmen abroad could not argue for the restriction of national languages while arguing for their maintenance at home.⁸¹ Alongside Dublin unionists, other strong voices against Regulation 17 included some Irish-Catholic Quebecers, not all of whom were anglophone. Father Michael Quinn, a Famine orphan who had been adopted and raised by a French-Canadian family, stated at an anti-Regulation 17 meeting in Montreal that the Irish should be the last people to persecute others since they had suffered so much in the past.⁸² Joseph Kearney Foran also spoke out against the law, saying that if the French language disappeared from schools then French-Canadian nationality would disappear with it.⁸³ In Ontario, the Catholic former federal cabinet minister and senator Sir Richard Scott, the Irish-Ontarian academic and poet Thomas O'Hagan, and the Ottawa medical doctor and former AOH president Dr. Anthony Freeland all spoke out against the law. Freeland wrote in French to *Le Devoir* in Montreal to assure French-Canadians that "militant" Irishmen like members of the AOH supported them, comparing the actions of the Ontarian government to the British subjugation of Ireland.⁸⁴ He used a notably softer tone the following month writing to the *Catholic Record*, arguing that education in a language other than the mother tongue would be detrimental to a child's development.⁸⁵

Mounting opposition by the Association Canadienne-Française d'Éducation d'Ontario

⁸¹ "Editorial" *Irish Times*, February 7, 1912, 4.

⁸² "Educate Children in the French Language" *Toronto Globe*, June 26, 1912, 1.

⁸³ "La Mission De La Race Canadienne-Française" in Joseph Kearney Foran, *A Garland: Lectures and Poems* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1931), 183.

⁸⁴ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 218. The Ancient Order of Hibernians were one of the few predominantly anglophone organizations in Canada at this time who supported French language rights. In November 1913, the Toronto branch of the AOH passed a resolution denouncing the imperialistic views of Bishop Fallon. See William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916*, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); 344. In February 1916, the Winnipeg branch of the AOH issued a statement to the press that their members should defend persecuted French-Canadians. Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 218. Mark McGowan has shown that the Canadian AOH supported the war effort in the name of defending the right of small countries to live without being oppressed by larger neighbours, and that the various peoples who lived within the borders of the Empire should be given the right to guard their mother tongue. See Mark G. McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 210.

⁸⁵ "Bi-lingual Schools" *The Catholic Record*, November 16, 1912, 5.

and members of the Québec hierarchy to the imposition of the Regulation 17 led to an increased determination by Franco-Ontarian clergy to resist the implementation of the law. In Ireland, the actions of the Franco-Ontarians in resisting Regulation 17 led the Ulster Unionist *Belfast Newsletter* to declare that the Catholic Church couldn't be trusted to abide by the law of the nation, and that in a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland, things would end up even worse than they were in Canada.⁸⁶ In contrast, the reaction of the Gaelic League to the Regulation 17 crisis was to situate Ireland as an anti-imperialist space, one that sympathized with other cultures trying to maintain their language and cultural heritage. In *An Claidheamh Soluis* the actions of the Franco-Ontarian priests in resisting Regulation 17 were lauded as an inspiration to Gaelic Leaguers in Ireland.⁸⁷ What is notable in the writings of the *Belfast Newsletter* and *An Claidheamh Soluis* was that both publications saw the Ontarian Catholic clergy as exclusively French. It seems that for many nationalists and unionists in Ireland during this period, a loyalist Irish Catholic clergy, insisting on the marginalization in their school system of any language other than English, was too incongruous an idea to contemplate.

Ontarian priest and Irish cultural nationalist John J. O'Gorman argued that Regulation 17 was all about educational pedagogy and what was best for the child's education and had nothing to do with nationalism or religion. Despite being a fluent speaker of French, German, Italian and Irish, O'Gorman characterized the desire to have French taught as a second language in English separate schools as "stupid", "The teachers don't know it, the parents don't want it, and the children would not learn it."⁸⁸ In response to the common charge that the Irish-Ontarian clergy were in league with the province's Orangemen in trying to abolish the French language, O'Gorman replied that it was actually the "French Nationalists" who had more in common with the Orangemen as they both kept wanting to drag religious prejudice into a debate on the

⁸⁶ Editorial section of *Belfast Newsletter* January 21, 1913, 6.

⁸⁷ "Ontario, Poland, Ireland" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, November 11, 1916, 6.

⁸⁸ "Rev. Dr. O'Gorman: On So-Called Bilingual Schools" *The Catholic Record*, November 15, 1913, 4, 5.

future of a child's education. But despite O'Gorman's protestations, the charge that Irish-Ontarians of whatever religious stripe were all working together against the French was a difficult one to shake off. *An Claidheamh Soluis* hoped that they were mistaken about what they were learning about their "Canadian brothers," but it did seem as if the Irish who emigrated to other parts of the Empire became imbued with an imperialistic spirit and made common cause with Orangemen in "upholding the imperial tongue."⁸⁹ Bishop Fallon felt that Ontario's English-speaking Catholics were trapped between the "upper milestone of French-Canadian nationalism and the lower milestone of Protestant bigotry."⁹⁰

Critics of the Irish-Ontarian clergy continually raised the objection that Irishmen had no right to preach the doctrine of anglicization. The editor of the *Antigonish Casket* Robert F. Phalen stated that "no national tradition can excuse the exaggerations of the Irish in their claims in favour of the English language."⁹¹ At a meeting of the St. Jean Baptiste Society in Montreal in December of 1913, Foran denounced Bishop Fallon's anti-French language campaign and claimed that the Irish were in strong sympathy with the French.⁹² He appealed for the issues to be resolved within the Canadian Catholic family. In response the Catholic press in Ontario criticized the campaign to protect the use of French in Ontario's schools by claiming that religion was not tied to language. The claim that French was a Catholic language, and that English was not just a Protestant but a *Protestant-izing* language could be easily disproved by comparing English-speaking Catholic Ireland with French-speaking Catholic France, (presumably with all its atheistic philosophes).⁹³ English was the language of Empire just as Latin was the language of Empire, and by using the language of the Roman Empire, the Church

⁸⁹ "The Emigrated Irishman" *An Claidheamh Soluis*, October 7, 1913.

⁹⁰ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 78.

⁹¹ Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975) 218. Original quote from the *Antigonish Casket*, November 27, 1913.

⁹² "Bishop Fallon's Recent Speech Rouses French" *London Advertiser* December 16, 1913, 1.

⁹³ "The 'Bilingual' Situation" *The Catholic Record*, November 15, 1913, 4.

Christianized the known world.⁹⁴

But in a speech given to the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Hamilton on St Patrick's Day 1914 Henri Bourassa fought back against what he believed was the hypocrisy of the Irish-Ontarian clergy. The French language was the mainstay of French-Canadian life and social thought, therefore, why should one Irish-Canadian deny them the right to learn in that language when their own people in Ireland were making such strong efforts to revive their ancient language. Unlike the Irish-Ontarian clergy who believed that bilingual schools were putting separate schools at risk, Bourassa believed that those that were against bilingual education were ultimately against Catholicism and separate schools in all its forms.⁹⁵ Bourassa went on to charge that the Irish who spoke "for the suppression of the French language" or even those who stood aloof from such concerns, were ultimately not only enemies of Catholicism but also enemies of "true Canadianism."⁹⁶ Bourassa's conclusion about Irish-Ontarian motivations for supporting Regulation 17 was both pithy and devastatingly pointed; the reason that certain Irish-Ontarians supported the suppression of bilingual schooling was that "they had forgotten the history of Ireland and not learned the history of Canada."⁹⁷ The implication being that the Irish-Ontarian clergy were more interested in being English-Ontarians than Irish-Canadians. What children learned in schools was the main avenue through which they learned about their own country. Bourassa feared that these francophone children would have the history of their own people denied to them in their own language.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ "The Church and the English Language" *The Catholic Record*, January 24, 1914, 4.

⁹⁵ Henri Bourassa, *Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914* (Montreal: Le Devoir 1914), 15.

⁹⁶ Henri Bourassa, *Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914* (Montreal: Le Devoir 1914), 15.

⁹⁷ Henri Bourassa, *Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914* (Montreal: Le Devoir 1914), 15.

⁹⁸ While the school situation was worrying for the francophones of Ontario in 1913-14, it was far more alarming for the Franco-Americans of New England. In New Hampshire's *L'Avenir National* the case was made thus: "Make a tour of all the rural areas and all the smaller parishes in this diocese and you will find an entire generation who have grown up in Irish public schools. These people can neither read nor write French; they speak with a pronounced accent and, worse yet, reluctantly. In all truth, they worry little about having Canadian

Nevertheless, Bourassa still maintained that the “resurrection” of the Irish people provided a hope and aspiration to other smaller nations such as the Swiss, the Dutch, and the Belgians, to resist absorption by their larger neighbours. He hoped that the Irish-Canadian Catholics would become the everlasting link of union between English and French in Confederation.⁹⁹ But other figures were not so sure about Irish support. In the Ontario legislature Napoleon Champagne contrasted how the French language was treated by Fallon and his cohorts in Canada with how the Gaelic language had been treated in Ireland. He read out a speech by a former Irish Parliamentary Party MP John Francis Small, who, at a meeting in Newry the week before, stated that it was the intention of the Gaelic League to make the Irish language compulsory in the National University of Ireland and also to increase its teaching in primary and secondary schools. “The Gaelic League is in favour of bilingualism in Ireland.”¹⁰⁰ Champagne would go on to lambast Fallon by stating that if the dear bishop was an example of the kind of tolerant person one finds in Ireland, then if given the choice of going to hell or to Connacht, Champagne wouldn’t be taking the shortcut to Connacht.¹⁰¹

But francophone activists not only used current events in Ireland to highlight the hypocrisy of Regulation 17, they also used historical events in Canada. The charge of Irish ungratefulness now became more prevalent in the run up to the First World War, and the bitterness of the language on both sides of the Atlantic became shriller. An article in *La Verité* stated that the descendants of those who were persecuted by English Orangeism now ran to Canadian Orangeism to make war on the “tongue of their benefactors and saviours.”¹⁰² It is

priests for they would be incapable of understanding them." "Que deviendrons-nous?" (What will become of us?), *L'Avenir national*, November 21, 1913, 4. See Yves Roby, *The Franco-Americans of New England. Dreams and Realities*, trans. Mary Ricard (Sillery, Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 167.

⁹⁹ Henri Bourassa, *Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914* (Montreal: Le Devoir 1914), 15.

¹⁰⁰ Napoléon Champagne, *Discours de M. Nap. Champagne, Député d'Ottawa-Est, Sur les Droits de la Langue Française dans les écoles d'Ontario* (Ottawa: [s.n.], 1914), 10.

¹⁰¹ Napoléon Champagne, *Discours de M. Nap. Champagne, Député d'Ottawa-Est, Sur les Droits de la Langue Française dans les écoles d'Ontario* (Ottawa: [s.n.], 1914), 30.

¹⁰² “Irish Catholics are called Ungrateful” *Toronto Globe*, 24 April, 1914, 4.

notable how little Irish-Ontarian students and clergy referred to the role of the francophone church in assisting Famine emigrants in 1847. The overriding sense that comes from the St. Patrick's Day banquets at the University of Ottawa is a defiant sense of history, where the parents and grandparents of Irish emigrants arrived without friends or saviours and managed to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. This notion of self-reliance fitted in with the ideas of the age, and a modern Irish identity would need to reflect the ideas of the age to be considered at the vanguard of progress. In order to verify the self-meanings of an identity, the interpretation of a situation must be brought into alignment with the identity standard.¹⁰³ A group identity standard based on endurance, resilience, and survival against all odds, is one that does not need to acknowledge other identities as a factor in the group's success. Such an appreciation would go against the very ideals of self-reliance.

Despite being a minority in the Canadian Catholic Church, many Irish-Canadians recognized that as anglophones they would be best placed to extend the reach of the Church west of Québec. This was one of the main reasons for the foundation of the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada in Toronto in 1908. This society was founded to aid Catholic missions in Western Canada supporting the maintenance of the faith among indigenous Canadians and new immigrants from Europe. The Society would be heavily criticized by francophone clergy who believed it was an agent of anglicization, deliberately and aggressively marginalizing the influence of francophone clergy outside Québec. In an edition of the *Catholic Register* from June 1915, the CCES president Alfred E. Burke laid out what he believed was the anglophone future of the Church in Canada, "Propinquity to the United States, the preponderance of Britain in the world, the commercial character of the age and of the age to come will not be French but English. We may like it or not, but we cannot and would be foolish

¹⁰³ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 176.

to shut our eyes to what is coming and fail to prepare for it.”¹⁰⁴ On the other side of the ocean, in the heightening sense of enmity between the Irish Volunteers and the Ulster Volunteers, the writers at *An Claidheamh Soluis* were not in the mood to hear any support of the imperial system by members of the Irish diaspora. One writer, after reading an anti-imperialist article in the *British Review* by Ottawa resident Dr. Francis W. Grey decried the imperialism of “degenerate Irish-Canadians.”¹⁰⁵ Grey, a long-time advocate of French language rights in Canada, asked how could the “ultra-imperialist ecclesiastics of Irish descent” expect French-Canadians to be loyal to the imperialist ideal, if they kept accusing French-Canadians of being disloyal to their own religion. For Grey, every argument used against Irish autonomy and Irish nationalists by imperialists and Orangemen were the same ones used against French-Canadians. For the Gaelic Leaguers, this was also an example of the danger of an exclusive focus on political nationalism. Political nationalists did not seem to understand the profoundly anglicizing influence they were having not just on people at home, but also on the diaspora abroad.¹⁰⁶ Political nationalists seemed too focused on British citizenship rights, that Ireland would eventually join the anglophone club of nations, with little in the way of national distinctiveness. Québec by contrast offered an alternative path to national modernity. Ensclosed within the British Empire and on the doorstep of the United States, Québec was a polity whose leaders would not trade its cultural distinctiveness at any price, “We have in Québec an example of a little nation that had withstood the glamour of Empire, and the temptation to sell it for commercial success, and to be Americanised...The rest of Canada may join the States, but Québec will remain French.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Mark G. McGowan, “Toronto’s English-Speaking Catholics 1900-30,” in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, edited by Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 220.

¹⁰⁵ “Imperialism and Nationalism. French Canada and Ireland” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, June 27, 1914, 9. Th

¹⁰⁶ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 153.

¹⁰⁷ “Language and Solidarity” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, July 11, 1914, 7.

World War One, the Conscription Crises and Exacerbation of National Divisions

After the outbreak of War in 1914, the Schools question in Ontario remained the single most disruptive and divisive factor in forming a united national front for the war effort. On Parliament Hill Québec senators denounced Irish-Canadian leaders for their ungratefulness towards French-Canadians over the Schools issue. Senator Laurent-Olivier David reminded the Senate that French-Canadian politicians had always supported Home Rule for Ireland, and that French-Canadian families raised orphaned Irish children as their own during the desperate crisis of the late 1840s. He read out statistics by Thomas O'Hagan which showed that Irish language teaching was on the increase in Ireland and used a quotation by Young Irelander Thomas Davis that was supplied to him by Joseph Kearney Foran. Davis's quote spoke of the importance of the Irish language for national memory, "To impose any other language on such a people is to send their history adrift amongst the accident of translation."¹⁰⁸ Senator Philippe-Auguste Choquette echoed these sentiments a few weeks later, asking why, when French-Canadians had always been ready to support Irish Home Rule against the Orangemen, the Irish Catholics in Ontario now lick "the hands of those whipping them" when it came to the French language.¹⁰⁹ The language of war, battle, trenches, and the accusations of "Prussianism" now became commonplace. Writing in *Le Devoir* in early 1915, Thomas O'Hagan claimed that the battle over the Schools issue in Ontario was like the battle between the Germans and the Allies, and those who support francophone education were ready to fight "our Ontario Kaiser" to the finish.¹¹⁰ With more recruits from Toronto going to the front, night classes in French were being given to Canadian officers who needed to be prepared to fight in France and Belgium. O'Hagan felt little reserve in highlighting the irony of this situation.¹¹¹ O'Hagan thought that his fellow

¹⁰⁸ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, March 10, 1915, 65-66.

¹⁰⁹ Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, April 8, 1915, 380.

¹¹⁰ Thomas O'Hagan, 'What the French-Canadians are Fighting For,' in *The Truth and Nothing but the Truth* (Montreal: Le Devoir Printing, 1915), 12.

¹¹¹ Thomas O'Hagan, 'What the French-Canadians are Fighting For,' in *The Truth and Nothing but the Truth* (Montreal: Le Devoir Printing, 1915), 9.

Ontarians were too arrogant in always assuming the role of instructor towards other Canadians.

While the Irish were always sensitive to any national jibe perceived in the English language, the arrogance of unilingualism meant that it was largely irrelevant what others thought of you in their language as you could not understand them anyway. While much of the discourse in Irish-Canadian public life highlighted a history and concern for how the Irish were perceived in the anglophone press, they seemed to have very little concern about how they were perceived in the francophone press. The pro-war sentiments of the Irish-Ontarian clergy were to challenge any idea that Catholics were not supportive of Empire, while also showing that Irish people's support for the war effort all across the Empire meant that Ireland's just demands for Home Rule could no longer be denied.¹¹²

While some Irish-Canadian writers and intellectuals were strong supporters of the Franco-Ontarian cause, that cause seemed to be less served by the Vatican. In late 1915 the Apostolic Delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, Archbishop Pellegrino Francesco Stagni, sent two reports to the Vatican on the Schools issue in Ontario. Stagni believed that, despite his flaws, Bishop Fallon was a strong advocate for the Church and that ultimately the Association Canadienne-Française d'Éducation d'Ontario was more of a danger. The president of the association Senator Auguste Landry wrote to Stagni to advise him that the francophone population of Ontario would continue to grow because of their large birth-rate, while the Irish population would continue to diminish due to their greater preference for mixed marriages.¹¹³ While Stagni did not buy the argument that language protected faith, he also did not believe that mixed marriages were necessarily detrimental to Catholicism in anglophone North

¹¹² Mark George McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 16. Even Joseph Kearney Foran spoke at recruitment rallies for the armed forces in 1915. However, at a recruitment rally over which he presided in Ottawa, he failed to stop French-Canadian speakers complaining about the unjustness of Regulation 17. "Turn Recruiting Meeting into Bilingual Rally" *London Advertiser*, July 31, 1915, 11.

¹¹³ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 82.

America. Anglophone Protestants could learn more about, and could become more accepting of Catholicism, through intermarrying with their Catholic neighbours.¹¹⁴ Stagni also reassured the Vatican that despite a common perception to the contrary, the English Catholics of Ontario (“or the Irish, since that is what they call themselves”), were not in league with the Orange Order, and that there were in fact many prominent anglophone Catholics who defended the Franco-Ontarians.¹¹⁵

On Parliament Hill Québec politicians continued to use analogies from history to defend the right of Franco-Ontarians to be educated in French. Charles Marzil spoke of his grandparents from Sligo and Tipperary and asked the Irish of Ontario not to forget what the French-Canadians had done for the Irish at Grosse-Île;¹¹⁶ Adélarde Bellemare stated that Bishop Fallon should not be so blind as to make common cause with Orangemen, and just like the Allies will win the war, French-Canadians will win back their rights in Ontario;¹¹⁷ Rodolphe Lemieux pointed out that the Irish language was now taught in schools throughout Ireland;¹¹⁸ and Anglo-Protestant Québecer James Robb asked Irish-Ontarian Catholic members of the house to consider how well anglophone Catholics were treated in Québec and to remember the sacrifices of French-Canadian missionaries who brought Christianity to Canada.¹¹⁹ While Québec politicians had started to accuse their Ontarian counterparts of “German methods”, the Easter Rising had provided imperialist supporters of Regulation 17 with their own novel vocabulary, accusing their opponents of being the “Sinn Feiners” of Québec. *The Times* Canadian correspondent in Toronto claimed that “We have Sinn Fein in Québec as you have

¹¹⁴ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), xlv.

¹¹⁵ John E. Zucchi, *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 53.

¹¹⁶ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 6th Session, vol 1. February 1, 1916, 483.

¹¹⁷ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 6th Session, vol 4. May 11, 1916, 3825

¹¹⁸ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 6th Session, vol 4. May 10, 1916, 3717.

¹¹⁹ Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 6th Session, vol 4. May 11, 1916, 3772.

in Ireland, and a far greater percentage of the population is infected.”¹²⁰ A report in the *New York Times* believed that feelings were so high in Québec over Regulation 17 that there could be an uprising along the lines of the Easter Rebellion in Dublin.¹²¹ The Regulation 17 issue became political fodder in Ireland for Ulster Unionists and Gaelic Leaguers alike, arguing about what a sovereign Ireland would look like. The *Belfast Newsletter* noted that Québec had done no better than Munster or Connacht in gaining volunteers for the front and that the Catholic Church worked against Canada by inflaming the prejudices of francophones working against Ontario. The paper suggested that if prime minister Borden wanted to interfere in the question of Home Rule, he would have to ask himself the question would he put Ontario under the rule of Québec?¹²² In contrast *An Claidheamh Soluis* stated that the opposition to French in the schools of French-Canadians, just like the opposition to the Irish language in Irish schools was for an imperial and anti-national purpose. The francophone priests of Ontario had given the people of Ireland an example of “manly determination” in standing up for national ideals.¹²³

In the aftermath of the Easter Rising and the continuation of a world war with no foreseeable end, some prominent Canadian figures sensed that times were changing, and old certainties would have to be loosened. In an address before the Canadian Club in Guelph Ontario in February 1917, future Ontario Hydro chairman Charles Alexander Magrath announced that the two greatest issues facing Canada and the British Empire were the Bilingual Schools question in Ontario and the Home Rule question in Ireland. Magrath recognized that Canada was moving into a new era “when breaking through some of our old customs will be more fashionable in the future than in the past.”¹²⁴ He felt that the British Empire was made up

¹²⁰ “Undaunted Canada” *The Times*, June 26, 1916, 7.

¹²¹ “Priests Block Recruiting in Québec Province: French Canadians, Led by Their Clergy, Defy Dominion Government- Hints of Uprising Because of Bilingual Question.” *The New York Times Magazine*, June 25, 1916, 7.

¹²² “The Sinn Feiners of Québec” *Belfast Newsletter*, June 28 1916, 4.

¹²³ “Ontario, Poland, Ireland” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, November 11, 1916, 6.

¹²⁴ C.A. Magrath, *Disturbing Issues: Bilingualism and Home Rule* (Guelph, Ont.: s.n., 1917), 1.

of numerable different cultures, and an attachment to one's mother tongue should have little bearing on one's British citizenship. He also felt that the Home Rule question needed to be solved as it was a hindrance to the "homogeneity of thought and effort, without which the British Empire cannot achieve the greatest good for the welfare of humanity, which I believe to be its destiny."¹²⁵ As the son of an Ulster Protestant he believed that Ulster Unionists should have no fear that Home Rule was Rome Rule, as the Church in Québec was historically responsible for keeping the connection strong between Québec and the British Empire. But attitudes among French-Canadian Catholics were also in flux. In September 1916, the Franco-Ontarian movement received a blow when a pontifical missive from the Pope declared that the Ontarian government did have the right to insist that all students in their public education system learn English. The most important issue for the Vatican was that separate schooling should be maintained. Québec Catholic priest and historian Lionel Groulx noticed a strong sense of dissatisfaction with Rome and the Pope among francophones, feeling that the Vatican had totally given in to anglophone influence.¹²⁶ In contrast Professor William Conacher of Queen's University, Kingston believed that the Pope's missive was a welcome addition to the debate and should help to resolve the issue. However, Conacher also warned that as the population changed, the education program in Ontario schools would have to adapt to those changes, "in fifty years, if Eastern Ontario is predominantly French it will be a gross anomaly not to recognize facts and make allowance for changed conditions. Otherwise Ontario will have its own Ulster problem, and Canada its own Irish question."¹²⁷

The similarities between the war situations in Canada and Ireland would reach their peak in 1917-18 as the question of conscription came to the fore in both countries. Québec

¹²⁵ C.A. Magrath, *Disturbing Issues: Bilingualism and Home Rule* (Guelph, Ont.? :s.n., 1917), 10.

¹²⁶ Michel Bock, *A Nation Beyond Borders: Lionel Groulx on French-Canadian Minorities*, trans. Ferdinanda Van Gennip (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 140-141.

¹²⁷ "Canada's Bilingual Problem" *New York Times Magazine*, December 10, 1916, 8.

businessman Edward Harper Wade claimed that while everything was done to remove grievance between the two predominantly English-speaking peoples of Ireland, nothing was done in Canada to remove French grievance.¹²⁸ On Parliament Hill, references to the temerity of introducing conscription in Ireland were made to show the inadvisability of introducing conscription in Canada. If the people of Ireland were not considered disloyal for resisting what they saw as the crime of conscription, then why didn't the same apply to Canada?¹²⁹ References were also made to Edward Carson and the Ulster Volunteers who defied the law by arming and resisting any imposition of Home Rule from Westminster.¹³⁰ In the Senate Irish-Québecer Henry Cloran said that French-Canadians should take no lessons on loyalty from the Orange Order, if francophones had done what Carson and his cohorts had done in 1912, there would be outrage in Canada.¹³¹ Cloran, along with Foran, and Henry Trihey, the former battalion commander of the Irish-Canadian Rangers, all came out against conscription after the introduction of the Military Services Act of 1917.¹³² There was a strong belief that introduction of conscription in Québec on top of the failure to resolve the Regulation 17 would exacerbate national divisions.¹³³ The election result of 1917 would only solidify that division. The Conservatives won with a landslide across the country, except in Québec where they only won three seats. The opposition Liberals won 82 seats, including 62 in Québec, but only two west

¹²⁸ Edward Harper Wade, *A Friendly Exchange of Views Between Québec and Ontario* (Québec: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1917), 5.

¹²⁹ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol 4. July 12, 1917, 3341.

¹³⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol 3. June 25, 1917, 2651.

¹³¹ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol. 1, August 3, 1917, 456-457. Francophone Québec politicians continued to accuse authorities in Ottawa and Toronto of using "German methods" to restrict the liberty of French-Canadians, Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol 3. June 27, 1917, 2764. They also continued to declaim that their Irish-Catholic co-religionists in Ontario did not treat French-Canadians as well as Irish Catholics were treated in Québec. Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol 3. June 28, 1917, 2829.

¹³² Linda Cardinal et Simon Jolivet, "Nationalisme, langue et éducation: les relations entre Irlandais catholiques et Canadiens français du Québec et de l'Ontario aux XIXe et XXe siècles," in *Le Québec et l'Irlande: Culture, histoire, identité*, eds. Linda Cardinal, Simon Jolivet, et Isabelle Matte (Québec, Septentrion, 2014), 99.

¹³³ While the *Catholic Register* of Toronto opposed conscription for Ireland while supporting it for Canada, the *Catholic Record* of London, opposed conscription in both countries. See Frederick J. McEvoy, "Canadian Catholic Press Reaction to the Irish Crisis, 1916-1921," in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, edited by David A. Wilson (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 129.

of Ontario. Despite the introduction of conscription in January 1918, the vast majority of those eligible sought to avoid the draft.¹³⁴

On a visit to an increasingly divided Ireland in late 1917, Bishop Fallon sought to give support to the ailing John Redmond by announcing that a Home Rule Ireland under the protectorate of the British Empire would have far greater freedom than an Irish republic.¹³⁵ But *An Claidheamh Soluis* saw Fallon and his cohorts as the enemies of a language movement that they had much in sympathy with. The Irish-Ontarian hierarchy seemed to prove all the Gaelic League's worst fears about the Irish diaspora. The anglicized Irish at home and abroad were blinded to the dangers of cultural loss which the descendants of the French in Canada could "see with clear vision."¹³⁶ Back in Canada Joseph Kearney Foran worked hard to try and rectify the ill feeling between Irish-Canadian and French-Canadian Catholics. He stated that the attitude against bilingual schools was only a product of certain members of the Irish-Canadian clergy and was not the attitude in general of Irish Catholics.¹³⁷ By April 1918 Foran had written to Archbishop McNeill of Toronto to say that Canadian Catholics should bury the hatchet, but they will be unable to do so while Regulation 17 was still in force.¹³⁸

Supporting Irish Independence and French Language Rights

In the aftermath of the war and the Sinn Féin success at the November 1918 Westminster election, Foran spoke at a famous Irish nationalist meeting in Montreal on January 9, 1919. At that meeting he acknowledged the example of the French-Canadians who, he stated, had won for all Canadians the rights of popular representation seventy years before, and who

¹³⁴ Numbers show that British-born Canadians were much more likely to enlist than Canadian-born anglophones. 72% of eligible British-born men in Canada volunteered their services, compared to 20% of eligible Canadian-born men (anglophone & francophone). See Chris Sharpe, "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918." *Canadian Military History*, 24.1 (Winter/Spring, 2015), 50.

¹³⁵ "Dr. Fallon's Hope" *Freeman's Journal*, December 29, 1917, 4.

¹³⁶ "The Struggle for French in Canada" *An Claidheamh Soluis* September 8, 1917, 7.

¹³⁷ "La Question Irlandaise au Canada – 17 March 1918" in Joseph Kearney Foran, *A Garland: Lectures and Poems* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1931), 188. Irish-Québec MP Charles Gavan Power later stated that he was proud to speak French, even though he was not a French-Canadian. Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 13th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol 3. May 14, 1919, 2438.

¹³⁸ "Shake Hands: Get Together" *Toronto Globe*, April 25, 1918, 10.

also aided the Irish when they came on the coffin ships ten years later.¹³⁹ The Canadian francophone press were now taking as much interest in events in Ireland as their anglophone compatriots. The Canadian journal *L'Action Francaise*, founded by those pushing for French language rights in Canada reprinted a letter written to the Irish newspapers by Eamon De Valera highlighting the importance of saving the Irish language. De Valera exclaimed that the winning of Ireland's independence was not in doubt, if one generation failed, a future generation would succeed. But unless the Irish language was saved by the current generation of Irish people it would be lost forever. *L'Action Francaise* also reprinted the Gaelic League agenda for the future of primary education in Ireland, with a strong focus on the teaching of Irish history, the Irish language, Irish songs, legends, and stories, as well as Irish music and Irish dancing.¹⁴⁰ By the time the Irish War of Independence was in full swing, the Self-Determination for Ireland League of Canada was making the connection between the rights of the Irish for independence and the right of French-Canadians to be able to be educated in their own language. At a meeting of the Self-Determination for Ireland League of Canada in Ottawa on October 17, 1920, two resolutions were adopted. The first one denounced the reprisals by police in Ireland, recognizing the right of Ireland to self-government. The second resolution condemned any attempt to curtail the rights of the French language in Canada and expressed its sympathy for French-Canadians in their attempt to maintain schools and colleges in the French language.¹⁴¹

But John J. O'Gorman, like the other members of the Irish clergy in Ontario, always maintained that what they were trying to do was to save separate schooling by raising the

¹³⁹ "Irishmen Carry National Cause to Peace Conference" *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, February 15, 1919, 3. For further information about this famous meeting, see Simon Jolivet. *Le Vert et le Bleu : Identité Québécoise et Identité Irlandaise au Tournant du XXe Siècle* (Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2011); 223-225; Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); 111-114.

¹⁴⁰ "La Renaissance De La Langue Irlandaise." *L'Action Française* 3.5 (mai 1919): 238-240. In the same edition of the journal, the editors published a letter by Irish-American Bishop Joseph J. Rice of Vermont who spoke up for the teaching of French in Vermont's schools, acknowledging Franco-American loyalty during the War. *Ibid.*, 236-238.

¹⁴¹ "England is not Object of Hate, Crawford Says" *Toronto Globe* 18 October 1920, 5.

standard of teaching in the schools. If bilingual education was shown to be underperforming, then the best thing to do would be to focus on the teaching of English like the more successful Ontarian public schools. They believed that it was their duty to better the educational opportunities of all children in their care, and that this had nothing to do with attacking the French language. But outside of Ontario this was a difficult argument to make, and various newspapers and journals not only in Québec, but also in the Maritimes, the United States, Ireland, England, and Scotland, regarded Regulation 17 as a pure case of francophobia. The aftermath of the 1917 general election in Canada underscored an increasing disparity on cultural issues between Irish-Catholic Ontarians and Irish-Catholic Quebecers. In Toronto, Protestant sympathies were with anglophone Catholics on the Regulation 17 issue¹⁴², while in Montreal, members of the Catholic St. Patrick's Society took part in demonstrations by the St. Jean Baptiste Society in support of French language rights.¹⁴³ By the 1920s the Irish-Ontarian clergy would have to adapt itself to a different world, one where Canadian imperial fervor was lessening, and the francophone population of eastern Ontario would continue to increase. Regulation 17 was finally abolished in 1927.

¹⁴² John S. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of Their Roman Catholic Neighbours," in *Catholics at the "Gathering Place": Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991*, eds. Mark George McGowan and Brian P. Clarke (Toronto: Canada Catholic Historical Association, 1993), 321.

¹⁴³ Linda Cardinal et Simon Jolivet, "Nationalisme, langue et éducation: les relations entre Irlandais catholiques et Canadiens français du Québec et de l'Ontario aux XIXe et XXe siècles," in *Le Québec et l'Irlande: Culture, histoire, identité*, eds. Linda Cardinal, Simon Jolivet, et Isabelle Matte (Québec, Septentrion, 2014), 113.

Conclusion

While some historians have indicated that Irish Catholics may have acted as a bridge between anglophone Protestants and francophone Catholics in Canada, the story surrounding the implementation of Regulation 17, shows that the actions of some prominent Irish Catholics at least, increasingly divided the Canadian national community rather than brought them together.¹ Linguistic and cultural nationalism in the late nineteenth century was shaped and re-shaped by the frustration of being regarded as subordinate in a larger political world intent on conforming to universal standards of progress.² This was true of both the Gaelic League in Ireland and the opposition to Regulation 17 in Canada. Henri Bourassa saw in the Gaelic Revival both a reaction against the materialism of the Anglo-American world, and an attempt to guard traditional cultural and religious values.³ In his study of the Irish Gaelic Revival, John Hutchinson has described this cultural ideology as being “for history against modernity...and respect for the spiritual against positivism, hedonism and the lust for power.”⁴ It is quite clear from John J. O’Gorman’s writings and interviews that he felt quite strongly both about the language revival in Ireland and about the maintenance of separate schools in Ontario. As one

¹ Garth Stevenson, “Irish Canadians and the National Question in Canada,” in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, ed. David A. Wilson (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 160-177.

² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 41.

³ For example, Bourassa used an article from the *Irish Messenger* by Father Michael J. Phelan titled ‘What does the Revival of the Irish language mean?’ to highlight the danger of Canadian francophones losing their language. ‘Cette brochurette devrait être mise entre les mains de tous les Irlandais sincèrement catholiques au Canada. C’est, sous une forme succincte, alerte et entraînant, l’argumentation la plus propre à faire comprendre à nos coreligionnaires irlandais pourquoi, du seul point de vue de la foi commune aux deux peuples, les Canadiens français doivent maintenir leur langue et la protéger par tous les moyens légitimes.’ See Henri Bourassa, *La Langue, Gardienne de la Foi* (Montréal? : Bibliothèque de l’Action Française, 1918), 41-42.

⁴ John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 221. A similar ideology could be found in the work of French-Canadian cultural nationalists such as Lionel Groulx. Groulx did not want to deprive French-Canadians of material progress, but he felt that there was a danger that French-Canadians would lose their national memory by losing their language. This was already becoming evident among the Franco-Americans of New England and the same would be true for francophones outside Québec unless a stand was taken. Groulx felt that the Regulation 17 crisis was a peripeteias one, as it would allow French-Canadians across the country to become more conscious of what they were sacrificing to material success. See Michel Bock, *A Nation Beyond Borders: Lionel Groulx on French-Canadian Minorities*, trans. Ferdinanda Van Gennip (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 3-6.

who had written as a student at the University of Ottawa on the dangers of “Anglo-Saxondom”, O’Gorman would have seen little contradiction between his educational stances in Ireland and Ontario. There was little fear of apostasy in Ireland, Irish history was clear evidence of that, which was why the focus on language revival was paramount for him regarding Ireland. However, the reality in North America was that English was the language of the Irish, and the connection with the culture of their homeland was through the connection with their faith, which was why in Ontario, Catholic separate schools should be maintained at all costs, even at the expense of the French language. O’Gorman would want Irish Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic to maintain their heritage: in predominantly Catholic Ireland, they would do this through the revival of the Irish language; in predominantly anglophone North America, it would be through maintenance of the Catholic faith. O’Gorman would have seen little contradiction between these stances. Speaking at the opening of Spiddal Irish College in Co. Galway in August 1911, O’Gorman highlighted the example of French-Canada as a culture which had maintained their language and faith since the time of the English conquest. If they could achieve such marvellous results, why could not Irishmen do the same.⁵ Such was the ideology shared by many Gaelic Leaguers including former Canadian professor and anti-Treatyite T.D., William F.B. Stockley. Stockley lauded French-Canadian society as a space outside the commercialism of North America, a society where there was neither millionaire nor pauper. He thought the Americanised Irishman was too much focused on personal success and was now indifferent to what he termed the Irish love for the defeated, and worship of the lost cause, or “anything so Gaelic League-like, as a mere French-Canadian brain.”⁶ Meanwhile the Irish in Ireland without the Irish language were “nothing and nowhere in all that makes a people and marks them out.”⁷ Colonel Maurice Moore remarked that if French-Canadians had adopted

⁵ “Bishop of Galway on the Language Movement,” *Connacht Tribune*, August 12, 1911, 5.

⁶ W.F.P. Stockley, “A Voice from Canada.” *The Catholic Bulletin*, 9.4 (April 1919): 181.

⁷ “Nationalities and Languages” *Waterford News and Star*, June 13, 1924, 14.

the anglicization policy of some of his fellow Irishmen, they would have died out as a people long ago.⁸

Moore's trip to Québec in 1911 made him realize what Ireland was losing in terms of its Gaelic heritage. Twenty-five years before, an Orange delegation was making its way to Canada to speak out against Home Rule. They stopped off in Québec city and while they enjoyed its sights and "majestic heights" they were less impressed with its lack of industrial energy:

One looks for intellectual advancement, social happiness, and material prosperity, the hum and the go of human industry, and where these are wanting, especially in a place eminently adapted to create and foster them, one feels that natural grandeur and historic associations are but the ornate embellishments of a sepulchre which entombs people in a state of living death. We did not, therefore, feel sorry when told that our engagements laid upon us the necessity of journeying as quickly as we could through Québec that we might reach Toronto, the capital of Ontario, in time for the opening of our campaign.⁹

The idea of Québec entombing people "in a state of living death" shows that in the high Victorian age of industrial progress, delegates from Belfast were not going to see anything particularly alluring about Old Québec and its Catholic character. For the Orange leader Rev Dr Richard Rutledge Kane, what the Québec legislature needed was someone like Oliver Cromwell, who would make short work of the "medieval ecclesiasticism" under which the people of Québec were entombed. In 1911, when Gaelic League member Moore visited Québec, he was excited to find a city inhabited by "human beings and not animated machines." He was glad that there was one part of North America "not infested by a race of Goths and Saxons," and was happy to leave behind the monotony of the English tongue and the ugliness of the streets of Chicago and New York. When he asked for directions in English, he was delighted to be responded to in French, and felt an even greater joy when people showed that they could not understand English.¹⁰ In a letter published in April, Moore wrote that he had

⁸ "Teaching of Irish: Importance of Languages" *Irish Independent*, October 3, 1925. 9.

⁹ "America's Answer to the Loyalist Delegates," *Belfast Newsletter*, December 18, 1886, 7.

¹⁰ "Bilingual Canada III: Language and Nationality," *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 22, 1911, 8-9.

penned a number of articles for *La Nouvelle France* and that he looked on with regret at the attitude of Irish-Canadians towards their French brethren. He thought that if emigrant Gaels were going to lose their language, that they would be better off speaking French with a “kindred Celtic population” than speaking English.¹¹

These two descriptions of Québec City twenty-five years apart show the power of the writer to objectify and dismiss entire groups of people, whether francophone Catholics as entombed in a “living death”, or urban anglophones described as “animated machines.” Such categorizations say more about the individual writer than they do about the people he is describing, and as the history of English descriptions of the Irish show, these limiting categorizations become the aperture through which people understand how their culture is perceived by others. Both Orangeman Kane and Gaelic Leaguer Moore looked to identify the attributes or shortcomings of their own culture by situating it in comparison to Québec. As Claude Levi-Strauss indicated, a civilization cannot identify itself if it does not have another civilization to compare itself with. But such comparisons were also made in order to show how Irish identity was born out of, and maintained through, ideas of anglo-difference and anglo-similarity.¹² In trying to identify Ireland and the Irish in this time of great historical change, different people battled over when and where to situate Ireland, and in relation to what societies: should the Irish glorify contentious elements of their history, or should they try to transcend that history?; should the Irish exclusively see Ireland as their home, or should they

¹¹ “The Irish Language National Fund 1911-1912” *An Claidheamh Soluis* April 8, 1911, 6. Later that month *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec* thanked Moore for his articles.

¹² The notion of these differences and similarities were never more neatly expressed than in the phrase “more Irish than the Irish themselves.” While nominally this phrase describes how the Norman Irish assimilated into Gaelic Irish life between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, it also identifies the anglo self-consciousness of the “Old English” as they came to be known. Anglophone Irish people have always been aware (even from the time of the Statutes of Kilkenny in the fourteenth century) that most people in the world who speak their language are *not* Irish. This has led to an enduring self-consciousness of difference from their fellow English-speakers, and thus has arisen a centuries-long explanation in the English language of what makes the Irish *Irish*. By contrast, the monoglot Irish-Gaelic speaker was one whose difference from the English did not need to be self-consciously explained; it was evident for all to hear. And thus, with their ever-increasing worldwide anglo audience over the course of the centuries, the anglophone Irish have had to be more *self-consciously* Irish than the Gaelic Irish themselves.

see the broader British Empire as their home?; is Irish identity best described as an anglo identity, or a non-anglo identity?

Situating Ireland in the Time of Modernity

The notion of progress meant that different cultural groups were identified by where their culture placed them on a historical continuum. In speaking up for the rights of indigenous Canadians, and Chinese and Indian emigrants, Canadian parliamentarians and senators spoke of them as being like the Gaelic Irish or the Highland Scottish of a few generations before, intellectually juvenile in the face of modernity. Once correctly educated in the political and cultural norms of the Anglo-American world, they would be properly integrated into the highest stage of modernity. The Catholic Irish and the Catholic French-Canadians were at least a little further on from the Gaelic Irish and the Highland Scottish as they had reached the historical stage of “medievalism.” The Protestant minorities of Ireland and Québec were held up as a cultural and religious class that had the potential to lead their respective regions in economic and political progress, but it was believed that they also had to be protected from the perceived excesses of the reactionary Catholic cultures that surrounded them. Canadian politicians also situated Ireland as a political, constitutional, and economic disaster, a historical warning about what could go wrong if Canada followed the wrong path. Protectionism or free trade; integrated or separate schooling; cultural assimilation or cultural pluralism; arguments over how and why Ireland had ended up the way it did became arguments over how Canadians could best anticipate their future problems. But they also hoped that they could be an answer to Ireland’s historical problems by situating Ireland’s present as a Canadian past that had been transcended. A British constitutional monarchy with North American-style federalism was a better solution to Ireland’s problems than the republicanism of the United States or the legislative unionism of the United Kingdom.

But for many of the new cultural nationalists in Ireland the civilization against which

the present poverty of Ireland should be situated was the golden age of ancient Ireland rather than the golden age of anglo-modernity. The Easter metaphor of *resurrection*, along with its cognates *revival*, *renaissance*, *regeneration*, and *rising* spoke to a sense of the paucity of the present and the fear of being seen as the unmistakable product of British history, politics, and culture. Far from being a descent into cultural darkness, the early medieval world was where Ireland was the “light of the North”, the civilizers of pagans and the saviours of Christian education. Such a leap into the past was also a way of challenging what was perceived as the backwardness of Gaelic culture and the stagnation of Catholic culture. As St. Patrick the Celt had died before the Anglo-Saxons had moved very far into England, Celtic Christian Ireland could claim some sort of historical or temporal primacy over the anglophone world.

But if the English language acted as England’s connection with its premodern past, the acquisition of the English language for the Irish was part of their assimilation into modernity. The topic of education was one of the most contested political footballs of the period, on both sides of the Atlantic. For numerous Canadian parliamentarians and journalists, to be properly educated meant not being determined by the prejudices of the past, but rather to learn to be a self-determining individual. However, in the pages of *An Claidheamh Soluis* the Gaelic League berated figures like Goldwin Smith for believing that education would make the Irish more loyal, transcend the bitter history of the past, and become “machined into West Britain.”¹³ Irish children needed to be taught that the Gaelic past was *not* a foreign country. The journal believed that it was the power of song and story handed down from the seventeenth century onwards that kept Irish nationality alive in the face of an education system that sought to sniff it out. The idea that Ireland (and Scotland) had a separate history from England that needed to be taught in schools was also highlighted in Canada. Writing in January 1918, editor Robert Phalen of the Catholic *The Casket* in Antigonish, Nova Scotia claimed that when he was at

¹³ “The System,” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, December 21, 1912, 7.

school, children only learned about the history of England, and that if the history of Ireland or Scotland were learned at all, they were only as “appendages of England;” while Canada was an “outpost of England” and France only featured as a record “of her defeats by England.” The history of the ancestral homelands of most Maritimers were only studied in relation to whether they were a friend or a foe of England, and how they were impacted by English superiority. According to Phalen little Scottish and Irish boys would shout out “Waterloo” after little French boys and “flap the old flag like an Ontario politician.”¹⁴

While those in Ireland were going through a revival to identify with their Gaelic past, Canadian intellectual figures believed that emigration to Canada was an opportunity to transcend that past. In 1879 the *Rose and Belford and National Review* asked the question, what did Canadians have to learn from the Irish past. The answer was to transcend fanaticism and folly.¹⁵ Strong patriotic feeling had a propensity to fall into fanaticism and the weight of the past placed an extra burden on those who had to be sensitive to the cries of their ancestors. The narratives of the Irish past could help an Irish person to cognitively situate him or herself in historical time and act as a sort of psychological reassurance against the doubts engendered by social upheaval; from the ancient pre-Christian Celtic past to the eternity of the Christian afterlife, Irish cultural and religious identity offered a zone of permanence against what the Irish-Canadian poet James Donnelly called “la mousse de l’oubli,” the froth of oblivion. But while historical narratives of strife, sorrow and suffering were considered inherently meaningful, such narratives could also become overbearing and deterministic as Irish people felt that they must constantly bear witness to the sacrifices of people of the past and answer for events that may have occurred long before they were even born. While for some, Irish history had a lot of positive themes and lessons for the future, for others the popular history of Ireland

¹⁴ R.F. Phalen, “The Past Teaching of Scotch and Irish Boys in Canada.” *L’Action Francaise*, 2.1 (Janvier 1918): 44-48.

¹⁵ “The Last Days of the Irish Parliament.” *Rose and Belford and National Review*, no. 1 (July 1879): 25.

was being used to delude Irish people about their relationship with Britain. There was a belief that the Irish were too tied to their history and did not recognize the advantages that they derived by being loyal members of a successful, and more importantly, progressive British Empire.

Situating Ireland in the Territory of the Anglosphere

The notion of English modernity, historical progress, rationality, and empiricism set Ireland up comparatively as a space that had a privileged, but at the same time, confining link to the past. In contrast to the Irish who seemed to be overdetermined by their past, Canadians were freer to imagine a future unencumbered by such milestones. As Foran noted, unlike a lot of countries in the old world, Canada came into world as a fully grown adult.¹⁶ Direct inheritors of the British Parliamentary system, and a majority population with its roots in the United Kingdom, Canada was already firmly rooted in principles of British constitutionalism by the time of Confederation in 1867. Many politicians and journalists felt that Canada was not only part of a Greater Britain but also, (along with Australia and New Zealand), part of a better Britain; one that inherited the positive aspects of British political practice, without the drawbacks of the class antagonisms of Britain's industrialized cities and its landed aristocracy. Irish Catholics in Canada had to realize that while British rule had been badly encountered in Ireland, it was generally considered a positive force in Canada. Canadian Britishness was believed to be more modern, tolerant, and constructive than Irish Britishness. There was also a greater demographic balance in Canada between the English, the Irish, and the Scottish than in the United Kingdom, and so there was an expectation that British history would find some sense of closure on the Canadian frontier where all three nationalities could live happily ever after under the crown.

¹⁶ "Canada's Past" in Joseph Kearney Foran. *Blossoms of the Past* (Montreal: Gazette Print Company, 1934), 195.

Some Imperial federalists and “Anglo-Saxon” ideologues believed that the English-speaking peoples were all one “race” and that the union of the English-speaking peoples across the world was the best hope for the future of humanity. It was believed that the English-speaking peoples shared a common political heritage of parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and economic liberalism.¹⁷ Figures such as Goldwin Smith, Oliver Howland, and Liberal Unionist leader Joseph Chamberlain all viewed the United States as part of the British family of nations (as indeed in a negative sense did some in the Gaelic League), and that greater political and economic rapport between the British Empire and the United States was needed in order to maintain world peace and economic free trade. With over 95% of the Irish diaspora settling in the United States and the countries of the British Empire, the Irish were also well ensconced into this English-speaking “race,” for the Anglosphere was the veritable home of the Irish diaspora. Claims for Irish nationality were challenged as the island’s population continued to decline precipitously over the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In arguing for Home Rule in 1893, many Canadian politicians including Edward Blake believed that provincial rather than a dominion solution was the best answer to Ireland’s call for greater sovereignty. Ireland as Ontario, rather than Ireland as Canada. In 1912, in arguing against the introduction of a third Home Rule bill for Ireland, the *Orange Sentinel* editor Horatio C. Hocken claimed that Ireland had as much right to Home Rule as the county of Cornwall.¹⁸ Ireland was simply a territorial region of the English-speaking world, and by 1914 its diaspora and most of its population were an integral part of that world.

But in the pages of *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Gaelic Leaguers identified Ireland’s culture with that of Belgium, Poland, and Hungary. They situated Ireland’s position in the British Empire as similar to those of Egypt, India, and Dutch South Africa, rather than to Australia and

¹⁷ The Wyndham Act of 1903 allowed for the sale of the land of Irish landlords to their tenant farmers, permitting members of the Irish peasantry to finally become what was considered the economic foundation of the Anglosphere, the individual property owner.

¹⁸ “Irish Home Rule Menace to Empire,” *Toronto Globe*, February 29, 1912, 1.

“British Canada” which they described as “English” nations. And while Home Rulers could look to Canada as an example of a preferred future for Ireland, Gaelic Leaguers were more enamoured of Québec as a way of envisioning what a future Gaelic Ireland would look like. In his books *Canada and the Canadian Question* (1891), and *Irish History and the Irish Question* (1905) British-Canadian historian Goldwin Smith thought that it was fairly ludicrous that predominantly anglophone peoples like the Canadians and the Irish should want to maintain a separate political existence from their more powerful anglophone neighbours. But as French-Canadian politician and publisher Henri Bourassa pointed out, these predominantly anglophone peoples were of a recent vintage. As recently as the American Revolution most people in Ireland and nearly all those identified as *Canadien* were not anglophone; and as Bourassa tried to point out to the Irish-Ontarian clergy, the words *Irish* and *Canadian* retained their origins as words which identified linguistic difference, not just geographical or political difference.

Situating Ireland in the Search for an Identity Standard

While increased political sovereignty from its neighbour had always been a focus of Irish nationalist organizations both home and abroad, the cultural revival in Ireland had put a stronger focus on situating Ireland’s cultural difference from its closest neighbour. In the “Message to the Free Nations of the World” released by Dáil Éireann in January 1919, political and cultural nationalism were enmeshed together:

Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English. Ireland is one of the most ancient nations in Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity, vigorous and intact, through seven centuries of foreign oppression: she has never relinquished her national rights, and throughout the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious resort to arms in 1916.¹⁹

This focus on a history and identity “radically distinct from the English” shows how a

¹⁹ Dáil Éireann “Message to the Free Nations of the World.” *dfa.ie*, August 3, 2020, <https://www.dfa.ie/about-us/ourhistory/100years/1919-1929/1919/>. The message was printed in Irish, English, and French.

new generation of Irish nationalists were more focused on the unearthing, preservation, and propagation of self-conscious cultural difference from the rest of the Anglosphere than ever before. While observers in Canada believed that much of the animosity against Britain during the Irish War of Independence must have been perpetuated by “frenzied and fanatical Irish-American Republicans,” Dáil Éireann’s message to the world (and even the name *Dáil Éireann* itself) showed that it was the Gaelic League who were the real intellectual progenitors of the Irish Revolution, not the Fenians or the Irish Republican Brotherhood.²⁰

But the clamor for the maintenance and propagation of a distinctive national identity had not just been a product of the Revival period. While the Young Irelanders of the 1840s had taken much of their influence from the continental European nationalisms of the era, they proved to be a novel movement in the Anglosphere, successfully providing a vocabulary of cultural nationalism in the English language. As Canadian cultural history has shown, Thomas D’Arcy McGee and his Young Ireland philosophy of propounding a distinctive nationality had a lot of influence in the new dominion, (especially among the Canada First movement). Prominent figures such as Lady Aberdeen, William Pittman Lett, George Monro Grant, and even Orangeman Oliver Howland all believed that Canadians had something to learn from the Irish with regard to patriotic feeling. Writing in *The Irish Problem*, Howland remarked on how Irish patriotism could be put in the service of Canada and the Empire:

Patriotism contains a purely practical element, traceable to the instinct of self-interest. In one sense it is but another name for public spirit, the perception of common interests which can be best served by community of action. But the emotion of patriotism is an element that transcends its origin. Springing from the practical, it rises towards the ideal. The passion which has so often in the world's history inspired not only to deeds of bravery, but to acts of sublime self-sacrifice: which, on a larger or smaller scale, has awakened masses of men to the sympathies of brotherhood, really partakes of the nature of religion. Such a passion has in itself a principle of vitality which calls on it to

²⁰ “Sinn Féin Propaganda,” *Toronto Globe*, July 4, 1921, 4. In criticizing London Ontario’s *Catholic Record* for its continued support of Regulation 17 in 1919, Sinn Féin member William F.P. Stockley remarked that “still the ‘Irish’ Canadian paper could not understand the Ireland that was new to it, because it had forgotten the real Ireland, the old.” W.F.P. Stockley, “A Voice from Canada.” *The Catholic Bulletin*, 9.4 (April 1919): 182.

progress, changing its form and developing its substance towards higher things.²¹

Howland's conviction that patriotic passion could be a progressive force, tied in with a contemporary Canadian belief in the enlightened virtue of the British Empire. While post-Confederation public figures in Canada were critical of the Irish penchant for commemorating historical battles and rebellions, the Boer War between 1899 and 1902 had allowed a new generation of Canadians to see the value of commemorating national sacrifice on the field of battle. As chapter three of this thesis has shown, Canadian poets of the period were not afraid to laud the violent actions of young Irishmen as long as they were in support of the crown on the battlefields of the Empire.

By the end of the nineteenth century as imperialism and nationalism were increasingly being situated as political opponents, Canadian politicians increasingly felt that older identities would have to be transcended for the good of the country. In 1890 the Renfrew MP Peter White heard many complaints from people in his own constituency who could not put down "Canadian" as their nationality, and that they "must be either an Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman, or some other nationality, but for Canadians we have got no division in this census paper at all."²² By 1901 people were finally allowed to identify as Canadian on the census if born in Canada, but their "Origins" still had to be situated somewhere else. Some of those criticizing the use of a hyphenated identity were prominent Orangemen. Nathaniel Clarke Wallace criticized the use of "Irish-Canadian" and "French-Canadian" as he wanted to be identified as *Canadian* only.²³ East Toronto Tory MP and Orangeman Albert Edward Kemp scoffed at the idea that there were close to a million Irish people in Canada according to the 1901 census, and asked "Where are the Canadians to come in?"²⁴ After returning from his

²¹ Oliver A. Howland, *The Irish Problem* (London, UK: Hatchards, 1887), 127.

²² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 26, 1890, 2392.

²³ Wallace's parents were from Sligo. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, March 18, 1901, 1637.

²⁴ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903. 766.

three-year stint as Irish Parliamentary Party MP for Galway in 1906, Charles Ramsey Devlin was elected as a Liberal MP for the riding of Nicolet in Québec. In his debut speech on his return to the Commons he warned the House that Imperial Federation was unlikely to work, as much of the Empire was moving in the opposite direction, demanding more and more local autonomy.²⁵ Later when speaking in French, Devlin maintained that as a representative of a French-Canadian riding, he wished to be recognized in the House as a French-Canadian. He went on to say that “Malheureusement je ne connais pas la langue irlandaise, la langue de mes pères et par conséquent, je déclare qu’entre ces deux langues, le français et l’anglais, c’est le français que j’aime le mieux.”

Such examples are evidence of identities that do not just change generationally, but also individually. The individual must suppress the salience of change in their personal lives, and the political fluctuations of the times they live in, in order to uphold the historical identity. Some individuals lived long enough to be conscious of these enormous fluctuations, comparing the cultural and political norms of their childhood to that of their old age. Donald Akenson quotes one of the Beresford Anglo-Irish family, who stated in 1820 that “When I was a boy, the Irish people meant the Protestants; now it means the Roman Catholics.”²⁶ A travelling teacher in the West of Ireland in 1937 met an old Irish-speaker who was confused by so many people wanting to learn the Irish language. The old man told the teacher “The priests and the important people were against Irish when I was young, and now some of them are crazy about trying to bring it back.”²⁷ In the aftermath of the First World War, as Canada sought a more independent path in world affairs, many politicians proclaimed their desire to propagate a new “Canadianism.” For senator Joseph Philippe Baby Casgrain, such newfound Canadian

²⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol. 2, February 11, 1907, 2879-2882.

²⁶ Donald Harmen Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 134.

²⁷ Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015), 204.

patriotism from his anglophone colleagues was surprising to see, “When I was a boy [...] many years ago, ‘Canadian’ meant a person of the French tongue. Others were Irish, Scotch, etc. If you are going to be Canadians you must be French-Canadians.”²⁸ Casgrain’s anglophone colleagues were not well pleased with this older definition of Canadian identity, but it does show how the war significantly impacted how anglophone Canadians especially, saw their identity.

For sociologist Rogers Brubaker, assimilation occurs across generations rather than necessarily through the conscious agency of individuals.²⁹ Intergenerational assimilation occurs when the children of immigrants share the same birthplace and maybe even the same schooling as the children of other immigrants from different parts of the world. But just as group identities can change over time, so can individual identities; and individuals can manifest different identities for different audiences. An early critique of Joseph Kearney Foran’s poetry by a Boston journal praised his poem in honour of the Manchester Martyrs but criticized a poem in honour of Queen Victoria in the same collection.³⁰ John Costigan often referred to himself as Irish in the Canadian House of Commons when speaking in favour of the Home Rule resolutions, but speaking at the Irish Race Convention in Dublin in 1896 he opened his speech by stating that unfortunately he could not claim to be an Irishman.³¹ John Reade was a member of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Montreal, during the 1880s, but was no longer a member in the new century even though he lived in Montreal until 1919. He often referred to the Irish in the third person in his writings, even though he was born and raised in Donegal. The great imperialist Bishop Michael Francis Fallon admitted in 1920, that though he had never been an advocate of an Irish Republic, he thought it would be preferable to the

²⁸ Canada, *Senate Debates*, 14th Parliament, 1st Session, Vol. 1, May 18, 1922, 260.

²⁹ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) 130.

³⁰ “Canada’s Irish Bard,” *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, June 26, 1895, 6.

³¹ *History and Album of the Irish Race Convention which met in Dublin the First Three Days of September, 1896* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1896), 273.

activities of the British administration in Ireland in 1920.³² In 1898 when travelling through Canada the Irish journalist Patrick A. O'Farrell claimed that French-Canadians were behind the times when compared with Irish-Canadians.³³ In 1922, after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, O'Farrell claimed that the Québec government was the best government not only in North America, but "in all the world."³⁴

Different times, different places, and different audiences influence how individuals situate their identities and react to events. As Burke and Stets have reminded us, if people cannot restore the situational meanings to match their identity-standard meanings, then the only thing that can reduce this discrepancy is for the identity standard to change to match the meanings.³⁵ There is a desire by individuals to do away with contradiction and incoherence; and come to terms with a world that does not offer ready meaning. As Hayden White has pointed out, the perceived completeness of the historical lifeworld allows individuals in the present to use it as a closed system of meaning, a secular Bible that provides them with a God-like view of the past. Knowing why things occurred and why things ended up the way they did should give the individual greater confidence in understanding the present and in predicting the future. Knowledge of Irish history was as much about facing the future as it was about commemorating the past. The presumption of a shared collective memory was an essential tool in offering the Irish subject a zone of permanence and normativity in the face of the irreversible change that characterized industrial modernity. Traditions were not just about taking pride from the past they were also about providing resoluteness for the future. The repetitive nature of tradition gives it the illusion of non-historical time, something that exists and endures outside the onslaught of history, giving reassurance that what has occurred in the past will occur again

³² John J. O'Gorman, *Ireland Since the Larne Gun-Running: A Chapter of Contemporary History*, (London, Canada: Catholic Record Office, 1920). 4.

³³ "From Our American Correspondent," *Freeman's Journal*, September 9th, 1898, 6.

³⁴ "Irish Canadian on the Treaty," *Irish Examiner*, January 23, 1922, 8.

³⁵ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 180.

in the future. The attempt to make the world predictable, ordered, and interpretable, helps to reduce anxiety.

For the historian of nationalism John Breuilly, nationalist ideology bridges the gap between the concepts of society and community. It recognizes the opportunities that modernity has brought about, but also laments the loss of community that such opportunities entail.³⁶ He states that because this sense of loss is at the very heart of modernity, nationalism has a broader appeal than universal doctrines such as socialism or democracy, which share with modernity a concentration on abstract ideas. It was probably for this reason that it was difficult to situate the “Imperial Irish” of the Irish-Canadian Catholic Church in the nationalist-imperialist binary surrounding the First World War. For Burke and Stets, in order to verify the self-meanings of an identity, the situation has to be changed to bring it into alignment with the identity standard.³⁷ When one persistently cannot align the meanings of the self in the situation with the identity standard meanings, the identity should reduce in salience and result in decreased commitment.³⁸ In the aftermath of the First World War, the identity standard of an anglophone loyalist Irish Catholic Canadian constitutional nationalist North American British imperialist, like Bishop Michael Francis Fallon, would be a difficult identity to verify in an international context.

Categorization is also a creative act that seeks to find pattern in the world and so to do away with contingency. Some researchers have claimed that if it was not for the well-known moniker “Irish-America”, nineteenth century Ontario or “English-Canada” would be more

³⁶ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State. 2nd ed.* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 416. As Patrick Pearse would put it in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, ‘Imperialism is a system under which all the duties of patriotism are delegated to mercenaries, and whose bonds are anything but ties of brotherhood. Imperialism it is that ages, but nationality has the power of renewing its youth. We of the Gaelic League are the pioneers, the real disciples of progress, the testers and champions of the new. We are the Futurists.’ “Ancestor Worship,” *An Claidheamh Soluis*, April 18, 1914, 6.

³⁷ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 176.

³⁸ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 198.

properly known as “Irish-Canada.”³⁹ But of course the term *English* in Canada refers to *not-French* rather than *of England*.⁴⁰ Which leaves the Irish and the Scottish in a bit of a terminological bind. The strength and endurance of the linguistic and identarian binary in Canada between English and French was one of the central ways by which Irish Catholics could become part of the Anglo-Canadian mainstream, their religious difference was not as much of an obstacle to national unity as the linguistic difference of their fellow Catholics. As Joep Leerssen showed when studying Irish characters on the English stage in the aftermath of the Seven Years War, the confrontation between the Irishman, and those who the English saw as true foreigners (the French), only highlighted how little the Irishman now differed from the Englishman. For the English, the enduring and familiar national difference of the French, made Irish (and Scottish) difference seem positively provincial by comparison.⁴¹

Language, environment, and increased ethnic diversity can all play a role in how a social group is perceived and situated among other social groups, and how that group’s social and cultural differences are identified or obscured. Anthropologist Angele Smith has contrasted the visibility of Irish identities in cities like Boston and Toronto in comparison to Western Canada. The large amount of history and archives about the urban Irish in North America has tended to obscure the role of the Irish in rural North America. For example, Smith has shown

³⁹ “Brenda Hooper-Goranson, *“No earthly distinctions”*: *Irishness and identity in nineteenth century Ontario, 1823–1900*, (Doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 2011), 48.

⁴⁰ In his 1975 book on the Regulation 17 crisis, historian Robert Choquette refers to the “French Church” as that of the francophone Catholic community. The other part of the Catholic Church in Canada he sometimes refers to as the “Irish Church” and sometimes the “English Church,” whether the focus is on ethnicity or language. See Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975). No doubt the average Gaelic Leaguer of the Revival period would have had a “told you so” moment if they ever had the opportunity to transport themselves into the future and read Choquette’s book.

⁴¹ Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 275. The dominance of English-French linguistic difference over ethnic differences in Canada was already becoming evident by 1907 as various politicians sought to interpret the census results. In looking at one district in the Maritimes, the Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver stated the following “The geographer has taken the census and coloured the different districts according to his classification in accordance with the majority in each area. He has made a division of English, Scotch, Irish, French and German, and by dividing the English, Scotch, and Irish separately it rather gives the impression that possibly the German or French are in the majority over the English when it is not the case.” Canada. *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parliament, 3rd Session, vol. 4, April 20, 1907, 7276-7277.

how the Irish working in the British Columbian wilderness were more likely to be assigned “white” and “anglo” status, in opposition to First Nations and later Asian identities.⁴² Aboriginal Canadians and francophone Canadians remind us that outside the white anglosphere, Irish difference was much less visible and much less audible.

The Individual Self and *Our* National Self

Irish identarian difference in the white anglo world was as much about a people marshalling continental European ideas of nationality over and above the political and economic individualism of the Anglosphere. The historian Ian McKay observed that in nineteenth century Canada, the idea of the self-contained, self-disciplined, self-improving property-owning male became the central role-model for all young Canadian men to aspire to.⁴³ The notion of *self* was pervasive throughout the Victorian era. From the success of Samuel Smiles *Self-Help* in Britain book in 1859, to the idea of the self-made man which became an American archetype in the second half of the nineteenth century. Notions of “self” flood the era: self-reliance, self-respect, self-denial, self-improvement, self-control, self-government, self-restraint, self-discipline, self-interest, self-knowledge, self-rule, self-education, self-development, self-determination. The other idea of the age was progress, especially in industrializing and imperial Britain. British historians propounded the Whig view of history that the march of progress was inevitable and unstoppable. For the famous nineteenth century British thinker Herbert Spencer, all progress was towards the goal of greater individualism.⁴⁴ While for Fabian Society founder Sidney Webb, progress was part of a march towards “self-conscious regulation.”⁴⁵ In answer to this Liberal eulogization of “self” and “progress”,

⁴² Angele Smith, “Fitting into a New Place: Irish Immigrant Experiences in Shaping a Canadian Landscape.” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8.3 (September 2004): 225.

⁴³ Ian McKay, “Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution: On Writing the History of Actually Existing Canadian Liberalisms, 1840s-1940s,” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, eds. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 384.

⁴⁴ Regenia Gagnier, “The Law of Progress and the Ironies of Individualism in the Nineteenth Century.” *New Literary History* 31.2 (2000): 316.

⁴⁵ Regenia Gagnier, “The Law of Progress and the Ironies of Individualism in the Nineteenth Century.” *New Literary History* 31.2 (2000): 320.

nationalists offered the ideas of “community” and “tradition”. For the descendants of Irish Gaels, the “self” was the historical community. The Great Man theory of history which became popular in the nineteenth century, projected an idea of history as driven by the great deeds of individual great men. But in Ireland it was the historical community (whether Gaelic or Catholic) that provided all the positive characteristics of Victorian manhood.

Education and literacy were hugely important to the evolution of the modern concepts of the *individual* and the *nation*, and it should come as no surprise that much of the vocabulary in English surrounding these two concepts were markedly interchangeable. This relationship between the chronological particularity of the national history, and the narrative coherence of the individual life story shows how important the culture of writing was in the construction of modern identities.⁴⁶ It is only by the writing and recording of history over the centuries that subsequent societies could get an idea of how much the past differed from the present.⁴⁷ In contrast to oral cultures which had to conceptualize knowledge close to the lifeworld, writing allows for distance; and the greater the distance from the past, the more it is inclined to idealizations.⁴⁸ Just as individual poets looked to their childhood to identify a period of emotional plenty and stability against a modern world of unrelenting change, uncertainty, and anxiety, so cultural nationalists eulogized a Gaelic society that seemed to endure across the centuries despite all the changes forced upon it. Whether debating “Local *Self*-Government for Ireland”, supporting the *Self*-Determination for Ireland League of Canada, or most famously being a member of Sinn Féin (*our-selves*), individualism was never much of a concern in Irish

⁴⁶ Benedict Anderson’s famous *Imagined Communities* (1983) established the centrality of print culture to the evolution of nationalism as a political doctrine. Covering two millennia of world history, Peter Heehs *Writing the Self* (2013) underscored the vital importance of writing and literacy to the concept of the self and the development of modern self-consciousness.

⁴⁷ David Lowenthal. *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 250.

⁴⁸ Svetlana Boym. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 17.

national politics.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the idea of Sinn Féin was still explained to Canadians as the embodiment of the Victorian values that had shaped the English-speaking world. At the famous Irish nationalist meeting in Montreal in January 1919, AOH member Charles J. Foy stated that Sinn Féin simply meant “self-respect, self-reliance, and self-confidence.” The former independent Orangeman Robert Lindsay Crawford spoke in Toronto to say that Sinn Féin simply meant self-reliance and that it was “a principle that should appeal to this liberty-loving, self-reliant young Dominion.”⁵⁰ John Joseph O’Gorman, still the supporter of Regulation 17, spoke positively of Sinn Féin. He tried to explain to his audience in London, Ontario that Sinn Féin simply meant “Ourselves” (not “Ourselves alone”) and denoted traditional values of self-reliance and self-respect.⁵¹

Post-War Nationalism as the New Normal

Canadian Liberals were at last contented when the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in December 1921. The fact that Canada was mentioned so many times in the Treaty meant that the “conservative” mindset had been defeated, a mindset that could only comprehend republican separatist nationalism or Tory colonial subordination.⁵² At a Canada Day dinner in London, England in 1922, Secretary of the State for the Colonies Winston Churchill believed that in the years to come the Irish Free State would look to Canada for constitutional instruction as it was the basis for the new state’s rights and freedoms.⁵³ And in the decade or so after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty the new Irish government was not shy in using Canadian

⁴⁹ The notion of “independence” also floated easily between the concepts of the individual and the nation. Examples in this study include emigration agent Charles Foy calling on potential emigrants in Ireland to discover true independence by starting their own farm in Canada, and Montreal journalist John Reade asking the question, what people in all the world were more independent than the French-Canadians? These examples contrast the idea of the independence of the individual in anglo culture, against the idea of a people’s independence *from* anglo culture.

⁵⁰ “Urge England to let Irish Rule Selves” *Toronto Globe*, May 26, 1920.

⁵¹ “In Ireland, Sinn Féin meant that an Irishman should learn or speak his own language, play his own games, cultivate his own music, take pride in his own history, support his own industries and have confidence in himself and his own nation.” John J. O’Gorman, *Ireland Since the Larne Gun-Running: A Chapter of Contemporary History*, (London, Canada: Catholic Record Office, 1920).

⁵² “The Canadian Example,” *Toronto Globe*, December 9, 1921.

⁵³ “A New State: Mr. Churchill and Ireland,” *Weekly Irish Times*, July 8, 1922, 10.

constitutional precedent as a way of establishing its international credentials. Although the new Irish state government was peopled with republicans, and an Irish republic was still a goal for many politicians in the new state, the Republic of Ireland Act would not be passed for a third of a century after the Easter Rising. Similarly, although Canada was an integral part of the British Empire, in the aftermath of the Liberals' election win under William Lyon Mackenzie King on December 6, 1921 (the day the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed), there was a move towards greater sovereignty in a new commonwealth of nations, doing away with the old imperial or Empire significations.⁵⁴ The Canadian Liberal party and the pro-Treaty Cumann na nGaedheal party in Ireland would find a lot of common ground in the 1920s. For example, one of the most urgent needs of both countries was independent representation in Washington.⁵⁵ Canada had called for Canadian representation in Washington in 1920, and while the United Kingdom acquiesced to the request, the Canadians held back from appointing someone straight away. Once the Irish Civil War was over in 1923, the Irish government would go ahead and appoint their own ambassador (then minister plenipotentiary) to the United States in 1924, citing Canadian precedent for doing so.

Despite the othering of cultures by many writers, intellectuals, and politicians of this period, (whether that culture was Irish, Gaelic, Orange, Francophone, British, or American), Joseph Kearney Foran's humanism always shone through. Not only did Foran speak up for Irish Home Rule and French language rights, he also spoke of his respect for the religious culture of Jewish immigrants and even handed out prizes at the Baron De Hirsch's School schools in Montreal, proclaiming that Jewish children would thrive under British protection.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Senate records for that year show a desire to leave out the word "British Empire" and instead use "British Dominions beyond the Seas" Canada, *Senate Journals*, 13th Parliament, 5th Session, Vol. 58, May 25, 1921, 354.

⁵⁵ Winston Churchill believed that with the founding of the Irish Free State, the Canadians and the Irish could now finally get on with what they most had in common; their influence on the United States. "A New State: Mr. Churchill and Ireland," *Weekly Irish Times*, July 8, 1922, 10.

⁵⁶ "Baron De Hirsch's School!" *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, July 4, 1894, 4; "Jewish Immigration," *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, August 22, 1894, 9.

But 1916 would be a turning point for Foran's role in Irish-Canadian politics. On St. Patrick's Day that year, he composed a poem in honour of the young Irish-Canadians fighting in the War. Like others, he had a hope that "the creed and race divisions that such baneful shadows cast / will be buried in the trenches of a bitter struggling Past."⁵⁷ For the first time the Union Jack flew in the St. Patrick's Day parade in Montreal, and the following week Foran gave a speech in which he stated that love of Ireland did not preclude a love of Britain.⁵⁸ The following month the Easter Rising would break out in Dublin, and although Foran would continue to support the Irish nationalist cause, his old school reserve would soon be usurped by younger men infused with the new republicanism of the Sinn Féin movement. Foran spoke at the Irish nationalist meeting in Montreal in January 1919 but was outshone in his speech by the more unabashed Charles J. Foy who pronounced that the Sinn Féin movement was the strongest movement ever brought into existence. Foran was later reprimanded in the House of Commons for being absent from Ottawa for much of 1918 and for chairing a Sinn Féin meeting.⁵⁹ He seems to have retired from public life soon after.

Foran was always as conscious of the distant future as he was of the distant past. As a young man writing in *The Harp* in 1879, he claimed that the rise and fall of the nation is the destiny of all nations, and even the eventual destiny of the concept of *nation* itself.⁶⁰ Foran reminds us that the stability of such concepts as *nation* have always been contingent on the historical situation we find ourselves in.

⁵⁷ "To Young Irish-Canadians" Joseph K Foran, *Blossoms of the Past* (Montreal: Gazette Print Co., 1934), 205.

⁵⁸ "St. Patrick's Concert," *The Perth Courier*, March 24, 1916, 4.

⁵⁹ "Serious Charge Against Foran," *The Fernie Free Press*, March 21, 1919, 1.

⁶⁰ "A Glance into the Future." *The Harp*, 4.12 (October 1879): 486.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Canadian House of Commons Debates

- Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 3rd Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, April 12, 1877.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 4th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, April 20, 1882.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 3, June 8, 1885.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 4, June 24, 1885.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, March 19-23, 1886.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 2, May 4, 1886.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 2, May 6, 1886.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 1, April 21, 1887.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 1, April 22, 1887.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 1, April 25, 1887.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 1, April 26, 1887.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 26, 1888.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, January 22, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, February 10, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, February 12, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, February 13, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, February 17, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 6th Parl., 4th Session, vol. 1, February 18, 1890.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 7th Parl., 6th Session, vol. 1, February 6-7, 1896.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 7th Parl., 6th Session, vol. 1, March 4-11, 1896.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 2, June 14, 1897.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parl., 5th Session, vol. 1, February 6, 1900.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 8th Parl., 5th Session, vol. 1, February 20, 1900.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 3, 1902.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 1, March 17, 1902.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 2, April 17, 1902.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 9th Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 1, March 31, 1903.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 2, April 4, 1905.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 3, April 11, 1905.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 5, June 30, 1905.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 3, June 6, 1906.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 2, February 11, 1907.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 10th Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 4, April 20, 1907.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 11th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 2, January 25, 1910.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 6th Session, vol. 1, February 1, 1916.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 6th Session, vol. 4, May 10, 1916.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 6th Session, vol. 4, May 11, 1916.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 7th Session, vol. 3, June 25, 1917.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 7th Session, vol. 3, June 27, 1917.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 7th Session, vol. 3, June 28, 1917.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 12th Parl., 7th Session, vol. 4, July 12, 1917.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 13th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 1, April 5, 1918.
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 13th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 3, May 14, 1919.

Canadian Senate Debates

- Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 2, 1882.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 4th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 3, 1882.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 2, 1886.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 5th Parliament, 4th Session, Vol: 1, May 21, 1886.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 6th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, March 18, 1890.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, September 3, 1891.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 4th Session, vol. 1, April 4, 1894.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 7th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, July 11, 1895.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 2nd Session, vol. 1, June 2, 1913,
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, March 10, 1915.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, April 8, 1915.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 12th Parliament, 7th Session, vol. 1, August 3, 1917.
Canada. *Senate Debates*, 14th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 1, May 18, 1922.

Canadian Sessional Papers

- Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 1st Parl., 4th Session, vol. 6, 1871.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 7th Parl., 5th Session, vol. 9, 1871.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 3rd Parl., 3rd Session, vol. 7, 1876.
Canada. *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 3rd Parl., 5th Session, vol. 8, 1878.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parl., 1st Session, vol. 10, 1883.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 8, 1884.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 5th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 8, 1884.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 7th Parl., 2nd Session, vol. 5, 1892.
Canada, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*, 8th Parl., 5th Session, vol. 10, 1900.

Canadian House of Commons Journals

- Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 1st Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 1, 1872.
Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 3rd Parliament, 5th Session, vol. 12, 1878.
Canada, *House of Commons Journals*, 9th Parliament, 1st Session, vol. 36, 1901.

Canadian Senate Journals

- Canada, *Senate Journals*, 13th Parliament, 5th Session, Vol. 58, 1921.

Library and Archives Canada

Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada from the 8th day of November, 1836 to the 4th day of March 1837. Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1837.

British House of Commons Debates

Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 183 cols. 1088, 17 May 1866.

Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 697, 1 June 1886.
Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 695, 1 June 1886.
Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 305 cols. 1230, 7 June 1886.
Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 11 cols. 412, 14 April 1893.
Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 11 cols. 414, 14 April 1893.

Government of Ireland Sources

Dáil Éireann “Message to the Free Nations of the World.” *dfa.ie*, August 3, 2020, <https://www.dfa.ie/about-us/ourhistory/100years/1919-1929/1919/>,

Final Text of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland.” *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy*, 1921, <https://www.difp.ie/docs/1921/Anglo-Irish-Treaty/214.htm>. Accessed July 28, 2020.

Websites

OED Online, Oxford University Press, June 2019

Newspapers and Magazines

American

The American Catholic Quarterly Review (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; 1905)
The New York Times Magazine (New York, New York; 1916)

British

Fortnightly Review (London: England; 1893)
The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review (London: England; 1882-1892)
The Times (London: England; 1916)
Westminster Review (London: England; 1890)

Canadian

Educational Review (St. John, New Brunswick; 1916)
La Revue Franco-Américaine (Québec, Québec; 1908-1911)
La Semaine Religieuse de Québec (Québec, Québec; 1908-1911)
L'Action Française (Montréal, Québec; 1918-1919)
Le Propagateur (Montréal, Québec; 1905)
Les cloches de Saint-Boniface (Saint-Boniface, Manitoba; 1912)
London Advertiser (London, Ontario; 1913-1915)
Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes (Québec, Québec; 1908-1911)

Rose and Belford and National Review (Toronto, Ontario; 1879)
The Bystander (Toronto, Ontario; 1883)
The Canadian Spectator (Montréal, Québec; 1878-1880)
The Catholic Record (London, Ontario; 1884-1914)
The Catholic Register (Toronto, Ontario; 1905-1908)
The Fernie Free Press (Fernie, British Columbia; 1919)
The Harp (Montréal, Québec; 1875-1882)
The Owl (Ottawa, Ontario; 1890-1897)
The Perth Courier (Perth, Ontario; 1916)
The Voice (Chelsea), Québec; 1882)
Toronto Globe (Toronto, Ontario; 1868-1921)
True Witness and Catholic Chronicle (Montréal, Québec; 1859-1899)
University of Ottawa Review (Ottawa, Ontario; 1898-1911)

Irish

An Claidheamh Soluis (Dublin, Ireland; 1899-1917)
Belfast Newsletter (Belfast, Ireland; 1881-1916)
Belfast Telegraph (Belfast, Ireland; 1895)
Connacht Tribune (Galway, Ireland; 1915)
Donegal News (Donegal, Ireland; 1904)
Drogheda Argus and Leinster Journal, (Drogheda, Ireland; 1903)
Drogheda Independent (Drogheda, Ireland; 1897)
Dundalk Democrat (Dundalk, Ireland; 1884-1903)
Fermanagh Herald (Enniskillen, Ireland; 1904)
Freeman's Journal (Dublin, Ireland; 1897-1917)
Irish Examiner (Cork, Ireland; 1899-1922)
Irish Independent, (Dublin, Ireland; 1905-1925)
Irish Times, (Dublin, Ireland; 1871-1913)
Munster Express (Waterford, Ireland; 1884)
Nationalist and Leinster Times (Carlow, Ireland; 1897-1919)
Skibbereen Eagle (Skibbereen, Ireland; 1905-1907)
Southern Star (Skibbereen, Ireland; 1906-1911)
The Catholic Bulletin (Dublin, Ireland; 1919)
The Dublin Review, (Dublin, Ireland; 1886)
The Nation (Dublin, Ireland; 1870-1897)

The New Ireland Review (Dublin, Ireland; 1907)
Waterford News and Star (Waterford, Ireland; 1924)
Weekly Irish Times (Dublin, Ireland; 1883-1922)
Western People (Ballina, Ireland; 1906)

Books and Pamphlets

A Searchlight Showing the Need of a University for the English-Speaking Catholics of Canada. [Ottawa?: publisher not identified, 1905?]

History and Album of the Irish Race Convention which met in Dublin the First Three Days of September, 1896. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1896.

Ancient Order of Hibernians, "The Irish Renaissance." *Official Journal, Provincial Convention, Ancient Order of Hibernians of the Province of Quebec, at Hibernian Hall, Richmond Street, Montreal, September 10, 11, 12, 1910.* Montréal: s.n., 1910.

Belcourt, N.A. *Regulation 17 ultra vires.* Montréal?: s.n., 1914.

Bourassa, Henri. *Ireland and Canada: An Address Delivered in Hamilton, Ont., on Saint-Patrick's Day, 1914, Under the Auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians 1914.* Montreal: Le Devoir 1914.

---, Henri. *La Langue, Gardienne de la Foi.* Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1918.

Buckley, M.B. *Diary of a Tour of America,* Dublin: Sealy, Briars & Walker, 1889.

Captain Mac. *The Englishman in Canada: A Satire.* Toronto: Belford & Co., 1880.

Champagne, Napoléon. *Discours de M. Nap. Champagne, Député d'Ottawa-Est, Sur les Droits de la Langue Française dans les écoles d'Ontario.* Ottawa: [s.n.], 1914.

Chandler Amos Henry, & Charles Pelham Mulvany. *Lyrics, Songs and Sonnets.* Toronto: Hunter & Rose, 1880.

Chubb, Percival. *The Teaching of English in the Elementary and the Secondary School.* New York; London: MacMillan & Co., 1902.

Crawford, Isabella Valancy. *The Collected Poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford.* Toronto: William Briggs, 1905.

Crofton, Francis Blake. *For Closer Union: Some Slight Offerings to a Great Cause.* Halifax: A&W Mackinlay, 1897.

Davin, Nicholas Flood. *British versus American Civilization: a lecture delivered in Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto, 19th April, 1873.* Toronto: Adam, Stevenson & Co., 1873.

- , *Ireland and the Empire: A Speech Delivered Before the St. Patrick's Society, in Nordheimer's Hall, Montreal, on St. Patrick's Day, 1885*. Ottawa: Citizen Printing & Publishing Co., 1885.
- , *Eos: An Epic of the Dawn and Other Poems*. Regina: Leader Company, Ltd., 1889.
- , *Home Rule, a Speech: Delivered in Montreal on the 17th of May, 1893*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co, 1893.
- , *The British Empire: A Speech Delivered at the Banquet in Boston, Celebrating Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee*. Winnipeg: Nor' Wester Office, 1897.
- De Nevers, Edmond. *L'Âme Américaine: Les Origines. La Vie Historique*. Paris: Jouve & Boyer, 1900.
- Dewart, Edward Hartley. *Selections from Canadian Poets*. J. Lovell, Montreal, 1864.
- , *Songs of Life: A Collection of Poems*. Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869.
- Dineen, Revd. Patrick S. *Lectures on the Irish Language Movement*. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1904.
- Dollard, James B. *Poems*. Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada, 1910.
- Drummond, William Henry. *Johnnie Courteau, and Other Poems*. New York; London UK: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1901.
- , *The Voyageur and Other Poems*. New York: Putnam & Sons, 1905.
- Foran, Joseph Kearney. *Irish-Canadian Representatives: Their Past Acts, Present Stand, Future Prospects: A Review of the Question*. Ottawa: s.n., 1886.
- . *Poems and Canadian Lyrics*. Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1895.
- . "L'Œuvre Littéraire de James Donnelly." *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3.6 (1913): 131-141
- . *A Garland: Lectures and Poems*. Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1931.
- . *Blossoms of the Past*. Montreal: Gazette Print Co., 1934.
- Fuller, William Henry. *The Colonial Question: A Brief Consideration of Colonial Emancipation, Imperial Federalism and Colonial Conservatism*. Kingston: British Whig, 1875.
- Hamilton-Gordon (Countess of Aberdeen), Ishbel. *The Irish Literary Revival: A Lecture Delivered at the Request of the Catholic Young Ladies' Literary Association*. Toronto: s.n. 1895.
- Hodgins, J. George. *Irishmen in Canada: Their Union not Inconsistent with the Development of Canadian National Feeling*. Toronto: Lovell Bros., 1875.
- Holland, Norah M. *Spun-Yarn and Spindrift*. London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1918.

- Howland, Oliver A. *The Irish Problem*. London, UK: Hatchards, 1887.
- Hughes, Katherine, *Ireland*. Kingston: Canadian Freeman, 1917.
- Leprohon, Mrs. *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Miss R.E. Mullins)*. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1881.
- Lett, William Pittman, *Address Delivered by William Pittman Lett at the Grand Opera House at the Annual entertainment of the St. Patrick's Literary Association, on the 18th March*. Ottawa: s.n. 1878.
- . *Annexation and British Connection: Address to Brother Jonathan*, Ottawa: Mason & Jones, 1889.
- Library and Archives Canada. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada from the 8th day of November, 1836 to the 4th day of March 1837*. Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1837.
- Lighthall, William Douw, ed. *Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada*. London: W. Scott, 1889.
- Logan, John Daniel. *The Making of the New Ireland: An Essay in Social Psychology*. Toronto: Gaelic League. 1909.
- Lynch, Bryan. *The Ulster Loyalists: A Reply to the Speeches of the Rev. Dr. Kane & Mr. G. Hill Smith Delivered in Mutual Street Rink, on the 9th September, 1886*. Toronto: [s.n.], 1886.
- Magrath, C.A. *Disturbing Issues: Bilingualism and Home Rule*. Guelph, Ont.?: s.n., 1917.
- Martin, George. *Marguerite; Or, The Isle of Demons and Other Poems*. Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1887.
- McCarroll, James. *Ridgeway: An Historic Romance of the Fenian Invasion of Canada*. Buffalo: McCarroll & Co., 1868.
- . *Madeline and Other Poems*. Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1889.
- McCarthy, D'Alton. *D'Alton McCarthy's Great Speech Delivered in Ottawa, December 12th, 1889*. Toronto: Equal Rights Association, 1889.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1858.
- O'Brien, Cornelius. *Speeches Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Halifax, Nova Scotia, Branch of the Imperial Federation League, Held at the Academy of Music, Halifax, 4th June, 1888*. Halifax N.S.: Halifax Branch Imperial Federation League, 1888.
- O'Connor, John. *Letters of John O'Connor M.P. on Fenianism: Addressed to His Excellency the Right Honourable John Young, Bart., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1870.

- O’Gorman, John J. *Ireland Since the Larne Gun-Running: A Chapter of Contemporary History*. London, Canada: Catholic Record Office, 1920.
- O’Hagan, Thomas. *Canadian Essays: Critical and Historical*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1901.
- . “What the French-Canadians are Fighting For,” in *The Truth and Nothing but the Truth*. Montreal: Le Devoir Printing, 1915.
- O’Halloran, Sylvester *An Introduction to the Study of the Antiquities of Ireland* (London: J. Murray, 1772)
- O’Hanly, J.P. *The Political Standing of Irish Catholics in Canada*. Ottawa: s.n. 1872.
- Plunkett, Horace. *Ireland in the New Century*. London: John Murray, 1904.
- Reade, John. *The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems*. Montreal: Dawson, 1870.
- . *Language and Conquest: A Retrospect and a Forecast*. Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1883.
- Renan, Ernest, *Qu’est-ce une Nation?* Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882.
- Riordan, Michael J. *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906.
- Ross, George William. *French Schools: Speech Delivered by the Hon. Geo. W. Ross, in the Legislative Assembly, April 3rd, 1890, in reply to Mr. T.D. Craig, Member for East Durham*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890.
- Ryan, Carroll. *Poems, Songs, Ballads*. Montreal: Lovell & Sons, 1903.
- Scriven, Joseph. *Hymns and other Verses*. Peterborough ON: James Stephens, 1869.
- Smith, Goldwin. “The Home Rule Fallacy.” *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 12.65 (Jul. 1882): 3.
- . *Dismemberment No Remedy*. London: Cassell & Company, 1886.
- . *Canada and the Canadian Question*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- . *Irish History and the Irish Question*. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1905.
- Stewart, Alexander Charles. *The Poetical Works of Alexander Charles Stewart*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890.
- . *Dust and Ashes*. Toronto: The Author, 1910.
- . *The Beaver and Other Odds and Ends*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1918.
- Stockley, W.F.B. “The Canadian Northwest Schools Question.” *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 30.119 (July 1905): 472-494.
- T.F. Woods & Co’s *Canadian Newspaper Directory*. Montreal: T. F. Wood & Co., Publishers, 1876.

Tardivel, Jules-Paul. *Notes de voyage en France, Italie, Espagne, Irlande, Angleterre, Belgique et Hollande*. Montréal: E. Sénéchal, 1890.

---. *La Situation Religieuse aux Etats-Unis*. Montréal: Cadieux & Derome, 1900.

The Project of a Commonwealth: An Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire and into the Mutual Relations of the Several Communities Thereof. London; Toronto: Macmillan, 1915.

Traill, Catherine Parr. *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America*. London, UK: Charles Knight, 1838.

Vallancey, Charles. *A Grammar of the Ibero-Celtic, or Irish Language*. Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1782.

Wade, Edward Harper. *A Friendly Exchange of Views Between Quebec and Ontario*. Québec: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1917.

White, John. *Sketches from America*. London: S. Low, Son and Marston, 1870.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aiken, Síobhra. "'Ní cathair mar a tuairisg í': (Mis)Representing the American City in the Literature of the Gaelic Revival?" *Éire-Ireland* 53.3 (2018): 93-118.

Akenson, Donald H. *Being had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America*. Port Credit, Ont., Canada: P.D. Meany, 1985.

---. *Small Differences*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

---. *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*. Kingston Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006.

Aneesh, A. "Bloody Language: Clashes and Constructions of Linguistic Nationalism in India." *Sociological Forum*, 25.1 (March 2010): 86-109.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. 1 Vol. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Atwood, Margaret. *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. Toronto: Anansi, 1972.

Bal, Mieke, ed. *Narrative Theory: Political Narratology*. Routledge: Abingdon, 2004.

Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 1996.

- Banks, Margaret A. "Edward Blake's Relations with Canada During his Irish Career 1892-1907." *Canadian Historical Review* 35.1 (1954): 22-42.
- Barlow, Matthew. *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood*. Vancouver: Toronto: UBC Press, 2017.
- Barrett, James R. *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the multi-ethnic city*. New York: Penguin Press, 2012.
- Bell, Duncan Bell. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Bennett, Tony and John Frow, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, 2008.
- Bentley, D.M. *The Confederation Group of Canadian Poets, 1880-1897*. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Second ed. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. London; New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Bock Michel and François Charbonneau, *Le siècle du Règlement 17: regards sur une crise scolaire et nationale*. Sudbury: Éditions Prise de parole, 2015.
- Bock, Michel. *A Nation Beyond Borders: Lionel Groulx on French-Canadian Minorities*, trans. Ferdinanda Van Gennip. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014.
- . "L'évêque Scollard et la question canadienne-française. Le diocèse de Sault-Sainte-Marie au cœur du conflit franco-irlandais (1904-1934)." *Cahiers Charlevoix*, volume 10, (2014): 13–63.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Brah, A. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Brass, Joy. "Historicising English pedagogy: The Extension and Transformation of 'the cure of souls.'" *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 19.1 (March 2011): 153-172
- Brass, Paul R. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi; Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1991.
- Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994.
- Brooks, Stephen, ed. *The Challenge of Cultural Pluralism*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Bruner, Michael Lane. *Strategies of Remembrance: The Rhetorical Dimensions of National Identity Construction*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

- Buckner, Phillip A. *Canada and the British Empire*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . "Presidential Address: Whatever Happened to the British Empire?" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 4.1 (1993): 3-32.
- Burke Sara Z. and Patrice Milewski, eds. *Schooling in Transition: Readings in Canadian History of Education*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Burke, Peter J. and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Byrne, Cyril J., Margaret Rose Harry, and Canadian Association for Irish Studies. *Talamh an Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays*. Halifax, N.S.: Nimbus Pub., 1986.
- Calhoun, Craig. "'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary," *Ethnicities*, 3.4 (2003): 531-553.
- Campey, Lucille H. *Atlantic Canada's Irish Immigrants: A Fish and Timber Story*. Toronto, Ontario; 4: Dundurn Press, 2016; 2016.
- Cardinal, Linda, Simon Jolivet, and Isabelle Matte. *Le Québec Et l'Irlande: Culture, Histoire, Identité*. Québec: Septentrion, 2014.
- Carey, Hilary M. *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908*. Cambridge UK; New York, 2011.
- Carr, David. *Time, Narrative, and History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Carroll, Michael P. "How the Irish Became Protestant in America." *Religion & American Culture* 16.1 (2006): 25-54.
- Cecillon, Jack D. *Prayers, Petitions, and Protests: The Catholic Church and the Ontario Schools Crisis in the Windsor Border Region, 1910-1928*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP 2013.
- Charlesworth, Hector ed. *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography*. 3rd Edition, Toronto: Hunter Rose Company, 1919.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Choquette, Robert. *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975.
- Ciani, Adrian. "An Imperialist Irishman: Bishop Michael Fallon, the Diocese of London and the Great War." *Historical Studies* 74 (2008): 73-94.
- Clarke, Brian P. *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*. Montreal, Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

- Clarke, Brian P., Mark McGowan, and Canadian Catholic Historical Association. *Catholics at the "Gathering Place": Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991*. Toronto, Ontario; Ottawa, Ontario: Canada Catholic Historical Association; Canadian Electronic Library, 2015; 1993.
- Cohen, Robin. "The Incredible Vagueness of Being British/English." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs)*, 76.3 (July 2000): 575-582.
- Cole, Douglas. "The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies." *Journal of British Studies*, 10.2 (May 1971): 160-182.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Collombier-Lakeman, Pauline. "Ireland the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism." *Radical History Review*, 104 (Spring 2009): 57-76.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Constant, Jean-Francois and Michel Ducharme, eds. *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Cook, Ramsey, ed. *French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1969.
- Cormier, Jeffrey, and Philippe Couton. "Civil Society, Mobilization, and Communal Violence: Québec and Ireland, 1890-1920." *The Sociological Quarterly* 45.3 (2004): 487-508.
- Corporaal, Margu rite and Jason King. "Irish Global Migration and Memory: Transnational Perspectives of Ireland's Famine Exodus." *Atlantic Studies* 11.3 (2014): 301-320.
- Cousens, S.H. "Regional Variations in Population Changes in Ireland, 1861-1881." *Economic History Review*, 17.2 (1964): 301-321.
- Creighton, Donald Grant. *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998.
- . *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998.
- Crowley, Tony, ed. *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922. A Sourcebook*. London; New York: Routledge. 2000.
- . *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2004.
- Dal Lago, Enrico, R ois n Healy, and Gear oid Barry, eds. *1916 in Global Context: An Anti-Imperial Moment*. Abingdon UK; New York, Routledge, 2018.
- Deutsch, Karl W. "The Tread of European Nationalism – The Language Aspect." *American Political Science Review*, 36.3 (June 1942): 533-541.

- Dewey, A. Gordon. *The Dominions and Diplomacy: The Canadian Contribution, Volume 1*. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929.
- Dick, Lyle. "Nationalism and Visual Media in Canada: The Case of Thomas Scott's Execution." *Manitoba History*.48 (2004): 2-18.
- Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger*. London UK: Routledge, 2002.
- Doyle, Aiden. *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2015.
- Duane, Patrick A. "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign, 1872-1915." *Archivaria*, 19 (1984): 73-93.
- Eagleton, Terry. *How to Read a Poem*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007.
- Earls, Brian. "Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael." *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 68.3 (1990): 739-751.
- Elliott, Bruce S. *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*. 2nd ed. 1 Vol. Kingston: 2004.
- Farrell, John KA. "Michael Francis Fallon Bishop of London Ontario, Canada 1909-1931: The Man and his Controversies." *CCHA Study Sessions* 35.1 (1968): 73-90.
- Fay, Terence J. *A History of Canadian Catholics Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*. Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Fierlbeck, Katherine. *Political Thought in Canada: An Intellectual History*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2006.
- Fiorino, Pasquale. "The Nomination of Michael Fallon as Bishop of London." *Historical Studies* 62 (1996): 33-46.
- Fitzgibbon, Linda. *Roots and Routes: Memory and Identity in the Irish Diaspora in Canada*. Doctoral Thesis, Concordia University, 2019.
- Fitzpatrick, David. *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Fitzpatrick, Michael Joseph. *The Role of Bishop Michael Francis Fallon, and the Conflict Between the French Catholics and Irish Catholics in the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question*. Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1969.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon, 1972.
- Frawley, Oona, ed. *Memory Ireland, vol. 2, Diaspora and Memory Practices*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012.
- Frye, Northrop. *The Bush Garden Essays on the Canadian Imagination*. 2nd ed. Concord, Ont.: House of Anansi, 1995.

- Gaffield, Chad. *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict the Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.
- Gagnier, Regenia. "The Law of Progress and the Ironies of Individualism in the Nineteenth Century." *New Literary History* 31.2 (2000): 315-336.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic, 1973.
- Gervais, Gaétan. "Le règlement XVII (1912-1927)," *Revue du Nouvel Ontario*, n° 18 (1996): 123-192
- Gorman, Daniel. *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*. Manchester UK: Manchester University, 2006.
- Grant, George Parkin, and Andrew Potter. *Lament for a Nation the Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*. 40th Anniversary ed. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Grob-Fitzgibbon, Benjamin. "The Curious Case of the Vanishing Debate over Irish Home Rule: The Dominion of Canada, Irish Home Rule, and Canadian Historiography." *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 45.1 (Mar. 2015): 113–128.
- Hackert, Stephanie. *Linguistic Nationalism and the Emergence of the English Native Speaker*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 2012.
- Hammack Phillip L., and Andrew Pilecki. "Narrative as a Root Metaphor for Political Psychology." *Political Psychology*, 33.1 (February 2012): 75-103.
- Harper, Marjory. "Enticing the Emigrant: Canadian Agents in Ireland and Scotland, c. 1870 - c. 1920." *Scottish Historical Review* 83, 1.215 (2004): 41-58.
- Harris, Cole. "The Spaces of Early Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 91.4 (2010): 725-59.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hatton, Tim and Jeffrey Williamson, eds. *Migration and the International Labor Market 1850-1939*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Henretta, James A. "Community and Social Change in America by Thomas Bender." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 36.2 (1979): 292-294.
- Hickey, Raymond, ed. *Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- . *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.

- Holmgren, Michele J. *Native Muses and National Poetry: Nineteenth-Century Irish-Canadian Poets*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1997.
- Hooper-Goranson, Brenda. "No earthly distinctions": *Irishness and identity in nineteenth century Ontario, 1823–1900*. Doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 2011.
- Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Horrall, Stanley. *Canada and the Irish Question: A Study of the Canadian Response to Home Rule 1882-1893*. Master's Thesis, Carleton University, 1966.
- Houston, Cecil J., and William J. Smyth. *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- . *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Hron, Madeleine. *Translating Pain: Immigrant Suffering in Literature and Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Hutchinson, John. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- Inglis, Tom, ed. *Are the Irish Different?* Manchester University Press, 2014.
- Jackson, Alvin, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Jenkins, Brian. *Irish Nationalism and the British State: From Repeal to Revolutionary Nationalism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Jenkins, William. *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013
- Jess, Raymond. *The Protestant Irish of Montreal and Canadian National Identity*. Masters Thesis, Concordia University, 2013.
- Jolivet, Simon, Simon Jolivet, and Canadian Electronic Library. *Le Vert Et Le Bleu*. Montréal, Qué.: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2011.
- Jones, Ernest. *Psycho-Myth, Psycho-History: Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis, Volume 1*. New York: Stonehill, 1974.
- Kane Anne. "Narratives of Nationalism: Constructing Irish National Identity during the Land War, 1879-82." *National Identities*, 2.3 (Nov 2000): 245-264.
- Kearney, Richard. *Transitions: Narratives in Modern Irish Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

- Keep, G.R.C. "A Canadian Emigration Commissioner in Northern Ireland." *The Canadian Historical Review*, 34.2 (June 1953): 151-157.
- Kelleher, Margaret, and Michael Kenneally. *Ireland and Québec: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on History, Culture and Society*. Dublin, Ireland; 4: Four Courts Press, 2016.
- Kelley, Ninette and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Kendle, John. *Ireland and the Federal Solution*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.
- Kiberd, Declan and P.J. Matthews, eds. *Handbook of the Irish Revival*. Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Kim, Andrew E. "The Absence of Pan-Canadian Civil Religion: Plurality, Duality, and Conflict in Symbols of Canadian Culture." *Sociology of Religion* 54.3 (1993): 257-275.
- Kim, Sandra So Hee Chi. "Redefining Diaspora Through a Phenomenology of Postmemory." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 16.3 (2007): 337-352.
- King, Jason. "The Feminization of the Canadian Frontier: Engendering the "Peaceable Kingdom" Myth in the Writings of Mary Anne Sadlier (1820-1913) & Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1887)." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 32.1 (2006): 46-55.
- Kirkland, Richard. *Identity Parades: Northern Irish Culture and Dissident Subjects*. Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Kramer, Lloyd S. *Nationalism in Europe and America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities Since 1775*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Kreager, Phillip. "Population and Identity." *Anthropological Demography: Toward a New Synthesis*. Eds. David I. Kertzer and Thomas E. Fricke. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997. 139-174.
- Krishnaswamy, Revathi. "Nineteenth-Century Language Ideology: A Postcolonial Perspective." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 7.1 (2005): 43-71.
- Lambert, D. & Lester, A., ed. *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Langlands Rebecca. "Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain." *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.1 (January 1999): 53-69.

- Lawson, Alan. "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject." *Essays on Canadian Writing*.56 (1995): 20.
- Leerssen, Joep. *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representations of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Ireland: Cork University, 1996.
- Leerssen, Joep. *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Ideas of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
- Lennon, Joseph. *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology, Vol 1*. New York: Basic Books, 1963; 1976.
- . *Structural Anthropology, Vol 2*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977; 1963.
- Litto, Frederic Michael. "Noah Webster's Theory of Linguistic Nationalism." *Acta Semitica et Lingvistica* 5.1 (1963): 133-155.
- Lloyd, David. *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity, 1800-2000: The Transformation of Oral Space*. Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lynch, Patricia A., and Joachim Fischer, and Brian Coates, eds. *Back to the Present: Forward to the Past: Irish Writing and History*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.
- Lyne, D.C. "Irish-Canadian Financial Contributions to the Home Rule Movement in the 1890s." *Studia Hibernica* 7 (1967): 182-206.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780-1980*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1983.
- MacKay, Donald, and Inc Gibson Library Connections. *Flight from Famine: The Coming of the Irish to Canada*. Toronto Ont.: Dundurn Press, 2009.
- MacKenzie, J. M. "Empire and National Identifies: The Case of Scotland." *Transaction-Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 215-32.
- MacRaild, Donald M. *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*. 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- MacRaild, Donald M., et al, eds. *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies*. Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2019.
- Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew S. Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Maitz Péter. "Linguistic Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Hungary: Reconstructing a Linguistic Ideology." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 9.1 (January 2008): 20-47.
- Manning, Erin. *Ephemeral Territories: Representing Nation, Home, and Identity in Canada*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Mannion Patrick. *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.
- Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*. 12 Vol. Toronto: Published for the University of Toronto Dept. of Geography by the University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Massey, Doreen. "A Global Sense of Place." *Marxism Today*, 38 (June 1991): 24-29
- McBride, Ian, ed. *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McCarthy, Angela. *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'the Desired Haven'*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005.
- McEvoy, Frederick J. "'Naturally I Am Passionate, Ill-Tempered, and Arrogant...': Father Matthew J. Whelan and French-English Conflict in Ontario, 1881-1922." *Historical Studies* 72 (2006): 54-70.
- McGowan, Mark George, and Canadian Historical Association. *Creating Canadian Historical Memory: The Case of the Famine Migration of 1847*. booklet no. 30 Vol. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2006.
- . *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-18*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.
- . *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.
- McKay, Ian. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81.4 (2000): 617.
- McKillop, A. B. "Nationalism, Identity and Canadian Intellectual History." *Contours of Canadian Thought*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- McLaughlin, Robert. *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- McMahon, Colin. "Montreal's Ship Fever Monument: An Irish Famine Memorial in the Making." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 33.1 (Spring 2007): 48-60.
- McMonagle, Sarah. "Finding the Irish language in Canada." *New Hibernia Review* 16.1 (Spring 2012): 176-197.

- Miller, Kerby A. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Mohr, Thomas. "Irish Home Rule and Constitutional Reform in the British Empire, 1885-1914." *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 24.2 2019, Open Edition Journals, DOI : 10.4000/rfcb.3900 Accessed 6 Nov. 2019
- Moran, Gerard. "State Aided Emigration from Ireland to Canada in the 1880s." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 20.2 (1994): 1-19.
- Mosher, James S. "The Protestant Reading Ethic and Variation in its Effects." *Sociological Forum*, 31.2 (June 2016): 397-418.
- Murphy, Terrence, and Cyril J. Byrne. *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*. St. John's, Nfld.: Jesperson Press, 1987.
- Murphy, Terrence, and Gerald J. Stortz. *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.
- Nelson, Gary and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Nolte, William M. *The Irish in Canada, 1815-1867*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Maryland, 1975.
- Ó hAllmhuráin, Gearóid. *O'Brien Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music*. Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2008.
- O'Brien, Eugene. *Examining Irish Nationalism in the Context of Literature, Culture and Religion: A Study of the Epistemological Structure of Nationalism*. 3 Vol. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.
- O'Connell, Helen. "Improved English: And the Silence of Irish." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30.1 (Spring, 2004): 13-20.
- O'Day, A. "Imagined Irish Communities: Networks of Social Communication of the Irish Diaspora in the United States and Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Immigrants and Minorities* 23.2-3 (2005): 399-424.
- O'Driscoll, Robert, and Lorna Reynolds. *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*. Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988.
- Oerlemans, Onno. *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- O'Grady, Brendan. *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island*. Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

- O'Leary, Daniel. "Irish-Canadian Identity, Imperial Nationalism: Irish Book History and Print Culture in Victorian Québec." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 33.1 (Spring, 2007): 61-66
- . *Message to Erin: An Anthology of Irish-Canadian Writing 1852-1918*. Montréal: DC Books, 2009.
- Oliver, Peter. "The Resolution of the Ontario Bilingual Schools Crisis, 1919-1929." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 7.1 (1972): 22-45.
- Olson, Sherry and Patricia Thornton. *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.
- Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy the Technologizing of the Word*. London; New York: Routledge, 1991; 1982.
- Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Panikkar, K.N. *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*. London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2002.
- Park, Julian. *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1957,
- Partner, Nancy and Sarah Foot, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*. London: SAGE Publications, 2013.
- Patten, Alan. "The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism." *History of Political Thought*, 27.2 (Summer 2006): 221-262.
- Pennycook, Alastair. *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London UK; New York, US: Routledge, 2002.
- Perin, Roberto. *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Pike, Mark A. *Ethical English: Teaching and Learning in English as Spiritual, Moral and Religious Education*. London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Power, T. P. *The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900*. Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press, 1991.
- Prang, Margaret. "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917." *Canadian Historical Review* 41.4 (1960): 281-307
- Rafferty, Oliver P. "The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire, 1800-1921." *Historical Research* 84.224 (2011): 288-309.
- Rapport, Nigel, and Joanna Overing. *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2000.

- Reid, Colin W. "An Experiment in Constructive Unionism': Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s." *English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014): 332-361.
- Reynolds, Lloyd George. *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford: 1935.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1984.
- . *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985.
- . *Time and Narrative*. Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988.
- Robbins, Richard H., and Sherrie N. Larkin. *Cultural Anthropology: A Problem-based Approach*. 1st Canadian ed. Toronto: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2007.
- Roby, Yves. *The Franco-Americans of New England. Dreams and Realities*, trans. Mary Ricard. Sillery, Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004.
- Rowe, Allan. *Prairie Shamrock: Irish Settlement and Identity in Western Canada. 1870s-1930s*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta, 2008.
- Rudin, Ronald, and Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Québec, 1759-1980*. Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985.
- Satzewich, Vic and Lloyd Wong, eds. *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2006.
- Shanahan, David. *The Irish Question in Canada: Ireland, the Irish and Canadian politics, 1880-1922*. Doctoral thesis, Carleton University, 1989.
- Sharpe, Chris. "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918." *Canadian Military History*, 24.1 (Winter/Spring, 2015): 17-60.
- Shepard, Alexandra, and Phil Withington. *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*. Manchester, UK; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Smeeke, Anouk and Maykel Verkuyten, "Perceived Group Continuity, Collective Self-Continuity, and In-Group Identification." *Self and Identity*, 13:6, (2014): 663-680.
- Smethurst, Paul. *The Postmodern Chronotype: Reading Space and Time in Contemporary Fiction*. Amsterdam; Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2004.
- Smith, Allan. "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914." *Canadian Historical Review*, 59.2 (June 1978): 189-219.
- Smith, Angele. "Fitting into a New Place: Irish Immigrant Experiences in Shaping a Canadian Landscape." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8.3 (September 2004): 217-230
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992; 1991.

- Smith, Laura J. "The Ballygibbins: British Emigration Policy, Irish Violence, and Immigrant Reception in Upper Canada." *Ontario History*, 108.1 (Spring 2016): 1-23.
- Smyth, William J. *Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture*. Toronto; 4: University of Toronto Press, 2015; 2015.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London; New York: Verso, 1989.
- Somers, Margaret R. "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach." *Theory and Society*, 23.5 (1994): 605-649.
- Spires, Scott. "Lithuanian Linguistic Nationalism and the Cult of Antiquity." *Nations and Nationalism*, 5.4 (October 1999): 485-500.
- Stagni, Pellegrino. *View from Rome: Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2002.
- Stevenson, Garth. *Parallel Paths: The Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Québec*. Montréal, Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Stewart, A. T. Q. *The Narrow Ground: Aspects of Ulster, 1609-1969*. London: Faber and Faber, 1977.
- Stortz, Gerald J. "Archbishop Lynch and New Ireland: An Unfulfilled Dream for Canada's Northwest." *The Catholic Historical Review*, 68 (Oct 1982): 612-624.
- Taine, H. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette, 1863.
- Thompson, Graeme. "Reframing Canada's Great War: Liberalism, sovereignty, and the British Empire c. 1860s-1919." *International Journal*, 73.1 (March 2018): 85-110.
- Thongchai Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
- Timlin, Mabel F. "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 26.4 (1960): 517-532.
- Toner P.M. "The Home Rule League in Canada: Fortune, Fenians, and Failure." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 15.1 (1989): 7-19.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. 5th ed. New York: Longman/Pearson, 2010.
- Townend, Paul A. "'No Imperial Privilege': Justin McCarthy, Home Rule, and Empire." *Éire-Ireland*, 42.1 (2007): 201-228.
- Trigger, Rosalyn. "The Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Journal of Historical Geography* 27.4 (2001): 553-572.
- . *The Role of the Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Master's thesis, McGill University, 1997.

- Trumpener, Katie. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Warkentin, Germaine. "The Problem of Crawford's Style." *Canadian Literature* 107 (Winter 1985): 20-32.
- Weber, Max & Anthony Giddens, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons, London; New York: 2001.
- White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry*, 7.1 (Autumn: 1980): 5-27.
- Whitebrook, Maureen. *Identity, Narrative, and Politics*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Wilcox Walter F. ed. *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931.
- Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman, eds. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Wilson, Catharine Anne. *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*. 17 Vol. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Wilson David A. "Comment: Whiteness and Irish Experience in North America," *Journal of British Studies* 44.1 (January 2005): 153-160.
- . *Irish Nationalism in Canada*. 25 Vol. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.
- . *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Wilson, Thomas M., and Hastings Donnan. *The Anthropology of Ireland*. Oxford, UK: Berg, 2006.
- Wright, Julia M. *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Zucchi, John E. *The View from Rome Archbishop Stagni's 1915 Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools Question*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

Appendix 1- Home Rule Resolution Votes

1882: *The 1882 address was passed unanimously in the House of Commons and was passed by a vote of 36-6 in the Senate.*

To THE QUEEN's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY:

Most Gracious Sovereign:

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Canada*, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly, in our own name, and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to renew the expression of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty's person and Government.

1. We have observed, may it please Your Majesty, with feelings of profound regret and concern, the distress and discontent which have prevailed for some time among Your Majesty's subjects in *Ireland*.

2. We would respectfully represent to Your Majesty that Your Irish subjects in the Dominion of *Canada* are among the most loyal, most prosperous, and most contented of Your Majesty's subjects.

3. We would further respectfully represent to Your Majesty that the Dominion of *Canada*, while offering the greatest advantages and attractions for those of our fellow-subjects who may desire to make their homes amongst us, does not receive that proportion of emigrants from *Ireland* which might reasonably be expected, and that this is due, in a great measure, in the case of many of our Irish fellow-subjects who have sought foreign homes, to their feelings of estrangement towards the Imperial Government.

4. We would further most respectfully represent to Your Majesty, that in the interests of this, Your loyal Dominion and of the entire Empire, it is extremely to be desired that Your Majesty may not be deprived, in the development of Your Majesty's possessions on this continent, -of the valuable aid of those of Your Majesty's Irish subjects who may feel disposed to leave their native land to seek more prosperous homes.

5. We desire respectfully to suggest to Your Majesty, that *Canada* and its inhabitants have prospered exceedingly under a Federal system, allowing to each Province of the Dominion considerable powers of self-government, and would venture to express a hope that if consistent with the integrity and well-being of the Empire, and if the rights and status of the minority are fully protected and secured, sure means may be found of meeting the expressed desire of so many of Your Irish subjects in that regard, so that *Ireland* may become a source of strength to Your Majesty's Empire, and that Your Majesty's Irish subjects at home and abroad may feel the same pride in the greatness of Your Majesty's Empire, the same veneration for the justice of Your Majesty's rule, and the same devotion to, and affection for, our common flag, as are now felt by all classes of Your Majesty's loyal subjects in this Dominion.

6. We would further express a hope that the time has come when Your Majesty's clemency may, without injury to the interests of the United Kingdom, be extended to those persons who are now imprisoned in *Ireland* charged with political offences only, and the inestimable blessing of personal liberty restored to them. We pray that the blessings of Your Majesty's Reign may, for Your people's sake, be long continued.

1886: *The resolution was passed in the Commons by a vote of 140-6 but was not sent to the Senate for confirmation. Among those voting in favour of the amended resolutions were a number of prominent Canadian-born Orangemen, including: the future president of the World Council of the Orange Order, John William Bell; the former Grand Master of the Orange Order of British*

North America and future Canadian prime minister Makenzie Bowell; the future President of the Imperial Grand Council of the Orange Order Thomas Sproule; and the future Grand Master of the Loyal Orange Association of British America, Nathaniel Clarke Wallace.

One of the six votes against the resolutions was cast by Donegal-born Orangeman John White.

“That the Commons of *Canada* desire to express their deep and abiding interest in the prosperity and happiness of their fellow subjects in *Ireland*, and their adhesion to the sentiments expressed in the Joint Address to Her Majesty of both Houses of the Canadian Parliament passed in the Session of 1882;

That in such Address Parliament suggested that *Canada* and its inhabitants had prospered exceedingly under a Federal system, allowing to each Province of the Dominion considerable powers of self-government, and expressed a hope 'that if consistent with the integrity and well-being of the Empire, and if the rights and status of the minority were fully protected and secured, some means might be found of meeting the expressed desires of so many of Her Majesty's Irish subjects in that regard.'

That in answer to the said Address, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies was commanded to state that Her Majesty will always gladly receive the advice of the Parliament of *Canada* in all matters relating to the Dominion and the administration of its affairs; but with respect to the questions referred to in the Address, Her Majesty will, in accordance with the Constitution of this country, have regard to the advice of the Imperial Parliament and Ministers, to whom all matters relating to the affairs of the United Kingdom exclusively appertain.

That this House, having reference to the tenor of the said answer, does not deem it expedient again to address Her Majesty on the subject, but earnestly hopes that such a measure or such measures, may be adopted by the Imperial Parliament as will, while preserving the integrity and well-being of the Empire and the rights and status of the minority, be satisfactory to the people of *Ireland* and permanently remove the discontent so long unhappily prevailing in that country, and that, this Resolution be transmitted to the High Commissioner for *Canada* for the information. *of the Members of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.*"

1887: *These resolutions passed by a vote of 135-47. They included an objection to the recent introduction of a Coercion Bill for Ireland passed by the government at Westminster. This was one of the reasons that the opposition vote had markedly increased since the year before. Of the 47 MPs voting against the bill, 46 were Conservatives, and 33 were from Ontario. There was an East-West divide in terms of votes. Of British Columbia's six MPs, four voted against the resolutions and the other two did not vote. The Manitoba and NWT MPs were evenly split on the issue. Of the 135 votes in favour of the resolutions 51 were from Québec, 50 from Ontario and 31 from the Maritimes.*

“That the Parliament of Canada in the year 1882 adopted a humble Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen expressing the hope that a just measure of Home Rule would be granted to the people of Ireland; and

That in the year 1886, by Resolution of the House of Commons the sentiments of said Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty were earnestly reiterated and the hope again expressed that such a measure of Home Rule would be passed by the Imperial Parliament; and

That such measure of Home Rule has not been granted to the Irish people, but, on the contrary, there has been introduced into the Imperial House of Commons, by Her Majesty's Government, a Bill enacting the most stringent coercive measures for *Ireland*, by which the Irish people will be deprived of rights most dear to all British subjects.

That this House has learned with profound regret of the introduction into the Imperial House of Commons of the Coercion Bill above mentioned, and earnestly hopes that a measure so subversive of the rights and liberties of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, may not become law.

That this House again expresses the hope that there may speedily be granted to Ireland a substantial measure of Home Rule which, whilst satisfying the National aspirations of the people of *Ireland* for self-government, shall also be consistent with the integrity of the Empire as a whole.

That the granting of Home Rule to *Ireland* will fittingly crown the already glorious reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty as a constitutional sovereign, will come with special appropriateness in this Her Jubilee year, and, if possible, render Her Majesty more dear to the hearts of Her already devoted and loyal subjects.

That the present Resolution be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister, the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Charles Stuart [*sic*] Parnell, M.P.

1903: *Interest was down overall as the Resolutions passed by a vote of 102-41. The breakdown of votes by regions the voting MPs represented: Western MPs the vote was 5-3; Ontario MPs the vote was 30-34; Québec MPs the vote was 46-1; and among Maritime MPs the vote was 21-3.*

“We, Your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly in our own name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to renew the expression of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty’s Person and Government.

We would respectfully represent to Your Majesty that in 1882 the Parliament of Canada adopted an humble Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen expressing the hope that a just measure of home rule would be granted to the people of Ireland, and that in the years 1886 and 1887 by resolution of the House of Commons the sentiments of the said Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty were earnestly reiterated and the hope again expressed that such a measure of home rule would be passed by the Imperial Parliament.

That the years that have elapsed since the adoption of the aforesaid Address and Resolutions to Your Most Gracious Majesty’s illustrious and ever to be lamented Predecessor have but served to emphasize the blessings which accrue to this Dominion from the federal system under which the people live, the benefits of which the Commons of Canada rejoice to see are about to be shared in by their fellow subjects of the Australian Commonwealth, and, therefore, this extended experience which Your Most Gracious Majesty’s subjects have had of the inestimable benefits resulting from the said Government bestowed on the whole of British North America but intensifies their desire to affirm through their representatives in Parliament the sentiments expressed in the said Address and Resolution with regard to the bestowal of self-government on Your Majesty’s subjects in Ireland.

We have observed, may it please Your Majesty, with feelings of profound satisfaction, the evidence afforded in debate in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom on the Speech from the Throne, of a sincere desire on all sides to usher in a new era of lasting peace and goodwill in Ireland ; and this House congratulates the people of the Mother Country on the legislation, just and equitable, which it is believed will follow the recent conference on the land question, and hopes for an early and lasting settlement fair to all of that long-vexed and troublesome problem, the solution of which has for so long taxed the powers of British statesmen.”

Appendix 2 – Biographies

More detailed information about many of these individuals can be found in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

Lord & Lady Aberdeen: Throughout their careers the Aberdeens were noted Liberals and friends of both William Gladstone and Wilfred Laurier. Lord Aberdeen was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland twice, once for a short tenure in 1886, and then for a longer tenure between 1905 and 1915. He also served as Governor-General of Canada between 1893 and 1898. Lady Aberdeen was an active supporter of Irish home industries and a prominent believer that Canada's form of liberal imperialism was the best future for the Empire. Both retained an active interest in both Ireland and Canada even in retirement.



Edward Blake: The son of Anglican immigrants from Co. Galway and Co. Wicklow, Blake would play a prominent role in the Canadian politics of post-Confederation period, becoming premier of Ontario in 1871 and leader of the federal Liberal party in 1880. After two general election defeats in 1882 and 1887, he resigned as leader. In 1892 he became the Irish nationalist (anti-Parnellite) MP for South Longford. He declined a knighthood in 1876. In Ireland Blake was considered a cool moderate voice on national questions. In Canada he was accused by his Conservative opponents of speaking in an “ecstasy” on Irish questions.

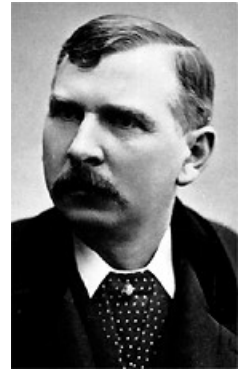
Edward Ambrose Bolger: Edward Ambrose Bolger was born in Quyon, Pontiac, Quebec in 1871, the son of Andrew Bolger from Bagnalstown, Co. Carlow. Bolger studied at the University of Ottawa and the Grand Seminaire in Montreal, before being ordained a priest at the Kendrick Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri in 1901. He became pastor of St. Patrick's Church in St. Joseph, Missouri in 1910 until his death in 1921. In predicating Ireland's future one hundred years hence, Bolger was borrowing from the works of Cardinal John Henry Newman, who wrote in 1854 that Ireland would become the road of passage between two hemispheres.





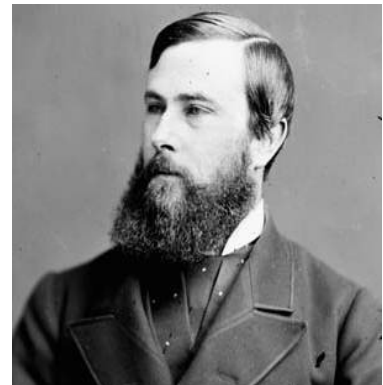
Henri Bourassa: The founder of *Le Devoir* newspaper, Bourassa took a special interest in political and cultural issues in Ireland, if only as ammunition for defending French language rights in Canada. He served as a federal MP between 1896 and 1907; and again between 1925 and 1935. In 1932 he stated that “In days when not one single Irish-Canadian, at least not one that I know in this chamber, would dare to stand by the leaders and principles of Sinn Fein, I did it in public.” However, he also denounced the actions of the anti-Treatyites during the Irish Civil War.

Kennedy Francis Burns: Burns was born in Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny in 1842. He emigrated to Canada in the 1850s and eventually settled in Bathurst New Brunswick. He set up a successful lumber company with his brother before entering politics in 1874. Burns was the Conservative MP for Gloucester, New Brunswick, a riding with a large Acadian population, and challenged comments in the House that Irish Catholics preferred to live near Orangemen than French-Canadians. He also believed it would be better and more congenial for small farmers from Ireland to settle in the Maritimes rather than the Northwest.



Sir Richard Cartwright: Cartwright was born in Kingston, Upper Canada the grandson of United Empire Loyalists. As young men, he and his brother spent time as students in Trinity College in Dublin in the 1850s. He returned to Canada in 1856 and married Frances Jane Lawe from Cork in 1859. Fifty years after his stay in Ireland Cartwright was still struck by the pervasiveness of poverty he witnessed in Ireland at that time. In his posthumous *Reminiscences* (1912) he wrote that “I have never wondered at the depth and intensity of the hatred which many Irishmen of that generation cherished against the Government.”

George Eliot Casey: Casey was born in Canada West in 1850, the son of William Casey of Mullingar, Westmeath. Although a member of the Anglican Church, he was strongly opposed to the incorporation of the Orange Order. He became Liberal MP for Elgin West in 1872. He accused Orange Grand Master of British America and Conservative MP Nathaniel Clark Wallace of treason for claiming that Orangemen would rise up the world over if Home Rule was forced on Ulster. He believed that Wallace’s role in the Order interfered with his role as a government minister, especially regarding issues of separate schooling.





James Vincent Cleary: Cleary was born in Dungarvan, Co, Waterford in 1828. He was ordained a Catholic priest in 1851. In 1863 he became the Catholic University of Ireland's first Doctor of Divinity. In 1880 he was appointed to the bishopric of Kingston, Ontario, and later in 1889, he was appointed the first archbishop of Kingston. As bishop, Cleary criticized the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland, and spoke out against the death penalty for Waterford-born Irish immigrant Valentine Shortis, a man convicted of a double murder in Montreal who would later have his death sentence commuted to life imprisonment due to claims of insanity.

Henry Joseph Cloran: Cloran was born in Montreal in 1855, the son of immigrants from Galway and Limerick. He was educated in colleges in Montreal and Paris and would later become editor of the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* in the 1880s. He was appointed to the Senate by Wilfred Laurier in 1903. Like George Casey before him, he became the scourge of Orange politicians on Parliament Hill, denouncing Orange members of the government for supporting Edward Carson, Bonar Law, and Lord Lansdowne. His motto was "I take my religion from Rome, but my politics from home."



John Costigan: Costigan's parents emigrated from Kilkenny to Lower Canada in 1830, where Costigan was born in 1835. He won a seat for the Conservatives in the first Canadian Parliament in 1867 and would remain a member of the house for the next forty years. He left the Conservatives in 1899 and sat as an Independent before being appointed to the Senate by Laurier in 1907. On Regulation 17 he felt that it was a shame that the Irish Catholics and francophone Catholics of Ontario and Quebec could not get on better with each other, as they had done in New Brunswick.

Isabella Valancy Crawford: Crawford was born in Dublin in 1846 to Dr. Stephen Dennis Crawford and Sydney Scott. The family moved to Canada in the 1850s where Stephen Crawford eventually set up practice in Peterborough, Ontario. After his death in 1875, Crawford's mother and sister relied on her writing talents to support the family. Crawford wrote poems, fairy stories, and serialized novellas to many newspapers and literary journals. Although she only published one book of poetry in her lifetime (which sold poorly), she has since become recognized as one of the most significant poets of nineteenth century Canadian literature.

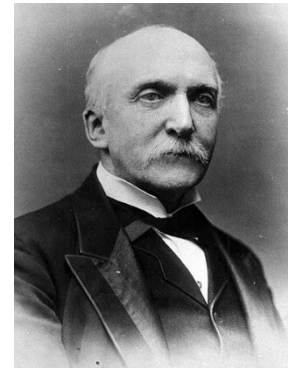


Francis Blake Crofton: Crofton was born in Crossboyne, Co. Mayo in 1842. He graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1863 with honours in English and Classics. He emigrated to Canada a year later where he eventually secured the position of librarian of the Nova Scotia Legislature. He was a strong supporter of Imperial Federation, writing numerous articles in the 1880s on the validity of such an enterprise and the prosperity it would bring for both Ireland and Canada. Imperial Federation would lead to “‘peace on earth, goodwill toward men,’ and no more ‘Irish vote’ to be angled for with unclean bait.”



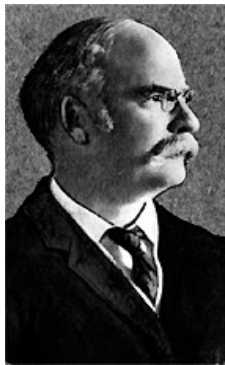
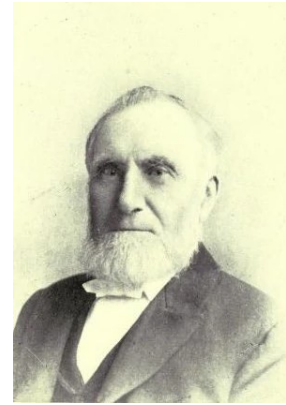
John Joseph Curran: Curran was born in Montreal to parents from Co. Down and Co. Wexford. He graduated from McGill Law School in 1862 and served as the Conservative Party MP for Montreal Centre between 1882 and 1896. Curran was against the incorporation of the Orange Order as he believed it would scare Irish Catholics away from emigrating to Canada. However, he himself was accused of being an “Orange Catholic” because he refused to condemn the execution of Louis Riel. He was Vice-Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Ottawa and served as a judge on the Quebec Superior Court.

Nicholas Flood Davin: Davin was born in Kilfinane, Co. Limerick in 1840. Following a journalistic career in London, he arrived in Canada in 1872. In 1877 he published *The Irishman in Canada*, which remained a central text on Irish-Canadian history for nearly a century. He founded the *Regina Leader* newspaper in 1883 and became Conservative Party MP for the new riding of Assiniboia in 1887. Davin’s star in Canadian history has faded in recent years as his *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* commissioned by the federal government in 1879, led to the establishment of the discredited Residential Schools system.



Charles Ramsey Devlin: Devlin was born in Alymer, Quebec in 1858, the son of a father from Roscommon and a French-Canadian mother. He first entered Parliament in 1891 and became a vocal supporter of Catholic separate schooling, especially in regard to the Manitoba Schools Question. He became Canadian Trade Commissioner to Ireland in 1897, eventually ending up as the Irish Parliamentary Party MP for Galway in 1903. His hope that a Halifax to Galway passenger and mail service would become part of the imperial All Red Route did not come to fruition much to Galwegians disappointment.

Edward Hartley Dewart: Dewart was born in Co. Cavan in 1828 and emigrated with his family to Canada in 1834. In Canada, the family would become converts from Anglicanism to Methodism and Dewart would eventually become a preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Dewart believed strongly in developing a Canadian nationality and his edited books such as *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864), and *The Canadian Speaker and Elocutionary Reader* (1868) speak to a desire for Canadians to become aware of a common literary heritage. As editor of the *Christian Guardian*, he spoke out against the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland.



Charles Joseph Doherty: Doherty was the son of a successful Quebec judge originally from Derry. Doherty trained as a lawyer and taught law at McGill University. For several years he was the President of the Montreal branch of the Irish National League. He was elected as the Conservative MP for St. Anne in 1908, becoming Minister for Justice in Robert Borden's government. He was one of Canada's representatives at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 and was heavily criticized by some Liberal politicians for staying silent about Ireland at the conference.

James Bernard Dollard: Dollard was born in Co. Kilkenny in 1872 and was educated in Kilkenny and at the Grand Séminaire in Montreal. He was a relative of Archbishop Walsh of Toronto, and a grand-nephew of William Dollard, the first Catholic bishop of New Brunswick. He became the parish priest of St. Monica's Church in Toronto. Like his Toronto predecessor Archbishop John J. Lynch, Dollard wrote numerous letters to the press in Ireland warning people not to emigrate as there was only poverty and degradation to be found on the streets of North America. Dollard was a frequent contributor of Celtic-themed poetry to the Canadian press.



James Donnelly: Not much is known about Donnelly's background. In a paper delivered to the Royal Society of Canada in 1912, Joseph Kearney Foran stated that Donnelly was orphaned at the age of two and was raised by a French-Canadian family. He eventually became a Christian Brother, teaching English and French Literature in Montreal. On his preference for using French, he wrote "Je dois tout ce que je possède aux Canadiens-français—ma vie, mon instruction, et même mon pain quotidien—et ne serait-ce que par reconnaissance, si j'ai quelque chose à léguer à mon pays, je veux que la littérature canadienne-française en soit l'héritière."



William Henry Drummond: Drummond was born in Co. Leitrim in 1854, emigrating to Canada with his family ten years later. He studied medicine at McGill University and Bishop's College Montreal, before setting up a practice in 1888. Drummond published his first book of poems *The habitant and other French-Canadian poems* in 1897, and it was an instant hit. Drummond's dialect poetry of francophone Canadians speaking English proved to be hugely popular in its day with many cultural commentators believing that his poetry was a unique product of Canadian cultural distinctiveness. However, his poetry has since become a historical curio.

Lord Dufferin: Frederick Temple Blackwood was born in Florence (Italy) in 1826, the only child of the 4th Baron Dufferin and Clondeboye. Blackwood inherited his father's title after his father died in 1841. Dufferin co-authored *Narrative of a journey from Oxford to Skibbereen during the year of the Irish famine* (1847). In 1872 he was appointed governor-general of Canada. During his tenure of six years he sought to encourage immigration from Ireland while at the same time reminding them not to import historical grievances into their new country. He later became Viceroy of India.



Michael Francis Fallon: Fallon was born in Kingston, Ontario in 1867 the eldest of six sons to Irish immigrant parents. He graduated from the University of Ottawa in 1889 and was ordained in Rome for the priesthood in 1894. After several years in Ottawa and Buffalo, he was eventually appointed to the See of London, Ontario in 1909. Fallon became a focus of intense antipathy by francophone leaders and politicians for his promotion of Regulation 17. Despite his formidable reputation at the time as a leader and defender of Catholic rights, his ultimate legacy has been as an unintended fermenter of Franco-Ontarian identity.

John C. Fleming: Fleming emigrated to Canada around 1870. He was editor of the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* between 1879 and 1882 and subsequently became editor of the *Charlottetown Herald* in P.E.I. in 1883. Fleming was vociferously opposed to Irish emigration to the Northwest. He wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* in 1883 to say that the Irish would be better off going to Paraguay or Algiers "where they may become the nucleus of a nation which shall in the future grow formidable enough to avenge the wrongs of their ancestors."

Joseph Kearney Foran: Born in Aylmer, Quebec in 1857 to John Foran of Tipperary and Catherine Frances Kearney. Foran graduated from Laval University in 1880 as a Bachelor of Law. He practiced law for three years before ill health led him to spend a couple of years “in the woods of the north” winding up his father’s lumbering business. He received his doctorate from the University of Ottawa in 1894. Two children survived him, his son Herbert only by two years. Foran’s daughter Ethel Ursula Foran published her only work *Poems: A Few Blossoms from the Garden of my Dreams* in 1922. She lived in Montreal until her death in 1988.

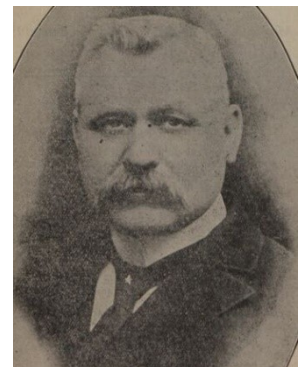


Charles Foy: Foy was the Canadian emigration agent in Belfast for almost twenty years between 1870 and 1888, making him the most successful Canadian emigration agent in Ireland during the period. Foy was a leading member of the Anglican Christ Church congregation in Belfast where his wife taught at the congregation’s Sunday school. Scandal rocked the congregation in 1885 when Mrs. Foy eloped with the rector of Christ Church William Stewart Ross. Ross had resigned his rectorship due to his “unusual views” on marriage. Foy followed Ross to Plymouth, England where he incited a mob to attack Ross at a YMCA lecture.



Charles J. Foy: Foy was the National Director of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Canada and was one of the prominent Hibernians who oversaw the erection of the Celtic Cross monument at Grosse Ile in 1909 in honour of the Famine victims who landed there in 1847. Like many other Canadian Hibernians, he supported the Canadian war effort as well as denouncing Regulation 17 and called for the Canadian governments to recognize Dáil Éireann. Trained as a lawyer, political opponents questioned whether the ‘K.C.’ after his name stood for Knights of Columbus rather than King’s Counsel.

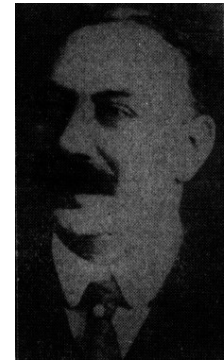
Anthony Freeland: Trained as a medical doctor, Freeland was president of many Irish societies in Ottawa including the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the United Irish League, and the Gaelic Society. Freeland made many francophone friends and alienated some Irish-Canadians for his principled stand against Regulation 17. Some Irish-Canadian students at the University of Ottawa picketed his home in 1914, over the replacement of Irish-Canadian teachers with French-Canadian teachers at the university, seemingly for no other reason than he had stood up for French language rights at the time. He died suddenly in November 1915.





Edward Hackett: Hackett was born in Prince Edward Island in 1840, the son of emigrants from Ireland. He first entered the House of Commons as a Liberal-Conservative in 1878 and lost and regained his federal seat twice after that. Hackett spoke out against the incorporation of the Orange Order and supported the National Policy as he believed it was free trade which damaged Ireland irrevocably during the Famine. He made the analogy that Canada had to protect itself from the economic power of the United States just as Ireland had to protect itself from England. He supported Home Rule as a way of strengthening the Empire.

Andrew T. Hernon: Hernon was born in Birr, Co. Offaly in 1858. He first emigrated to New York at the age of 15 before arriving in Toronto in 1887 where he opened his own butcher business. As well as being president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, he was also president of the Toronto Liberal party. He was well-known as a weight thrower and was considered one of the strongest men in Canada. Hernon was partly responsible for eliminating the “comic or funny element” from AOH St. Patrick’s Day celebrations as Hibernians considered the stage Irishman a “vile caricature and misrepresentation” of Irish people.



John George Hodgins: Born in Dublin in 1821, Hodgins emigrated to Canada with his uncle in 1833. Hodgins became an assistant of the famed Canadian educationalist Egerton Ryerson who sent Hodgins back to Dublin in 1845 to study the Irish education system. Hodgins would remain a central figure in the various education departments of Upper Canada and later Ontario. He was president of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto. Hodgins believed that loyalty to the crown was stronger in Canada than it was in the United Kingdom, and that Irish emigrants to Canada would come to learn the value of British institutions.

Norah M. Holland: Holland was born in Collingwood Ontario in 1876. Her mother Elizabeth Winterscale Yeats was first cousin to poet W.B. Yeats. Infused with the spirit of the Celtic Revival, Holland wrote a number of articles on ancient Irish literature for the *Canadian Magazine*, and later wrote very popular fairy tales for *Everywoman’s World*. Holland also authored nativities for the London Drama League in Ontario. The accompanying drawing was sketched by John Butler Yeats on Holland’s visit to Ireland in 1904. She died of tuberculosis in 1925.





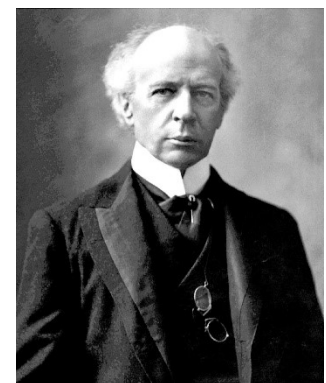
George William Howlan: Howlan was born in Waterford in 1835 and emigrated with his parents to Prince Edward Island a few years later. He became a member of the island's Liberal party and fought hard for separate Catholic schooling. After the island entered Confederation 1873, he was appointed to the Senate. Howlan was part of a committee of Ottawa politicians that framed the first Home Rule resolutions in 1882 and brought them before the floor of the Senate to be discussed and voted upon in the aftermath of their unanimous passing in the Commons. Howlan also strongly defended the need for Chinese immigration.

Oliver Aiken Howland: Howland was born in Lambton Mills, Canada West in 1847, the son of Sir William Pearce Howland, one of the fathers of Confederation. Howland was a member of the Orange Order and became mayor of Toronto in 1901. Howland believed strongly in the unity of the English-speaking peoples and called for a special concord between the United States and the British Empire as a way of undermining the influence of Irish nationalism. Howland described the emotion of patriotism as something that “partakes of the nature of religion,” and the Irish needed to arise from their “wayside shrine.”



Samuel Hughes: Hughes was born in Darlington, Upper Canada in 1853, the son of an emigrant father from Ireland. He taught English and history at the Toronto Collegiate Institute and was an active member of the Orange Order. He became the Conservative MP for Victoria South in 1892, and eventually Minister of Militia and Defence in 1911. In the aftermath of the Curragh Mutiny in Ireland in 1914, with many Canadian Orangemen threatening to go to Ulster to fight Home Rule, Hughes was questioned as to the activities of Orangemen in the militia. He replied that what they did outside their militia duties was none of his business.

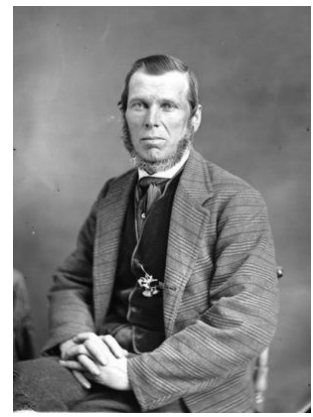
Wilfred Laurier: Laurier was a strong supporter of Home Rule for Ireland and believed that following Canada, liberty would lead to loyalty rather than vice-versa. He disavowed Imperial Federation in place of an emergent form of Canadian nationalism, stating that he spoke first and last for the interest of Canada. In 1911 Laurier compared himself to Daniel O'Connell, and the Quebec nationalist politicians who refused to support Canadian contributions to an imperial navy were like the Young Irelanders. But, he pronounced, like some in the Young Irelanders they would learn the error of their ways.





Mrs. Leprohon: Rosanna Mullins was born in Montreal in 1829 to a father from Cork and a mother from Montreal. She published her first poem in Canada's prestigious *Literary Garland* at the age of seventeen. She married Dr. Jean-Lukin Leprohon in 1851. Leprohon published many serialized novels, the most popular of which were based on the historical relations between anglophone and francophone society. Leprohon's poetry was widely anthologized in Canadian literature in such books as *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864), *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889), *A Treasury of Canadian Verse* (1900), and *Songs and Ballads of Greater Britain* (1913).

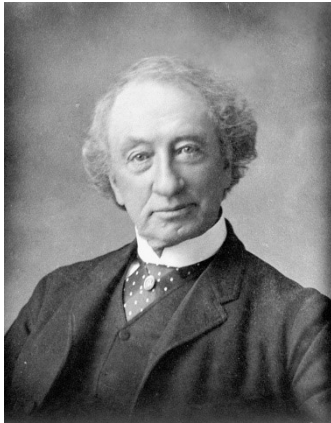
William Pittman Lett: Lett was born in Wexford in 1819 and emigrated to Canada with his family the following year. Lett became an active member of the Orange Order and founded and printed *The Orange Lily and Protestant Vindicator* in 1849. He became the most prominent civil servant in the newly incorporated city of Ottawa and was prominent in campaigning for it to become the nation's capital. Lett was a trenchant critic of Goldwin Smith and his belief that Canada was becoming more integrated culturally and economically with the United States, "he knows the difference between loyalty and treason, and yet is called an advocate of annexation."



John Daniel Logan: Logan was from Antigonish in Nova Scotia and was a pioneer in the teaching of Canadian literature. He gained his B.A. and M.A. from Dalhousie University, and his PhD from Harvard. Imbued with the fervour of the Gaelic Revival, his writings tended to 'Celticize' the history of Canadian poetry. In his introductory essay to *Songs of the makers of Canada and other homeland lyrics* (1911), he stated that Canadian poetry was essentially 'Keltic', not only owing to the Irish and Scottish origins of many Canadian poets, but also due to the poetic focus on the divinity of nature.

John Joseph Lynch: Lynch was born in Fermanagh in 1816. He was ordained as a priest in 1843. He was appointed Bishop of Toronto in 1860 and elevated to Archbishop of Toronto in 1870. He promoted Home Rule for Ireland not only in Canada but also in the Irish press. He also defended Catholic doctrine in Canada claiming that the use of the dead language of Latin was a way of safeguarding truth, and that the English language was too subject to the winds of change in science, commerce, and fashion.





John A. Macdonald: In uniting together a new country Macdonald had to bring balance to his government linguistically, ethnically, religiously, and geographically. At least one Irish Catholic was usually required for each of his cabinets. Nova Scotian senator Laurence Power said of Macdonald that in electoral terms he sacrificed the Irish Catholics to the Orangemen, he sacrificed the Orangemen to the Catholic (mostly French) vote, before finally sacrificing the French vote to the English vote. His support for the Home Rule resolutions on Parliament Hill was to attract Irish emigrants to the Northwest rather than any firm belief in the capabilities of the Irish to govern themselves.

Charles Alexander Magrath: Magrath was born in North Augusta, Canada West in 1860 to a father from Ulster. His father had originally emigrated to the United States but moved north because he did not wish to renounce his British citizenship for the opportunity of better work. Magrath began conducting foundation surveys of the Northwest Territories when he was just eighteen and later became a Conservative MP for Medicine Hat. Magrath supported an all-island solution to the Home Rule crisis and believed that Ulster Unionists should accept a restricted form of Irish Home Rule for the sake of the Empire.



George Martin: Martin was born in Kilrae, Co. Derry in 1822 and emigrated with his family to Canada ten years later. Martin established a photography business in Montreal, but his first love was poetry. His only volume of poetry *Marguerite; or, The Isle of Demons, and Other Poems* was published in 1887 to much critical acclaim. Martin's poetry often revealed a self-righteous anger, whether denouncing the Catholic Church for refusing to bury Joseph Guibord as a member of the Institut Canadien or criticizing those calling for the execution of Louis Riel for their lack of mercy.



James McCarroll: McCarroll was born in Lanesborough, Co. Longford in 1816. He emigrated to Upper Canada in 1831 and settled in Peterborough. McCarroll was famous for writing the *Letters of Terry Finnegan* where the stage-Irish character of Finnegan would dole out advice to the political class of Upper Canada. McCarroll blamed anti-Irish prejudice on the loss of his Customs job and moved to Buffalo, New York in 1866 associating himself with the Fenians. Some of McCarroll's poems such as 'Bearla Feine' and 'The Irish Wolf' looked back to a premodern Celtic past when the Irish had temporal primacy over the English.

D'Alton McCarthy: McCarthy was born in Blackrock, Dublin in 1836, and emigrated with his family to Upper Canada in 1847. McCarthy's father was an active Orangeman in Canada but McCarthy himself declined to become a member. He was the Conservative MP for Simcoe North and a strong party loyalist to John A. Macdonald. In 1892 McCarthy stated that he was wrong to have supported the Home Rule resolutions in 1882 and 1886, and that the Canadian Parliament should express a united opinion that it was "unwise, unstatesmanlike, and wrong" to have passed any resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Ireland.



Thomas D'Arcy McGee: McGee's story is probably the best well known of any Irish-Canadian. Born in Carlingford in 1825, McGee was involved with the Young Ireland movement before escaping to the United States in the aftermath of the 1848 rebellion. Sickened with the anti-Catholic nativism of the United States, he moved to Canada in 1857. McGee became Minister of agriculture, immigration, and statistics in the Canadian provincial government of 1863. McGee lectured in Ireland in the 1860s and warned people to avoid urban North America in favour of farming in British North America.

Stephen Joseph Meany: Meany was born in 1822 in Newhall, Co. Clare. He became a journalist and was a close associate of Daniel O'Connell in the 1840s. He eventually emigrated to the United States and became a member of the Fenians in 1864, although he did not support the invasion of Canada. He was effectively banned from the UK for life in 1868. He was editor of many newspapers and journals in his lifetime and came to live in Montreal for a time in the 1870s, becoming editor of the *Montreal Sun* as well as the Irish Catholic journal *The Harp* for a time.



David Mills: Mills was born in Oxford Township, Upper Canada in 1831, the son of a father from New York and a mother from Co. Cavan. Mills was elected to the first Canadian Parliament as a Liberal in 1867. He served as Minister of the Interior in the Liberal government of the 1870s. Mills was a strong supporter of provincial rights and part of his support for Irish Home Rule was a belief that legislative union was a poorer form of government. Mills was one of the few Liberals who lost his seat in the Liberal victory of 1896. He was appointed senator later the same year.

Maurice George Moore: Moore was born into a family of Catholic landowners in Co. Mayo. in 1854. His older brother was the novelist George Moore. He fought in the Second Boer War commanding the 1st Battalion of the Connaught Rangers. He was made inspector-general of the Irish Volunteers after their formation in 1913. Moore sought to improve his Irish language skills in South Africa, practicing with Irish-speaking members of his Battalion. Moore believed that the Irish had lost their language because they accepted the falsehood that Ireland and ignorance were synonymous terms.



James George Moylan: Moylan was born in Maynooth, Co. Kildare in 1826. He was educated at St. Jarlath's College in Tuam, and the Royal College of St. Patrick in Maynooth. He was a journalist in the United States before moving to Upper Canada in 1856 and worked as professor of classics and English literature in the Jesuit College in Guelph. He was appointed emigration agent to Ireland in 1869. Moylan complained of the ignorance he encountered in Ireland and England regarding Canada, such as Canadians were compelled during winter to live in snow houses and subsist on whale blubber and fish oil.

Charles Pelham Mulvany: Mulvany was born in Dublin in 1835 and graduated from Trinity College with a degree in Classics in 1856. He emigrated to Canada in 1859 and was ordained a priest in the Anglican church in 1872. He withdrew from active religious work in 1878 and settled in Toronto to become a writer. Although a loyalist, Mulvany was enamoured of the men of his own patrician Protestant class, no matter what their political persuasion, "Smith O'Brien's *emeute* failed because, being a gentleman, he refused to allow a robber raid like that at Fort Erie. And Fenianism has simply no literature."

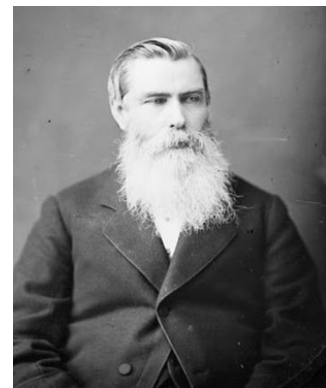
William Patrick O'Boyle: O'Boyle was born in Lindsay, Ontario in 1875, the son of Walter O'Boyle from Mayo. An exceptional student, O'Boyle declined a scholarship from the University of Toronto to study at Ottawa. He later went to Rome to become a Doctor of Divinity. After teaching at the University of Ottawa, he was transferred to become parish priest of St. Peters in New Westminster in British Columbia. There he founded the *B.C. Western Catholic* newspaper, and was instrumental in bringing francophones from Eastern Canada to settle in rural B.C. He remained in B.C. until his death in 1949.

Cornelius O'Brien: O'Brien was born near New Glasgow, Prince Edward Island in 1843, the son of immigrants from Wexford and Cork. O'Brien spent seven years studying in Rome before being ordained in 1871. He was consecrated as Archbishop of Halifax in 1883. O'Brien increased the number of French-speaking clergy in his diocese but refused demands to create a predominantly French-speaking diocese in Moncton. He was the Nova Scotian president of the British Empire League and gave the sermon at the funeral of Canada's first Catholic prime minister John Thompson. Like many imperial federalists he held great antipathy towards Goldwin Smith.



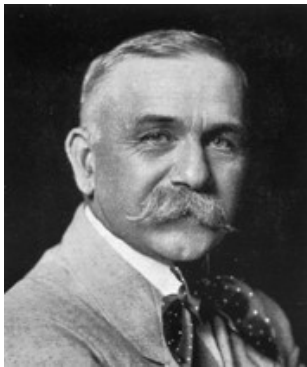
William Edward O'Brien: O'Brien was born in Thornhill, Upper Canada in 1831, the son of an Irish immigrant father. He entered Parliament as a Conservative MP for Muskoka and Parry Sound in 1882. He was a colonel in the Canadian militia and received medals for his role in the Fenian raids and the Northwest Rebellion. He was one of the leading politicians on Parliament Hill calling for federal disallowance of the Jesuit Estates Act, but his bill was defeated. Like other Canadian Conservatives he felt that Ireland should be running the Empire alongside England rather than trying to undermine it.

John O'Connor: O'Connor was born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1823 to Irish immigrant parents from Kerry. His family moved to Upper Canada in 1828. He became the Conservative MP for Essex in the first Canadian Parliament in 1867. As the voice of Irish Catholic Ontario in Parliament, he spoke of the loyalty of Irish-Canadian Catholics in opposition to the "atheistic" Fenians. His roles in government included President of the Privy Council, Minister of Inland Revenue, Postmaster General, and Secretary of State. O'Connor was thought to have obtained such positions as representative of the Irish Catholic vote rather than any innate personal qualities.



Patrick Aloysius O'Farrell: O'Farrell was born in Queenstown, Co. Cork in 1855. He came to North America as a young man and worked as a reporter for the *New York Sun* and the *Boston Globe*. He later went to Canada and became involved in railway building and mining. In the middle of the Klondike boom, he declaimed that Vancouver would become the New York of the West Coast. Unlike some of his compatriots O'Farrell believed that Canada was a prosperous destination for Irish emigrants and constantly reminded the press in Ireland of the success of the Irish in Canada.

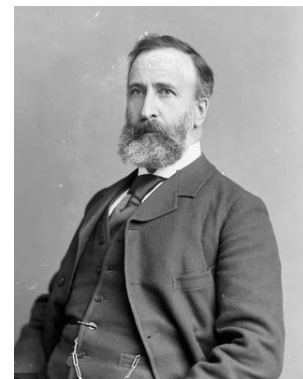
John Joseph O’Gorman: O’Gorman was born in Ottawa in 1884 to parents from Ottawa. All four of his grandparents came from Ireland. He graduated from the University of Ottawa in 1904 and was ordained a priest in 1908. He spent a number of summers in Irish language colleges in Donegal and Galway. In 1916 he was appointed a chaplain in Canadian Expeditionary Force in France. He was injured at the Battle of Moquet the same year. He lived most of his life in and around Ottawa. Four of his cousins were also Catholic priests.



Thomas O’Hagan: O’Hagan was born in Toronto in 1855 to parents from Co. Kerry. He completed his PhD in English Literature at Syracuse University, New York in 1889. O’Hagan wrote for many newspapers and journals and became editor of the *New World* in Chicago from 1910 to 1913. O’Hagan reported from Ireland for the Canadian press during and after the Irish War of Independence. He received honorary doctorates from the universities of Laval and Notre Dame. In his will he offered \$500 to a number of institutions to offer essay prizes in his name on various subjects such as Irish History and French-Canadian Literature.

John Lawrence Power O’Hanly: O’Hanly was born in Waterford in 1827 and emigrated to Canada in 1846. He became a land surveyor and civil engineer, working in Ottawa until his death in 1902. O’Hanly was a strong supporter of Catholic rights in Canada and the image he painted of Ontario in the nineteenth century was one of a Protestant Men’s club that deliberately denied Catholics senior positions in society. He was full of praise for prime minister and Catholic convert Sir John Thompson as he believed a man would be putting his career at risk in Canada by converting to Catholicism.

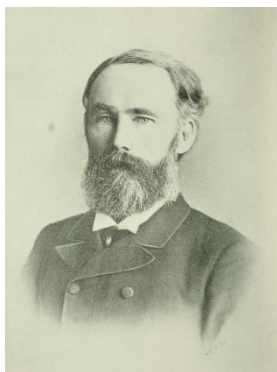
James Colebrooke Patterson: Patterson was born in Armagh in 1839 and emigrated to Canada in 1857. He was elected as Conservative MP for Essex in 1878 and was later appointed Minister of Militia and Defence in 1892. He helped found the literary journal *The Canadian Magazine* and wrote numerous patriotic poems for the Canadian press. He later became the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba where he was vice-president of the British Empire League. Patterson helped to draw up the Home Rule resolutions put before the House in 1882. Despite being an Anglican, he had his children educated in Catholic schools.





Horace Curzon Plunkett: Plunkett was born in Gloucestershire, England in 1854 part of the Anglo-Norman Plunkett family of Ireland. Plunkett was educated at Eton and Oxford and due to tuberculosis would spend many of his summers in Wyoming in the United States. He became aware of the difficulty that Irish emigrants would encounter in trying to settle western North America, and in the 1890s became involved in various cooperative movements that tried to develop agricultural education in Ireland. Plunkett began life as an Irish Unionist, but by 1919 had formed the Irish Dominion League, looking for a Canadian solution to an Irish problem.

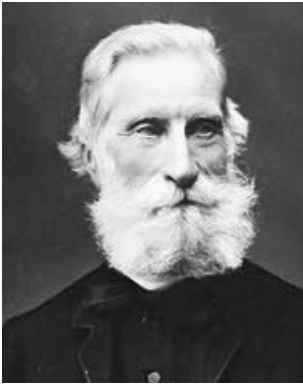
John Reade: Reade was born in Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal in 1837. He emigrated with his parents to Canada in 1856, founding the short-lived *Montreal Literary Magazine* within a year of his arrival. He was ordained an Anglican minister in 1865. He would be the literary editor of the *Montreal Gazette* for 49 years between 1870 and 1919. He wrote articles and essays on the history of languages, Canadian folklore, and the necessity of imperialism. Reade believed that anglophone and francophone Canadians needed to do more to understand each other's culture and history, and this could only be achieved by learning each other's languages.



George William Ross: Ross was born in Middlesex County, Upper Canada in 1841, the son of Gaelic-speaking parents from Tain in Scotland. He became a teacher and later a school inspector in Ontario. He was appointed minister of education in the Ontario Liberal government of 1883, and eventually became the Liberal premier of Ontario in 1899. He was supportive of the teaching of French in Ontario schools and did not believe that Canada needed to be a unilingual country. A supporter of Home Rule for Ireland, he declared that Canadians would not submit for a single day to be governed the way Ireland was.

Carroll Ryan: Ryan was born in Toronto in 1839, the son of father from Idrone, Co. Carlow. He served as a volunteer in the Crimean War, and later became an editor and contributor to many newspapers and journals in Canada. He spoke in favour of Irish Parliamentary Party MP William O'Brien when O'Brien visited Canada to denounce governor-general Lord Lansdowne as an absentee landlord. Ryan was a prominent figure in the Ottawa Liberal party and was editor for many years of the *Ottawa Free Press*. He was also a strong advocate for temperance and supported numerous temperance causes.





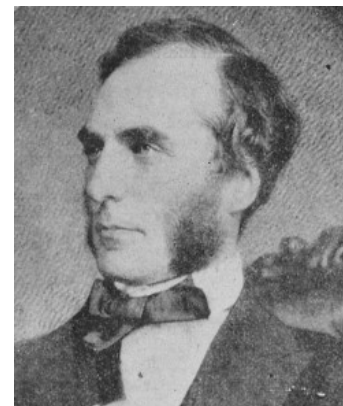
Richard William Scott: Scott was born in Prescott, Upper Canada in 1825 a Catholic descendent of a family from Co. Clare. He fought hard for separate Catholic schooling in Canada West before Confederation in 1867 and remained a favourite of Irish Catholic voters in the Ottawa region. He was appointed to the Senate under the Liberal administration of Alexander Mackenzie. Under the Laurier administration he occasionally served as acting prime minister. At the age of 87 while still a member of the Senate, he spoke out against the introduction of Regulation 17. He worked constantly until his death at age 88.

Joseph Medlicott Scriven: Scriven was born in Banbridge, Co. Down in 1819. He graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1842. In 1845 he became a member of the Plymouth Brethren and emigrated with them to Canada West. He became a preacher and was famous for helping the poor of Port Hope. He published a collection entitled *Hymns and Other Verses* in 1869. But his most famous work 'What a friend we have in Jesus' he wrote sometime earlier. The hymn would become world famous but Scriven was not recognized as the author until the year of his death in 1886.



Frank Smith: Smith was born in Richhill, Co. Armagh in 1822. His family emigrated to Canada in 1832. He entered the grocery business and became a prominent businessman in the years before Confederation. He was appointed to the Senate as a Conservative in 1871. Smith was active in promoting Irish Catholic patronage on Parliament Hill. Of Canadian support for Home Rule, Smith stated "We Canadians are Home Rulers not solely because we believe in and love Ireland...but our belief in Canada and in the British Empire has also something to do with our unflinching support for the cause of Irish self-government."

Goldwin Smith: Smith was a prominent intellectual figure of his time, professor of history at Oxford and later professor at Cornell University in New York. He moved to Toronto in 1871 and was married there in 1875. Smith could be considered an inadvertent father of Canadian nationalism. He believed that Canada would be better off in political union with the United States, as he supported the union of the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples across the world. This led to an outpouring of Canadian nationalist and imperialist literature in the 1880s and 1890s that sought to directly disavow Smith's political opinions on Canada's future.

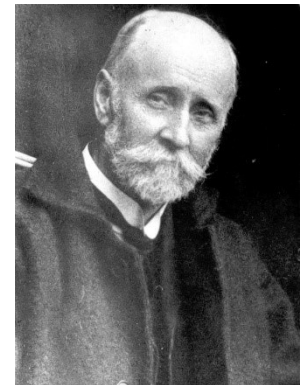




Thomas Simpson Sproule: Sproule was born in King Township, Upper Canada to parents from Co. Tyrone. He qualified as a doctor and represented the Ontario riding of Grey East as a Conservative between 1878 and 1915. Although a prominent Orangeman, Sproule did not vote with 13 Conservative MPs to disavow the Jesuit Estates Act. However, he was much more active in speaking out against the establishment of separate Catholic schooling in the prairie provinces. Griffintown Liberal MP Daniel Gallery was once reprimanded by Conservative MPs for suggesting that Sproule was not an Irishman because he was an Orangeman.

Alexander Charles Stewart: Stewart was born in Ballyfortherly, Co. Down in 1867. He emigrated to Canada with his family as a child and eventually started his own building contractor company A.C. Stewart & Sons. Stewart published a number of poetry books between 1890 and 1919 but was extremely critical of his generation of ‘Confederation Poets’. The Canadian literary historian D.M.R. Bentley noted that Stewart lauded the poetry of fellow Irish-Canadians McGee and Crawford but dismissed the new generation of Canadian poets such as Charles G.D. Roberts and Wilfred Campbell as lacking ‘Simplicity and truth.’

William Frederick Paul Stockley: Stockley was born in Templeogue, Co. Dublin in 1859 to a loyalist, high church Anglican family. Stockley graduated from Trinity College Dublin with a BA in English and French before obtaining an MA in 1886. That same year he was appointed to teach English and French at the University of New Brunswick. He would later teach at the University of Ottawa and St. Mary’s College, Halifax. He converted to Catholicism in Canada and returned to Ireland to teach at University College Cork. He was elected to the first and second Dáil and supported the anti-Treatyites in the Irish Civil War.



Nathaniel Clarke Wallace: Wallace was born in Woodbridge, Canada West in 1844 the son of immigrant parents from Carney, Co. Sligo. Wallace was a prominent Orangeman and was Grand Master of British America from 1887 until his death in 1901. He became Conservative MP for York West and was appointed Controller of Customs by Canada’s first Catholic prime minister Sir John Thompson in 1892. Wallace was heavily criticized by Liberal opposition MPs for speaking in Ulster against the second Home Rule bill in 1893 (he had voted in favour of the Home Rule resolutions in the 1886 debates).

John White: White was born in Donegal Town in Co. Donegal in 1833 and emigrated to Canada in the 1850s. He was prominent in the Orange Order and eventually became Grand Master of Ontario East. He served as Conservative MP for Hastings East between 1871 and 1887. White was one of only six MPs to vote against the Home Rule resolutions of 1886. He strongly criticized the Irish caricatures of Thomas Nast in the American press and claimed to have stopped Orange lodges in Ontario from travelling to Montreal after the killing of Orangeman Thomas Lett Hackett there in 1877.

