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Irish-American nationalism 1900-1916: Butte as a case study

Catherine Dowling

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IRISH-AMERICAN NATIONALISM, 1900-1916:
BUTTE AS A CASE STUDY

By

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B.A., National University of Ireland, 1978

Presented in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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The purpose of this work is to examine the nature of Irish nationalism in Ireland and Irish-American nationalism in Butte, Montana, during the period 1900 to 1916. The object of such nationalism was to end British rule in Ireland, but the motives, attitudes, and ultimate goals of Irish nationalists differed from those of Irish-Americans.

The discussion of Irish nationalism is based mainly upon secondary sources, with reference to Irish literature of the period. The examination of Irish-American nationalism in Butte relies almost exclusively upon primary evidence: contemporary letters, documents, and newspapers.

The motives for which the Irish-Americans of Butte engaged in anti-English activities generated a nationalism different from that of the Irish themselves. The Irish of Butte, however, failed to comprehend fully the nature of Irish national aspirations.
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INTRODUCTION

In the early twentieth century, no country in Europe had escaped the tide of nationalism that had swept the continent after the French Revolution. In Ireland, as in the Balkans, nationalism took the form of an organised movement for political independence based upon a community of interests and cultural identity. In France, Germany, England, and Portugal, which were politically secure and economically powerful, nationalism at once helped and justified imperial expansion.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Europe also witnessed an unprecedented mass emigration. Fleeing from poverty, social repression, or, less frequently, political persecution, many emigrants made their way to new worlds. The majority, 25,336,129, arrived in the United States between 1820 and 1910.¹ Imperialism too created its emigrants; colonial administrations were staffed by European expatriates who accepted voluntary exile in service to their country, or in pursuit of a career. All expatriate groups constituted minority enclaves in foreign and often hostile countries. European exiles experienced intense isolation and a desperate need to justify their presence in the countries of their adoption. Inevitably they adapted the nationalism which they carried throughout the world to suit their changed circumstances. In a remarkably short span of time, expatriate nationalism came to differ greatly from the nationalism of those who chose to remain in the country of their birth. Irish-American
nationalism, in the period 1900 to 1916, serves as an excellent example of the adaptional process.

For the past thirty years, historians have devoted considerable attention to the study of emigration to the United States. General works, those of Oscar Handlin for example, focus upon the actual process of emigration from Europe and the problems encountered by exiles in the United States. The act of emigration, the effort to survive in a new environment, and the process of assimilation into a new society took their toll upon the individual, his family, and his view of life. The New World demanded responses from the immigrant which remoulded and shaped every thought, feeling, attitude, and belief he or she had brought from Europe. Works devoted specifically to the study of Irish-American immigration have recounted the slow assimilation of the Irish into American life and their climb to power in political, religious, and economic spheres. Irish-American nationalism was both the product of and force behind the trials and successes of that assimilation. A comprehensive account of this nationalism must contain an examination of immigration itself and its effect upon the nationalist sentiments of Irish men and women within the United States.

In his book entitled *The Uprooted*, Oscar Handlin argues that the immigration experience was a process which began in Europe with the decision to leave home and ended in the United States with the death of the immigrant. From the moment of decision making to death, life itself was the experience of immigration. The emigrant left behind a world of stability, routine, and close family ties. He turned his back on a society in which rank, order and future as well as personal
relationships were preordained from birth, to face a new world in which there were no signposts by which he might know himself and his role in life. Not only the environment, but relationships with family, friends, and employers were changed and strained by life in the United States.

Strangers in the immediate world about them the immigrants often recognized, in dismay, the loneliness of their condition. Consequently the new comers took pains early to seek out those whom experience made their brothers; and to organize each others' support, they created a great variety of formal and informal institutions. Then at last they came to know how good it was that brothers should dwell together. Thus the immigrant ghettos were formed. But these communities, "whole and coherent within the larger American society," while offering security, also served to retard the process of assimilation. The slower the assimilation, the longer the immigrant remained a "foreigner" and the more vulnerable he was to Americans' hostility.

"The process of immigration had changed them, had altered the vast intimate aspects of their lives. No longer Europeans, could the immigrants then say that they were Americans?" All to frequently, Americans answered this question with a "No Irish Need Apply" sign, or with the nativist sentiments that pervaded American society long after the demise of the Know-Nothing Party. Immigrant poverty and Catholicism tended to reinforce racist attitudes among Americans, for "many benevolent citizens . . . were reluctant to believe that such social flaws were indigenous to the New World." From this friction at the point of contact between the American and immigrant communities arose immigrant-American nationalism.

Immigrants sought acceptance as American citizens, but this "depended upon the conceptions held by other citizens of the United
States of the character of the nation and of the role of the newcomers within it. To combat racism, immigrants turned to their nationality as a source of pride and reassurance. "The fixity now imparted to their separateness and the imputation of their inferiority drove some immigrants into a defiant nationalism of their own. Pride in their own stock compensated for the rebuffs."

Handlin explains immigrant nationalism in terms of this hostility and need for acceptance, which forced immigrants to "be aware of their own distinctive character."

The immigrants' American offspring turned this group-consciousness into nationalism. But that affiliation with immigrant groups had meaning for them only as a kind of patriotism, and they projected onto their fathers' native lands the kind of loyalty that, in the United States, seemed proper to a fatherland. Fervently they enlisted in movements to create new European states or to support the policies of existing ones.

This, the immigrants hoped, would bring them the "acclaim of the whole country." The author emphasizes that this nationalism was the product of the American experience. "Much later, in deceptive retrospect, a man might tell his children, Why we were Poles and stayed that way—or Italians, or Irish, or Germans, or Czechoslovaks. The memories were in error. These people had arrived in the United States with no such identification. . . ." Handlin also affirms and explains the existence of the immigrant's altered view of his homeland. "As the passing years widened the distance, the land the immigrant had left acquired charm and beauty. Present problems blurred those they had left unsolved behind. . . ." The "old country" had not changed. "The immigrants wrote, but the replies, when they came, were dull, even trite in their mechanical phrases. . . ." The immigrant was irritated, but blindly continued to pursue a nationalism quite different from that of his
The vainglorious sentiments that now crept into the pages of the press and into the perorations of orators were the products neither of the peasant heritage nor of the conditions of immigrant settlement in the United States... They were rather the equivalents of the narrow feelings that swayed the members of the Klan... The nationalistic passions were the outcome of a repulse.

In his Irish-American Nationalism, Thomas Brown deals specifically with the Irish community which, by 1890, constituted one-twelfth of the American population. Brown asserts that

the springs of Irish-American nationalism are to be found in the realities of loneliness and alienation, and of poverty and prejudice. For its formal content this peculiar nationalism owed much to the thought and traditions of Tone, O'Connell and Young Ireland, but it was from life in America that it derived its most distinctive attitudes; a pervasive sense of inferiority, intense longing for acceptance and respectability and an acute sensitivity to criticism.

Brown elaborates upon these "distinctive features." Immigrants within the Irish community derived a "sense of all being one" from the fact that "all were Irish." But even the security and support of their peers could not suppress the awful suspicion that the stage Irishman, the drunken, weak-willed buffoon, was not merely the product of nativist prejudice. The image bore a disturbing resemblance to the Irish themselves. The erroneous belief that the English were solely responsible for the famine of the 1840's "was not the only worm eating at the Irish heart. There was another; the fury of the Irish with themselves for letting it happen." The inevitable comparisons with the "get-up-and-go" Americans only served to intensify this self-condemnation.

The Irish turned to themselves and to Ireland and "in nationalism they found a rationalization of their pains."

Patrick Foord, editor of the Irish World and a leading spokesman...
for the Irish-American community, blamed his early hardships on the
"conditions of poverty and enslavement" in Ireland, of which he, in his
opinion, was a victim. If the Irish-American could right the wrongs of Ireland, he would, in the process, win the respect and admiration of Americans. The solution to the problems of the Irish-American, therefore, lay in the restoration of political independence to Ireland. This drive for acceptance also found an outlet in claims to the superiority of Celtic virtue over Anglo-Saxon vice. Irish-American boasting about the innumerable benefits to the United States from the Irish presence in the country served the same purpose. At one time or another, Irish-American apologists claimed for the Ireland the distinction of bringing representative government, trial by jury, and popular education to America. They also drew parallels between American and Irish history; both countries had struggled with the British Empire and both had championed the cause of democracy and religious freedom.

Brown continues with an examination of the difference between Irish-American and Irish nationalism. Given the needs that Irish-American nationalism was created to serve, Irish nationalists in the United States tended to overlook the finer but definitive details of Irish independence movements. Clubs devoted to the revival of the Irish language had been established in several American cities "but the numbers so engaged were very small indeed. The Philo-Celtic clubs were less interested in the revival of Irish than they were in making a contribution to the propaganda war between Celt and Saxon." In 1896, T. O'Neill Russell of the Dublin Language Society visited New York and was told through the pages of the Irish World that the editor and staff
of the paper supported the Irish language revival movement "only to prove to 'educated dunces' that Ireland had a glorious literature in her native language." Irish-Americans used Celtic mythology to provide "the Irish, no matter how far removed in time and place from Ireland, with an image of themselves that justified support of the nationalist movement in the Old Country." The passion of Irish-American hatred for England "would, in the 1880's, send dynamiters, land reformers and political agitators moving stormily across the Atlantic in the hope of changing the face and mind of Ireland." It also prompted two military expeditions against the British dominion of Canada in 1866 and 1870, all of which "nationalist leaders in Ireland thought . . . an American madness. . . ."

In *American Opinion and the Irish Question*, F. M. Carroll agrees with Brown that many factors contributed to the nature of Irish-American nationalism.

The response of many immigrants and their descendants to the specific conditions in Ireland that prompted their departure and the economic and social climate in the homeland generally . . . were seen as the direct result of British rule. . . . Another force . . . was their reaction to the social rejection they experienced from many native Americans. . . . If Irishmen could be made masters in their own house, then Irish immigrants abroad could no longer be dismissed as comic figures.

The Irish in America sought the acceptance and respect of established Americans. But in the face of racism, religious prejudice, and the belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority fostered by theorists such as George Woodberry, "the Irish-Americans, cut off from the mainstream of American culture and rather badly bruised by their contact with the native Americans, fell back on their Catholicism, on Gaelic culture and on Irish nationalism as a means of self-fulfillment." Carroll also
stresses the impact of involvement in domestic American politics upon
the practical organisation of Irish-American nationalism. The political
ambitions of Irish-Americans, which often led to the corruption of
their organisations and the courting of Irish-American communities by
vote-seeking politicians, helped to shape the attitudes of the immi-
grants towards the Irish question.

Most of Carroll's book is devoted to a discussion of the various
organisations, issues, and campaigns which involved the Irish in
America. Occasionally, however, the author provides insights into the
differences between native and expatriate Irish nationalism. For Irish-
Americans, the Irish language movement was simply a vehicle to drum up
support for more political and militant objectives. The leaders of
the most important Irish-American organisation, Clan na Gael, felt that
the period of inactivity between 1900 and 1910, during which the Clan
supported the highly constitutional Home Rule movement in Ireland, was
destroying the organisation. Irish-American reaction to the Anglo-
Irish literary revival was symbolized by the attitude of John Devoy, the
noted Fenian and founder of Clan na Gael. At a New York performance of
John Millington Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*, Devoy shouted from
the audience, "Son of a bitch, that's not Irish."

For Handlin, Brown, and Carroll, therefore, Irish and Irish-
American nationalism were fundamentally different. The chasm that
separated them was the product of two totally different perceptions of
Ireland, its people, and their needs. But the differences go beyond
those discussed by Handlin, Brown, and Carroll. In 1891, Charles
Stewart Parnell, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster,
died. His unofficial title—the uncrowned king of Ireland—demonstrated the degree to which he, at the zenith of his career, had commanded the allegiance of his people and become the living symbol of his nation. Parnell's fall from political grace and his death shocked the country and created a political vacuum in Ireland that was to last for twenty-five years. The Irish Parliamentary Party disintegrated into squabbling factions, Home Rule was moribund, and the physical force tradition, represented by the illegal Irish Republican Brotherhood, seemed to live only in the United States.

In the interim between 1891 and the rebellion of 1916, Irish nationalists turned away from efforts to achieve an independent political state towards the creation of a "nation." Through an infinite number of social, economic, and cultural organisations, Irish men and women sought to transform their country from a nation of "west-Britons," immitators of England, into a people who were truly Irish in language, culture, and outlook. For the leaders of the period, Yeats, Hyde, MacNeill, Connolly, Griffith and Pearse, being Irish meant more than having an Irish parliament meeting in Dublin. Being Irish meant belonging to a proud and independent race, free not so much from the political domination of England, but from their own "slavishness." By 1890, the Irish sense of nationality had been debased. The Irish had lost their language, sports, literature, and even their history, but these were manifestations of a more serious loss. The Irish had lost pride in themselves as a nation, their dignity, and their sense of national self-worth. England served not only as the creator of laws for Ireland, but also as the touch-stone of Irish nationality. The
Irish measured their worth as Irish people by the strength of their hatred for England, and Irish history was the history of Anglo-Irish relations. Yeats, Hyde, and the other leaders of the time believed, with the old Fenian John O'Leary, that "abuse of England is too often but the stock-in-trade of canting agitators" and that Ireland did not need England to define its nationality. For them, freedom was not necessarily political. It was, instead, the liberation of the Irish people from the acceptance of their self-imposed national debasement.

The Irish nationalists of the early twentieth century were more aggressively Irish than they were anti-English, and the Irish cultural renaissance represented an attempt to liberate the Irish from themselves through a revival of Irish, rather than Anglo-Irish, culture and history. Political independence would, of necessity, come in time but political freedom for a country that continued to be "John Bull's Other Island," was a mere legality without substance.

Irish-American nationalism, in contrast to Irish nationalism, remained aggressively anti-English. Branches of the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association had been founded in the United States, but throughout the period, the political/physical force tradition remained the dominant element in Irish-American nationalism. Irish-Americans continued to define Irish freedom in terms of political freedom, and Irishness in terms of England. The Irish-American's vision of Ireland was frozen at the time of his departure, and his concept of Irish independence had, unknown to the immigrant himself, been altered by the process of emigration. The Irish themselves continued to develop as a nation, but in the picture of his native land
that he passed on to his children, the Irish-American did not allow a place for this growth. While Americans fondly referred to the Emerald Isle and the Old Country and protested British imperialism, the Irish talked of CuíhUlainn and land reform.

In 1914, 27.5 percent of the population of Butte, Montana was either Irish or of Irish descent. The purpose of this work is to examine, in the light of Handlin, Brown, and Carroll's findings, the attitudes of the Butte Irish towards Ireland. To determine the varying emphases of native and expatriate nationalism, using Butte as a test case, it is necessary to examine and compare events in Butte and in Ireland during a given period of time, 1900 to 1916.
FOOTNOTES


3. Ibid., p. 185.

4. Ibid., p. 263.

5. Ibid., p. 272.

6. Ibid., pp. 263-264.


8. Ibid., p. 194.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 195.

11. Ibid., p. 186.

12. Ibid., p. 261.

13. Ibid.


16. Ibid., p. 22.

17. Ibid., p. 21.

18. Ibid., p. 19.

19. Ibid., p. 20.


21. Ibid., p. 22.

22. Ibid., p. 32.

23. Ibid., p. 33.
24 Ibid., p. 34.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 19.
27 Ibid., p. 40.
29 Ibid., p. 12.
30 Ibid., p. 30.
31 Ibid.
33 A figure in Celtic mythology.
CHAPTER I

IRELAND

In 1892, Dr. Douglas Hyde, founder of the Gaelic League and first President of the Irish Free State, wrote

What the battleaxe of the Dane, the sword of the Norman, the wile of the Saxon were unable to perform, we have accomplished ourselves. We have at last broken the continuity of Irish life, and just at the moment when the Celtic race is presumably about to largely recover possession of its own country, it finds itself deprived and strait of its Celtic characteristics, cut off from the past, yet scarcely in touch with the present. . . . It has lost all . . . language, traditions, music, genius, and ideas. Just when we should be starting to build up anew the Irish race and the Gaelic nation . . . we find ourselves despoiled of the bricks of nationality.¹

In this lecture, "The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland," Hyde dated the decline of the Irish nation from the foundation of the Catholic seminary at Maynooth and Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Union movement led by Daniel O'Connell. While O'Connell and Maynooth encouraged abandonment of the "useless" Gaelic culture, Hyde laid the blame for its destruction squarely on the shoulders of the Irish people. "Irish sentiment . . . continues to apparently hate the English and at the same time continues to imitate them; it continues to clamour for recognition as a distinct nationality, and at the same time throws away with both hands what would make it so."² The problem was that the Irish were neither great Irishmen nor great Englishmen.

If the Irishmen only went a little farther they would become good Englishmen in sentiment also. But—logical as it appears—there seems not the slightest sign or probability of their taking that step. . . . It is just because there appears no earthly chance of
their becoming good members of the Empire that I urge that they should not remain in the anomalous position they are in, but since they absolutely refuse to become the one thing, that they become the other; cultivate what they have rejected, and build up an Irish nation on Irish lines.}

Hyde was referring specifically to the revival of the Irish language, but in this lecture, he articulated for the first time the thoughts and fears of the whole range of Irish nationalists. The Irish, Hyde believed, should be a great people, but they had sacrificed their greatness to west-Britonism and all that remained was hatred for England. Hyde pled for a return to pre-O'Connellite Ireland, neither out of fear of modernization nor a nostalgic whim for the past, but that the "sentiment" of hatred for England might be replaced by the strength of total devotion to Ireland. Through the Irish language and literary revival, nationalists attempted to give to the Irish people a culture, a way of life, and mode of thought; a nation that they could love and serve in place of an enemy to hate "as a matter of sentiment."

If the Irish people were to face the twentieth century without trepidation, they needed more than a language of their own; a strong economy was essential. Irish economic thought ranged in nature from the Communism of James Larkin to George Russell's advocacy of a corporate state, but whatever their persuasion, the same positive nationalism of Hyde and Yeats could be found at the core of all Irish economic movements. The economy should serve the day-to-day needs of the Irish people. In general, economic nationalists believed that these needs could best be served in a politically independent Ireland, but political independence was incidental to economic growth. An independent Ireland without a more prosperous people would be of limited value to the Irish
themselves.

To varying degrees, this positive nationalism was true of all pre-1916 movements. Most obvious in the Anglo-Irish literary revival and the Gaelic League, it also coloured the programmes of the Gaelic Athletic Association, Sinn Féin and the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood. A more realistic and constructive attitude towards the Irish question gradually replaced the romantic, anti-English and almost totally political nationalism of the nineteenth century.

Cultural Nationalism

When Douglas Hyde gave his lecture on the de-Anglicization of Ireland to the Irish National Literary Society in Dublin in November, 1892, he spoke to a small group of scholars with an interest in the Irish language. Until the great famine of 1845, Irish had been the first language of approximately one and a half million people. The famine decimated the population of the Irish-speaking areas on the west coast and in Munster; the tide of emigration that followed further contributed to the decline of Irish as a spoken language. In addition, the Irish system of primary education was based upon that of England, and Irish was not included in the curriculum. There was, however, a third factor involved, the attitude of the Irish towards their language. This point of view was best expressed by Daniel O'Connell, who said "the superior utility of the English tongue, as a medium of all modern communication, is so great that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of the Irish." With this attitude the Irish tolerated an educational system that had been designed for England, not Ireland. As
a result, by 1890, Irish had become merely an intellectual interest among academics. The 1880's saw a revival of interest in Celtic culture throughout Europe, pioneered by such noted scholars as Kuno Meyer. In 1877, the small but active Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in Dublin. Other groups devoted to the study and revival of the language and Celtic culture in general were the Ossianic Club, the Pan-Celtic Club, and the Irish National Literary Society.

Hyde had a broader perspective. He believed that Irish was a "fine and worthy language" and that in it was contained "the essence of Irish nationality." English was the "medium of modern communication," and in a country from which thousands of men and women emigrated to the United States and England annually, it was doubly valuable. The revival of Irish as the first language of the majority of the population could be accomplished only by the economic rejuvenation of the Gaeltacht areas. This, Hyde recognized, was impossible. But by teaching Irish as a second language, it was possible to arrest the decline in the use of Irish, and so to preserve Gaelic literature. In company with men of like mind, Fathers Eugene O'Growney and Peadar O'Leary, Hyde co-founded and became the first president of the Gaelic League in 1893.

The work of the Gaelic League can be divided into two distinct but interrelated fields. The long-term goal of the organisation was, as Hyde put it, the de-Anglicization of Ireland, but this philosophy found expression in several campaigns to achieve immediate objectives. The League established local branches throughout Ireland, offering night classes in spoken Irish. The classes were given mostly by local Irish speakers, but the League council in Dublin also employed a group of
travelling instructors, enthusiasts who wandered throughout the country forming new branches. By 1908, six hundred registered branches of the League had been established, thirty four in Dublin and twenty two in the Unionist stronghold of Antrim. In pursuit of *dhá airm aigne*, or bilingualism, for the whole country the League battled the education authorities until 1901 when Irish was established as a subject in the curriculum of both the primary and secondary school systems. The National University of Ireland was established in 1908 and Hyde was appointed Professor of Irish in its main college, University College Dublin. By utilizing his circle of scholarly friends in France and Germany, and by conducting a nationwide campaign that included a National Convention in Dublin in 1909, Hyde and the League succeeded in having Irish made a compulsory subject for matriculation to the new university. Perhaps the most famous of the League's campaigns was the facetiously titled Battle of the General Post Office in 1905. League enthusiasts began to address parcels and letters in Irish, which were promptly rejected by the post office. Hyde took his case to the House of Commons in London and forced a change in postal policy.

The enthusiasm generated by the League carried its activities beyond the realm of class-room Irish. Local branches wrote and performed plays in Irish, and the people of Ballahadreen formed their own Irish dramatic society. Area *feiseanna*, or festivals, were established on a regular basis and the national *an tOireachtas* was held annually. This was a festival comparable to the Welsh Eisteddfod and awarded prizes for Irish music, dancing, poetry, and storytelling. The League also had its own newspaper, *An Claideamh Soluis*, edited by Eoin MacNeill. Both
MacNeill and Hyde devoted much of their time to the translation of Irish
literature into English. MacNeill translated the ancient Brehon Laws
and Hyde's *Leabhar Seálaigheachta* in 1889, and his *Love Songs of
Connacht* in 1890 were milestones in the effort to preserve Gaelic
literature. The work of providing a volume of literature in Irish for
popular use was also done through the Irish Texts Society under Hyde's
presidency. Hyde wrote three plays in Irish for the Abbey Theatre and
Father Peadar O'Leary wrote his first book, *Seadna*, a classic of modern
Irish literature. The fact that new works were being written in Irish
was a tribute to the success of the League's efforts to establish Irish
as a living language.

Hyde and members of the League reacted with contempt to the
"stage Irishness" of earlier translations by Thomas Davis or Lady
Wilde, and to the blandness of Thomas Moore's Victorian verse. Hyde
objected to the use of pithy Irishisms to lend an Irish flavour to
poetry in English. He described Davis's poem *Maire Ban Astor*, in which
the author repeats the title line to emphasize its Irishness, as
"nauseous." Hyde believed that Irish literature should not sacrifice
excellence to Irishness, especially to stage-Irishness. He consistently
refused to translate Irish phrases literally or to bow to the "sure-and-
behorrah" school so beloved by Irish lyricists writing for English or
American audiences. As a result, Hyde "pioneered a manner of speech
that was to become the vernacular . . . of the Anglo-Irish literary
movement. . . ."  

From the outset, the League was non-political. Hyde and his
successor Eoin MacNeill drew "a sharp distinction between 'nationality'
and 'nationalism,' between 'nation' and 'state'. . . . Nationality was not a question of government, neither was it a question of race or of numbers, of law or of politics. The nation was a spiritual, not a political entity, and the leadership of the League studiously avoided politics to attract as many people as possible to the work of reestablishing the nation that had existed "throughout the ages of Irish history." Hyde was severely critical of those who valued political partisanship more than the well-being of their country.

Oh shame upon shame to thee fanatic nation
Who shout for the Orange or cry for the Green . . .
The Catholic crawling to social position,
The wrongs of the nation refuses to heal,
The Protestant sneers at his petty ambition
Regardless as he of the national weal . . .
Turn thee from England and look to thyself.

The policy was an initial success, for

Here were Protestants and Catholics, Nationalists and Unionists, all fired with one enthusiasm. It gave to the Protestants the opportunity for which they must often have longed in vain, to be able to identify themselves with a great national interest other than big business or the activities of the Turf Club; its purpose was purely cultural, and calculated to unite people of different political and social and religious traditions.

Hyde's insistence upon the strict separation of the League from political activity was due not to Unionist sympathies, for he was not a Unionist. For him, the creation of an Irish Ireland was of more immediate importance. "We were doing the only business that really counted, we were keeping Ireland Irish, and that in a way that the Government and the Unionists, though they hated it, were powerless to oppose." Under the leadership of Hyde, the son of a Protestant minister, Nationalists and Unionists did turn away from their preoccupation with England although not from partisan politics. Hyde
resigned from the presidency of the League in 1915, when its leadership, controlled by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I. R. B.), insisted that the League Ardfheis declare itself in favour of an independent Ireland.

The urge to create an Irish literature in English gave rise to what became known as the Anglo-Irish literary renaissance. This sudden outpouring of talent among the Ascendancy, or Protestant upper class, had its roots in the changing social order of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The creation of a system of county councils in 1898, combined with a series of land reform bills and the Liberal adoption of Home Rule, eroded the economic base and the raison d'être of the Ascendancy. "That there was malaise and uneasiness, and even anxiety to come to terms with the new situation before it was too late is not to be denied." To reassert their importance and recreate a role for themselves in Irish life, the Ascendancy class plunged into land reform and cultural revival. But the Anglo-Irish in the twentieth century found themselves in a peculiar dilemma best expressed by the writer John Eglington.

On the one hand, the ties of nature, his chivalrous sense and compassion, constrain him to espouse the cause of his mother. On the other hand, it is easy to see that, however picturesque his mother may be as she sits crooning songs of hatred against her betrayer, a young nationality, with a world of new enterprise and purpose in his soul, new thought and invention in his brain, passion as yet unexpended in his heart, must find something lacking in a mental and spiritual attitude so uncompromisingly negative.

The solution, for Eglington and other men of letters, was an Irish literature in English.

The community of artists and writers that formed in Dublin at the turn of the century first came together as members of the Irish literary
societies in London, or at Coolepark, County Sligo, the home of Lady Augusta Gregory. Under the influence of the Pan-Celtic movement and of Celtic revivalists, several clubs devoted to the reading and discussion of Irish literature were formed in London. The most noted of these was the Southwark Literary Club and it was here that William Butler Yeats was first introduced to Celtic mythology and poetry. In 1891, Yeats and T. W. Rolleston founded the Irish Literary Society of London, and upon their return to Ireland in 1892, established the National Literary Society in Dublin. Until this time plays produced in Ireland, even plays by Irish writers, were performed by English actors. In 1899 Yeats, Lady Gregory, Edward Martyn, and William and Frank Fay formed the Irish National Dramatic Company which opened with a performance of Yeats's _Countess Cathleen_. In 1903 this company became the Irish National Theatre Society and in December, 1904 the Abbey Theatre was opened with a production of _On Baile's Strand_. By 1904, Ireland had the literary and theatrical organisations through which new artistic talent could be fostered and displayed.

The Anglo-Irish writers took their inspiration from earlier Celtic revivalists and poets. In 1876, Standish O'Grady wrote his _Bardic History of Ireland_, and opened a door to the past, a door to Ireland's Heroic Age. Cú hUllainn, Fionn MacCumhaill, Cormac MacAirt and other mythological figures became the inspiration of Yeats and Pearse. John O'Leary, a leader of the 1868 Fenian rising, returned to Dublin in 1885. For Yeats and others, he was a physical link with the cold and passionate heroism of the ancient sagas; a heroism which, they believed, had faded from Irish life. In the mid-nineteenth century Samuel
Ferguson, a staunch Unionist and Orangeman, had adapted Irish prosody to English verse. Yeats described Ferguson as "the greatest poet Ireland had ever produced," and he and O'Leary agreed that through the quality of his writing, Ferguson "had served the Irish nation better than the old Fenian veteran himself." Ferguson and Douglas Hyde, with his Love Songs of Connacht, pointed the way towards the creation of a body of English literature in the Irish idiom.

The Anglo-Irish and Gaelic revivals had in common the drive to recreate and express the mind and "soul of a nation." For the Anglo-Irish writers, this could be accomplished through the evolution of a national literature inspired by Ireland's heroic past and utilizing the variety of English spoken in Ireland. The Irish idiom was a colloquial adaptation of the English language to suit the thought patterns of the Irish mind, and as such, was strongly influenced by the Irish language. "They viewed English as a language that has lost its vitality. . . . Therefore they counseled the use of Anglo-Irish, which, since it is a colloquial language . . . is the direct expression of experience."

Lady Gregory pioneered the use of "Kiltartan English," the English spoken by her neighbours in Sligo, and Synge wrote his plays in the idiom he discovered on a visit to the Aran Islands. This rather forced version of "peasant English" earned the Abbey Theatre group the disparaging title of "Pegeen Mikes." But the work of Synge, Gregory and others, however contrived the language, represented an attempt to transcend, while retaining the use of local subject matter and idiom, the highly parochial import of Irish drama up to that time.

For many of the Anglo-Irish writers, but especially for Yeats,
Irish society had lost its vigour, integrity, and dignity. His vision of the ideal Ireland found expression in the three great symbolic figures of his poetry: Parnell, O'Leary, and most of all, Cu’hUlainn. In these men, Yeats found the qualities that Irish society had lost: pride and the fearlessness of cold aristocratic passion for life. "For Parnell was a proud man,/ No prouder trod the ground,/ And a proud man's a lovely man."²³ More than any other, the cult of Cu’hUlainn came to represent the views of Yeats and his colleagues. Cu’hUlainn was a legendary hero who, in his youth, earned his name by fighting to the death with the fierce hound of Ulster. The name Cu’hUlainn means Hound of Ulster. Throughout Yeats's poetry, this mythological figure symbolises all that was good and noble in Ireland's past. Cu’hUlainn was "none of those who hated the living world,"²⁴ and was willing to sacrifice the mundane and prosaic for the aesthetic beauty of a life lived with passion.

In the twentieth century, however, "Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,/ It's with O'Leary in the grave."²⁵ In its place was "the fumbling wits, the obscure spite/ Of our old Paudeen in his shop . . . "²⁶ who did "But fumble in a greasy till/ And add the halfpence to the pence/ And prayer to shivering prayer."²⁷ Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmett, Parnell, and O'Leary, men for whom, in the light of one moment of glory, "The years to come seemed waste of breath,/ A waste of breath the years behind"²⁸ were gone. Modern Ireland, "the peasantry, and then/ Hard-riding country gentlemen,/ The holiness of monks, and after/ Porter-drinkers' randy laughter;"²⁹ disgusted Yeats. From every facet of Irish life, from literature, religion, and from politics, greatness and
beauty had faded.

Yeats's field of expertise was literature, and as a writer he fought to improve the standard of Irish poetry and drama. The first objective of the literary revival was what became known as the "de-Davisisation" of Irish literature. Thomas Davis, leader of the 1848 rebellion, had been the most influential Irish writer of the nineteenth century. He had, however, used his poetry as a vehicle for his nationalism. The result was the widespread acceptance, or rather the dogmatic insistence, that every writer since Davis had "to speak in his national rather than his human capacity." When politics is shackled to poetry, and all poetry has to express a political viewpoint, the inevitable result is the production of second-rate literature. The quality of Irish literature was so poor that Yeats was prompted to say that "no educated man ever bought an Irish book." If the new generation of writers was to create a national literature of the highest standard, it had to "overcome the habit of making every Irish book or poem, shoulder some political idea. . . ." Their first work was "to close, not knowing how great the need of it still was, the rhymed lesson book of Davis."

For these artists, literature was a means of self-expression and was not to be used for political propaganda. Their objection to the subservience of literature to a political cause was twofold. A writer could create great literature only if he were given the freedom to "make his work a part of his own journey towards beauty and truth." The burden of conformity to an accepted doctrine, political or religious, stifled the individuality and creativity of these writers and was intolerable.
Literature is always personal, always one man's vision of the world, one man's experience, and it can only be popular when men are ready to welcome the vision of others. A community that is opinion-ridden, even when those opinions are in themselves noble, is likely to put its creative minds into some sort of prison. Good literature is literature of which the author, in writing, is conscious "simply of the burden which he has to deliver," and the Anglo-Irish writers stood firmly behind this principle. Their stance, however, was not based solely on their position as writers; they were also nationalists. That Irish people should find bad poetry or drama acceptable as the literary expression of their nation was, for Yeats, O'Casey, and their colleagues, an almost criminal act. Aesthetically unacceptable literature was a poor cornerstone on which to build a nation, and an even poorer ambassador for that nation. Consequently the Anglo-Irish writers "refused to preach a doctrine or to consider the seeming necessity of a cause" in any of their work.

This brought the leaders of the literary renaissance into conflict with the Catholic Church, with a large group of upper-middle class followers of Davis scathingly termed the "Sullivan gang," and to a lesser extent, with the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. Yeats attacked both the Catholic Church and the Sullivan gang for their espousal of the intellectually stifling middle-class morality and jingoistic nationalism. The opening battle of the war began with the conflict between Yeats and Charles Gavan Duffy, then Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, over the nature of the literature to be included in the travelling library of the National Literary Society. Duffy, a colleague of Davis, "took it for granted that all that was needed was to make the legacy of Young Ireland available as widely and cheaply as possible." Yeats and Rolleston
argued that the Society should introduce the Irish public to its literary heritage with the best literature available. In 1903, the entrepreneur and leader of the Sullivan gang, William Martin Murphy, attacked Synge's play, In the Shadow of the Glen, before it opened. This brought a flood of invective from Yeats. He regretted that the politics of extremism, which once were "the politics of freedom" seemed "about to unite themselves to the hatred of ideas." He continued to disparage

the more ignorant sort of Gaelic propagandist, who would have nothing said or thought that is not in country Gaelic . . . the more ignorant kind of priest who, forgetful of the great traditions of his Church, would deny all ideas that might perplex a parish of farmers . . . [and] the politician . . . who would reject every idea which is not of immediate service to his cause.38

The riots at the Abbey's 1907 production of the Playboy of the Western World and the church-organised protest at Synge's use of the word "shift" elicited an essay in sarcasm, The Song of the Shift, from playwright Sean O'Casey.

Yeats was not alone in his criticism. The plays of Sean O'Casey are, in effect, damning criticisms of Irish nationalists. He did not condemn the tiny group of nationalists led by Patrick Pearse and James Connolly "that was willing to sprinkle itself into oblivion that a change might be born in the long-settled thought of the people."40 Instead his criticism was directed towards men represented by the character Jack Clitheroe in The Plough and the Stars. Through Clitheroe, a captain in the Irish Citizen Army, O'Casey questioned not only the motives but the moral fibre of Irish nationalists who

were all lost and dreaming in the romantic ecstasy of Thomas Davis. . . . Not a thought, seemingly, about the toil, the rotten
sweat, the craving for sleep, the sagging belly asking silently for food, the face disfigured . . . the surprised lung, bullet-holed, gasping for breath; or the dangling leg, never to feel firm on the earth again.  

The hero of The Plough and the Stars is not Jack Clitheroe who believed that "Ireland is greater than any wife," or Jack's friend, Captain Brennan, who abandoned the wounded Jack to save himself. The hero is Bessie Burges, a Protestant Unionist who liked to sing "Rule Britannia" and who gave her life to save Nora, the wife Clitheroe had left behind when he went to the General Post Office (the main rebel stronghold) "thryin' to die for Ireland" in 1916. Throughout O'Casey's plays, the male characters repeatedly brag about their nationalist sentiments, and occasionally they die fighting for Irish independence, but the women who are left to face the harsh realities of life and shoulder its responsibilities are invariably the plays' heroes.

The vast majority of the Anglo-Irish writers centred around Lady Gregory and the Abbey Theatre were nationalists. They were, however, nationalists in the broadest sense of the word. They believed that Irish verse should be counted among "the accepted poetry of the world," and that Irish literature should be worthy of international respect was more important than touting a political cause. The criticism these writers levelled at certain groups in Irish society was not purely negative; it was, on the contrary, highly constructive. Their goal was to free Irish literature from the political and religious constraints which produced the literary "stage Irishman." Ultimately, they sought the end of Ireland's "intellectual dependence on England," for as long as politics dominated Irish literature, Irish writers and the reading public were dependent upon England for the content and quality
of their literature.

Yeats and O'Casey were, at various times, involved in or associated with militant nationalist organisations. Yeats was a close friend of the Fenian O'Leary, and once had strong connections with the I. R. B. He and O'Leary shared the belief that "there are things a man must not do to save a nation," one of which was to support it with inferior literature. Yeats objected to the fact that "all the past had been turned into a melodrama with Ireland for blameless hero and poet, novelist and historian had but one object, that we should hiss the villain." He was, however, quick to acknowledge that "it was all the harder to substitute for that melodrama a nobler form of art because there really had been, however different in their form, villain and victim." Nevertheless, before Ireland could become a respected nation it had to abandon its melodrama and embrace the "nobler form of art."

Sean O'Casey's concern with Irish literature went beyond the immediate goal of literary freedom and improved standards. For O'Casey, the ideal Ireland was not symbolised by Parnell or Cu hUlainn, but by ordinary people like Bessie Burges or Juno O'Boyle who were not afraid to say "there's no woman who gives a son or a husband to be killed—if they say it they're lyin', lyin' against God, Nature and against themselves." In The Shadow of a Gunman, the character Seamus Shields complains:

I'm a Nationalist right enough; I believe in the freedom of Ireland, an' that England has no right to be here, but I draw the line when I hear the gunmen blowin' about dyin' for the people, when it's the people that are dyin' for the gunmen. With all due respect to the gunmen, I don't want them to die for me.

For many years, O'Casey was a member of the I. R. B.; he did not oppose
the idea of an independent Ireland, and like Yeats, he paid tribute to the men who fought in 1916 and condemned England's presence in Ireland. He also condemned the Irish for their self-exploitation. The Irish should "look into their own lives" for the source of and solution to their problems, and abandon the bragging rhetoric, ideologies, and melodrama of nationalist history. O'Casey pled for an end to "the dreadful dreaming" of the gunman and for a moral rejuvenation of Irish society. Ireland's "close kinship with nobility" lay not in the "coward" Jack Clitheroe's being "proud to die for Ireland," but in the courage of Bessie who took upon herself the responsibility of caring for Jack's wife and baby. The fact that the Anglo-Irish writers wasted little or no time in criticism of England was testimony to the ardour of their nationalism.

In 1884, Archbishop Croke was invited to become the patron of the newly-formed Gaelic Athletic Association. In his letter of acceptance he wrote,

Ball-playing, hurling, foot-ball kicking according to Irish rules, leaping in various ways, wrestling, hand-grips . . . and all such favourite exercises and amusements amongst men and boys may now be said to be not only dead and buried, but in several localities to be entirely forgotten and unknown. And what have we got in their stead? We have got such foreign and fantastic field sports as lawn tennis, polo, croquet, cricket and the like—very excellent, I believe, and health-giving exercises in their way, still not racy of the soil but rather alien, on the contrary to it, as are, indeed, for the most part, the men and women who first imported and still continue to patronize them.

In this letter, Croke captured the attitude of the Association's founders. Irish games, the Archbishop observed, had declined in popularity to an even greater extent than the Irish language. All games played in Ireland were either organized by the police, or Royal Irish
Constabulary, and the military, or held under the auspices of the Amateur Athletics Association of England. Ireland had a rich heritage of native sports and games, the most ancient and popular of which was hurling. The fact that Trinity, a staunchly Unionist college catering to the upper classes, sponsored the country’s leading hurling club indicated the degree to which the game had been detached from its national origins. In 1883, Michael Cusack founded the Civil Service Academy Hurling Club. In 1884, this became the Gaelic Athletic Association and branches were established throughout the country. The G. A. A. leadership organised leagues for native Irish sports and removed most of Ireland’s sporting activities from the control of English associations. G. A. A. membership increased rapidly, especially in rural areas, and inter-county competition was keen.

The underlying objective of the G. A. A. was similar to that of the Gaelic League and the Anglo-Irish literary revival: to reawaken national awareness among the Irish, and in the broadest interpretation of the word, a spirit of nationalism. Cusack was "appalled at the moral and physical apathy which had descended on so much of the country . . . [and] he wished the young men of Ireland to indulge in sport, not solely for its own sake, but so that through sport they might form a new national consciousness." G. A. A. policy was more fanatically Irish than that of the other cultural movements. The Association leadership forbade members to attend non-Gaelic games and regarded all English sports with disdain. In contrast, Yeats and Hyde believed that they should "do the Englishman full justice" and that English literature was of the highest quality. Initially, the I. R. B.
attempted to take control of the G. A. A. by placing its members on the central council of the Association and in positions of local importance. The stormy National Congress of 1887 blocked this process, and although the non-violent faction regained the leadership, the I. R. B. continued to infiltrate the lower ranks of the Association. After 1912, the G. A. A. and the Gaelic League were firmly under the I. R. B.'s control. This was inevitable; the cultural movements were non-political but they were nationalist, and all nationalists eventually had to come to terms with the question of Ireland's political status. The spirit of independence and national pride generated by the cultural revival burst through the political constraints of direct rule from Westminster. The 1916 rising was the work of a tiny minority of Irish people, but Yeats was justified in asking the question "Did that play of mine send out/ Certain men the English shot?" Some years earlier Patrick Pearse had answered that question.

For it there is one thing that has become plainer than another it is that when the seven men met in O'Connell Street to found the Gaelic League, they were commencing . . . not a revolt, but a revolution.

The Gaelic League will be recognised in history as the most revolutionary influence that has ever come into Ireland.

**Economic Nationalism**

Until 1909, trades unions in Ireland in effect were the Irish locals of parent unions in England, and were represented at the British Trades Union Congress. This situation persisted even after the formation of the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1894. The principal figure in Irish trade unionism was James Sexton, president of the National Union of Dockers, an affiliate of the British dockers union. Sexton
and the crafts-based Irish trade union movement were, in philosophy and tactics, conservative. The unions campaigned for higher wages and more jobs, but they neither questioned nor threatened the existence of the capitalist system in Ireland. Politically, Irish labour was represented by the English Labour Party under the leadership of Kier Hardie. In 1896, James Connolly and T. J. Ling founded the radical Irish Socialist Republican Party. This party, however, remained small and largely ineffective. In 1909, eighty-five percent of Irish workers earned less than one pound per week and seventy-eight percent of that had to be spent on food and rent.\(^5^9\) Dublin had the highest death rate of any city in Europe, and of its 300,000 inhabitants, 26,000 families lived in 5,322 tenement buildings; 2,000 of those families lived in one room per family.\(^6^0\) The unemployment rate among unskilled workers may have been twenty percent.\(^6^1\) Poverty, unemployment, conservatism, and political apathy characterised the Irish working class until the appearance of James Larkin in 1907.

Larkin was born in Liverpool of Irish parents, and turned to socialism as a solution to the appalling poverty he witnessed in the slums of Liverpool and other English cities. He joined Thomas Mann's Workers Union of Great Britain and Ireland and became the Liverpool organizer for the union. In 1907, he moved to Belfast to lead a dockers strike and went on to lead strikes in Dublin and Cork. An energetic organizer, fiery orator, and charismatic leader, Larkin breathed new life and spirit into the Irish trade union movement and Dublin's lethargic working class. The quiet and studious James Connolly had previously attempted to radicalize Irish labour, but he could not
persuade organized labour to embrace Marxism. He emigrated to the United States in 1903, leaving Ireland without a labour leader until 1907. In contrast, the dynamic Larkin quickly attracted trade unionists and workers alike to his brand of syndicalism. Larkin, like Connolly, wished to overthrow the capitalist system and his radical views led to his expulsion from the National Union of Dockers in 1908. Supported by the majority of the N. U. D. members, Larkin founded the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in 1909. Through this totally Irish union, Larkin had an opportunity to actualize his syndicalist concept of "one big union." The I. T. G. W. U. campaigned for better working conditions and higher wages while providing medical services, sick benefits and leisure activities for its members. Under ideal conditions, the ever-expanding union would absorb the working class and eventually replace the government itself. The weapons of the I. T. G. W. U. were the liberally-used sympathy strike and political participation. In 1910, Connolly returned to Ireland to revive his old Irish Socialist Republican Party under the new name of the Socialist Party of Ireland and at the I. T. U. C. of 1912, he carried a motion that the Congress should contest elections to all public boards as a matter of policy.

In 1914, an Irish Labour Party was created, largely by the I. T. U. C. In August 1913, Larkin called a strike of Dublin tram workers employed by William Martin Murphy. Workers on the Independent newspaper owned by Murphy also struck, and dockers refused to handle goods destined for Easons newsagents, the main sales outlet of the Independent. In response the Federation of Employers locked out 25,000 workers. The lockout lasted seven months until February 1914, when the workers
capitulated and returned to work, many on the condition that they would not join Larkin's union. The lockout brought the labour movement into conflict with nationalists over labour internationalism, and with the Catholic Church. During the lockout, Larkin approved of a proposal to send the children of locked-out workers to England where they would at least have enough to eat. A combined force of ardent Catholics and clergy, fearing the consequences of sending children to Protestant homes, and nationalists, fearing the effects upon the children from a sojourn with the enemy, ruined the plan at the point of embarkation for England. These were the middle class nationalists and Catholics bitterly criticized by Yeats for their ignorance and narrow-mindedness, and by Larkin for their hypocrisy. Larkin and Connolly never hesitated to use the weapon of a cross-Channel sympathy strike. In 1911, Irish workers struck in sympathy with their fellow workers in England. English trade unions donated a total of £150,000 and sent two food ships to Dublin during the lockout.62 Both leaders were willing to respond to the call of the Second International for a general strike throughout Europe to prevent the outbreak of World War I. Connolly hoped that by taking part in the Easter rebellion, "Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last war lord."63

Yet Irish labour uniquely combined socialism, nationalism, and in Larkin's case, fervent Catholicism, in one movement. In his major work, Labour in Ireland, Connolly, the greatest theorist of the Irish labour movement, wrote
Ireland, as distinct from her people, is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling over with love for "Ireland," and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrongs and the suffering, the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—yea wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call Ireland.  

Concerned primarily with the lot of the working class, the labour movement was not satisfied with mere political independence and severely criticized those who were. Frederic Ryan, in the United Irishman, bitterly attacked "William Murphy, running his tramwaymen twelve or thirteen hours a day, with one day off in ten, gaily . . . [telling] us he is a patriot—that he subscribes to the National Fund and even the Gaelic League." As socialists, Irish labour leaders subscribed to the Marxist interpretation of history. The theory that the working class of the world has been exploited by the wealthier class throughout the ages undermined nationalist interpretations of Irish history. The enemy of the Irish working class was not a nation—England—but a class—the ruling class of Ireland and England. Workers in English cities were little better off than the slum dwellers of Dublin, and those typhoid-ridden slums were owned and controlled by Irishmen. The Irish Citizen Army was formed during the lockout solely to enable the workers to ward off attacks by the Irish police force acting on behalf of Irish employers, whose decisions were condoned by the Irish Parliamentary Party. The "Irish question [was] at bottom an economic question," and "the new generation [has] a shrewd suspicion that whatever form of government is adopted it will still have to slave nine or ten hours a day for a living wage, and it won't make a penny difference in its pay whether a green flag or a Union Jack floats over
Dublin Castle."

With the humiliating failure of the 1913 lockout and the outbreak of war in 1914, Connolly and Larkin began to emphasise political action in the struggle against capitalism, and they united that struggle with a growing hostility towards England. Labour participation in the nationalist movement, however, was highly qualified. By tying labour's cause to the cause of Irish independence, Connolly hoped to channel the resources of the nationalist movement into the war against capitalism. The small Irish labour movement, he realized, could never destroy the capitalist system of the British Empire, but by participating in the creation of an Irish Republic, they could mould the new Republican government. By 1916, Connolly and Larkin were strong nationalists who hated the English presence in Ireland; Connolly insisted that "the cause of Labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of Labour, they cannot be dissevered." The belief that because Ireland was once an independent political entity it should still be so, was, for Connolly, a nationalist abstraction. The "Working Class should fight for the freedom of the Irish nation from foreign rule as the first requisite for the free development of the national power needed for our class." Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army enthusiastically participated in the 1916 rebellion, but to win an Irish Republic without substantial benefits for the working class of Ireland would be, for them, a shallow victory.

Through a series of land acts, culminating with the Wyndham Act of 1903, the British government finally neared a solution to the Irish land question, which had plagued the country for more than a century.
The land acts were based upon the premise that, in Ireland, peasant proprietorship was the key to agricultural prosperity. Land ownership, however, had not substantially improved the lot of the Irish peasant. While freed from the threat of eviction, the peasant displayed little initiative or interest in using more productive agricultural techniques of which he was, in any case, largely ignorant. The quality of Irish agricultural produce did not reach competitive standards, and the agricultural industry suffered badly from foreign competition. For Sir Horace Plunkett, the answer lay in more efficient methods of production and distribution; these could best be achieved through a system of co-operation. Plunkett, third son of the sixteenth Baron Dunsay, began his co-operative movement in County Waterford in 1889. He initially concentrated on forming local co-operative dairies. The project attracted limited support, and in 1894 Plunkett founded the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society to establish and coordinate co-operatives. The I. A. O. S. had its own journal, the Irish Homestead, edited by George Russell, and within ten years, 876 societies had been formed. Under Plunkett's guidance all political factions in Ireland worked together on the agricultural issue, and in 1899 they forced the government to create a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.

Sir Horace Plunkett initially was a Unionist, and after 1908 he was a confirmed Home Ruler, but he insisted that the I. A. O. S. should be kept free from political bias. Plunkett castigated the Unionists for their lack of coherent policy and interest in social reform. He also criticized nationalists for their belief that "any non-political
movement towards national advancement, which in its nature cannot be linked . . . to the Home Rule movement constitutes an unwarrantable sacrifice of ends to means." The purely political nationalist movement lacked constructive policies; its only policy was "separation from another country." In his book, Ireland in the New Century, Plunkett stated that Ireland's problems were more economic than political. The national preoccupation with politics combined with years of poor legislation, however, had bred in the Irish character "the lack of initiative and shrinking from responsibility, the moral timidity in glaring contrast with the physical courage." He hoped that the policy of co-operation would restore a spirit of self-reliance among the Irish. George Russell, better known as the poet A. E., developed Plunkett's theories beyond the realm of agriculture. He envisioned a country run entirely on co-operative lines. Russell claimed that because of "our excited political controversies, our playing at militarism . . . life is drawn to its frontiers away from its spiritual base and behind the surfaces we have little to fall back on." Nationalism needed a social and economic policy, without which a state governed by Irishmen differed little, in practical terms, from a state governed by England.

The brand of realistic, comprehensive nationalism advocated by Connolly and Plunkett found a valuable supporter in D. P. Moran, editor of the Leader magazine. Through the pages of the Leader, Moran encouraged the Irish to stop blaming England for their ills and to stop waiting for England to cure them. "True nationhood is not necessarily the product of political independence: it is the reflection of an independent attitude of mind which may not be reflected in, and may even
be obscured by, victories in the political field." Moran, through his Irish Ireland campaign in the Leader, ceaselessly supported the Gaelic League as a means of restoring an "independent attitude of mind" among the Irish. Moran also campaigned for the revival of Irish industry, and although he ridiculed I. A. O. S. leaders, calling A. E. the "Hairy Fairy," he respected any movement which would restore Irish self-respect. This lack of self-respect, he claimed, "Paddy has so much of that he is only too glad to make a buffoon of himself for a few English coppers." As a separatist Moran undoubtedly favoured political independence, but he claimed that through flattery and false optimism, nineteenth-century Irish nationalists had sapped the strength and dignity of the Irish people. By holding forth the illusion of Home Rule, the Irish Parliamentary Party carried on the tradition. Moran was not afraid to violate taboos and freely criticized the Irish to stir them to action. He viciously attacked I. R. B. nationalists who valued political freedom above the prosperity and moral strength of the Irish. Moran described this as "letting all the nation's life bleed out of us until we come by our own right to make laws for the corpse." He "devoted his energies to dispersing the fog of sham national issues, false patriotic protestations, and spurious political promises, because he believed that clear thinking must come first." Irish leaders should use every means available, including the symbol of British rule—the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Vice-Regal Lodge—to promote Irish industrial development. Only by dispensing with nationalist fetish, with recoil from all things English, could the Irish be made fit for freedom and take their place among the nations of the world.
Constitutional Nationalism and Sinn Feín

Whether they were members of the Gaelic League, the G. A. A., or Irish literary societies, the vast majority of the Irish people loyally supported the Irish Parliamentary Party and the policy of Home Rule. In the early nineteenth century, Isaac Butt first moulded the Irish M. P.'s at Westminster into a political party. Charles Stewart Parnell, who succeeded Butt, transformed his position as leader into one of absolute authority over party members. With his death the party split into Parnellite and anti-Parnellite factions, which finally came to a tenuous union under John Redmond in 1900. The raison d'être of the I. P. P. was to obtain Home Rule, a measure of self-government, for Ireland. In the early twentieth century the troublesome activities of dissident members William O'Brien and Timothy Healy made the survival of the party increasingly dependent upon the quick execution of its task. The I. P. P. and its local organisation, the United Irish League, contained within its limits points of view as diverse as those of Healy and O'Brien. Healy, a radical Catholic and ally of William Murphy, championed the cause of big business. O'Brien and John Dillon insisted upon party involvement in land reform and opposed Healy's reactionary Catholicism. Between these disparate elements Redmond trod a fine line to maintain a non-sectarian policy in a predominantly Catholic party. The strength of the U. I. L. ensured party involvement in social issues, but under Redmond its first objective remained Home Rule. The ultimate goal of the party was not an Irish Republic, but self-government within the British Empire. Redmond called for "national freedom
and imperial unity and strength," for "not only did he think it undesirable that two countries so closely associated as Britain and Ireland should be wholly separated but further he had no wish to see any dismemberment of an Empire which Irishmen had had their share in creating." 79

With this policy the I. P. P. won all non-Unionist seats both north and south, and in the 1900 South Mayo bi-election, Republican John McBride lost to the I. P. P. candidate at a rate of five to one. In that year the I. P. P. welcomed Queen Victoria to Dublin where she was "frantically cheered," 80 and in 1903, the visit of Edward the Seventh was an "outstanding success" 81 despite the work of the National Council formed to protest the royal presence. So great was the party's popularity that in 1913 Bulmer Hobson wrote, "today the Parliamentary Party controls more thoroughly than ever the daily press and the public mind in Ireland." 82

After Butt, the I. P. P.'s legislative strength depended upon the rough numerical equality of the two major parties—Liberal and Tory—in the House of Commons. The I. P. P. would pledge its support to the British party that committed itself to Home Rule, usually the Liberals. After the 1906 general election the Liberal majority was so great that Redmond lost the vital leverage to force the introduction of a Home Rule bill. The Liberal offering in 1907 was the Irish Councils Bill, a measure of administrative independence so slight it was furiously rejected by the U. I. L. Between 1907 and 1910 Home Rule faded from the limelight to make way for much needed reform legislation in the areas of land, housing, and education.

The government was faced with the problem of financing its social
reforms, and the severe tax budget of 1909 was designed to raise the required revenue. Tories looked upon it as a violation of property rights and were determined to compensate for their numerical inferiority by having the bill vetoed in the Tory-dominated House of Lords. This put Redmond in a difficult position. If he opposed the budget the Liberal government would fall, and depending upon the results of the ensuing election, Home Rule could be lost to a Tory government. Alternatively, through a curb on the veto power of the House of Lords, it could be fully realized within a few years. The elections of January and December, 1910, equalized the strength of the two British parties and Redmond again held the balance of power, although in reality he could only support the Liberals. The election results seemed to indicate that most of England had been converted to Home Rule for Ireland, and in 1911 the Parliaments Bill was passed. This bill limited the Lords' power of veto to two years and the future looked bright for the I. P. P. and Home Rule.

In 1898, Arthur Griffith returned from South Africa to become the editor of the United Irishman newspaper. The year 1898 also marked the centenary of Wolfe Tone's rebellion and organisations sprang up throughout the country to celebrate the occasion. Griffith managed to unite these organisations as Cumann na nGaedheal in 1900. The Rational Council, formed in 1903, remained in existence thereafter as a discussion forum for nationalist groups. In 1905, Bulmer Hobson and Denis McCullough founded the Dungannon Clubs to discourage recruitment to the army and to promote the idea of an Irish Ireland among young men of northern Ireland. In that year these three organisations merged under
The title and policy of Sinn Féin with its own newspaper, Sinn Féin, begun in 1906.

The political policy of Sinn Féin was enunciated by Griffith in his 1904 pamphlet "The Resurrection of Hungary." The Hungarian policy referred to the Ausgleich of 1867, in which the patriot Franz Deak led the Hungarian representatives out of the Imperial Parliament at Vienna and established an Hungarian Parliament in Budapest. By these means the Hungarians forced the Austrian Empire to recognize Hungarian independence, but consented to share the monarchy of Austria. Griffith believed that the Act of Union had illegally dissolved the Irish Parliament in 1801. John Redmond, therefore, should follow the example of Deak and withdraw the I. P. P. to Dublin. Sinn Féin proposed that Ireland should accept the British monarch as sovereign of Ireland, but that in all other respects an Irish parliament should be outside English jurisdiction. The Sinn Féin programme also included an economic plan based on the protectionist philosophy of the German economist Friedrich List. Griffith insisted that economic and political freedom were inseparable and advocated a high tariff for Ireland behind which Irish industry could flourish. The purpose of Sinn Féin was to prove to Irish people "that the alternative of armed resistance to the foreign government of this country is not acquiescence in usurpation, tyranny and fraud." As the alternative to a futile insurrection Sinn Féin would, Griffith believed, enable "his fellow-countrymen to recover their self-respect, to cherish their language, literature, and history, to foster their own industries, above all to cease to look to England with slavish gratitude for every slight improvement in their condition."
Griffith was a Republican, but he said, "the Irish people are not separatists. I do not think that they can be united behind a separatist policy. But I do think that it is possible to unite them on this policy." Considering that thousands of Irishmen fought for England in the Boer War and that approximately one-half million joined the British army during the First World War, Griffith was correct. His Sinn Féin policy was designed to appeal to all shades of nationalist opinion, but its following was limited. It undermined the existence of the I. P. P., and although the Sinn Féin constitution demanded "the re-establishment of the independence of Ireland," it was too conservative for the I. R. B. Its economic policies met with opposition partly because English manufacturers would not surrender free entry to the Irish market unless forced, and partly because wherever Irish industry had developed . . . the attraction of belonging to a free trade area such as the United Kingdom had hitherto far outweighed the dubious benefits that might accrue if a native tariff reserved for them an impoverished and mainly rural clientele.

The labour movement disliked Griffith's capitalism and his placement of political independence at the forefront of his programme. Connolly claimed that Griffith desired an "Anglo-Irish Empire in which Britain and Ireland would jointly exploit the lesser breeds . . . and he completely failed to distinguish between capitalist and worker in Britain or in Ireland." Griffith boasted that "against the red flag of Communism . . . we raise the flag of an Irish Nation." The "zenith of Sinn Féin's rise" occurred in 1906 when the Sinn Féin candidate Charles Dolan, who had resigned from the I. P. P., polled 1,157 votes to the I. P. P. candidate's 3,103 in a North Leitrim bi-election. Sinn Féin's main contribution to the 1916 rising was providing an organisation through which P. H. Pearse, Yeats, Edward Martyn, O'Leary and other
nationalists could meet and discuss their views in a favourable atmosphere.

The I. R. B., Unionism, and the Easter Rising

While overt and legal forms of nationalism—the Gaelic League, the G. A. A., the Anglo-Irish literary revival, and the socialist and Home Rule movements—absorbed the attention and energies of most Irish people, a tiny but disproportionately important minority were active members of the I. R. B. This organisation, founded in the mid-nineteenth century, was dedicated to the creation of an Irish Republic independent of the British Empire. Its objective was to be achieved, if necessary, by violent insurrection. Apart from sporadic violence, the organisation had been moribund in Ireland since the 1870's, but continued to exist in the United States under the patronage of John Devoy and Clan na Gael. In 1912, the I. R. B. in Ireland "counted no more than 2,000 members and could effect little on its own," but through various "front" organisations and a comprehensive change of leadership, it had begun to flicker into life once again. In the early twentieth century, leadership of the I. R. B. passed from men traditionally in the vanguard of anti-English nationalism to P. H. Pearse, Bulmer Hobson, The O'Rahilly, and others. Influenced by Yeats and Hyde, these men grafted onto that anti-English militancy an unshakable devotion to the Irish language and culture. Through the Gaelic League, Pearse "learned to know Ireland" and became passionately devoted to the idea of an Irish Ireland. He founded an Irish school for boys, St. Enda's, based on the ancient Irish community of master and
disciples, and he and other Brotherhood members produced a wealth of poetry and drama in Irish and English. Pearse acknowledged the necessity of economic reform, but while Connolly blamed international capitalism for the condition of Dublin slum dwellers, the more academically-minded Pearse blamed England. For Pearse and the I. R. B., independence, Gaelicization and economic reform were essential aspects of the Republican programme. During the period under review, the I. R. B. infiltrated the upper ranks of the Gaelic League, the G. A. A., the Dungannon Clubs, Sinn Féin, and the boy-scout organisation, Fianna Eireann. Founded in 1909 by Hobson and Countess Markievicz, Fianna Eireann was designed for instructing boys in Irish history, culture, and military drilling. The I. R. B. remained, however, an organisation of minor consequence with neither the means nor serious intention of staging an armed revolt against England. In 1912, Pearse spoke for Home Rule on the same platform as John Redmond, but warned that "if we are cheated once more there will be red war in Ireland." His words proved to be prophetic; within four years the activities of Ulster Unionists and the Tory party in England had transformed the face of Irish nationalism.

Unionists, who wished to maintain the political and economic union of Great Britain and Ireland, were scattered throughout the country, but the majority were concentrated in East Ulster. Southern Unionism, mainly the political persuasion of the Protestant upper class and some middle-class Catholics, was organized into the Irish Unionist Alliance. This small group—700 members in 1913—devoted itself to lobbying M. P.'s and to publicizing the cause of Unionism in Ireland
and England. Widely scattered and confined to a narrow social class, Southern Unionists could not contemplate the use of anything but constitutional means to oppose dismemberment of the Empire. In Ulster, however, Unionism transcended class barriers and was closely associated with Protestantism. While Protestant businessmen feared the implementation of a high tariff by an Irish government, working-class Protestants and Catholics competed for scarce employment opportunities. Religious prejudice and fears intensified, and masked the realities of a sectarian conflict which was generated largely by a shrinking job market and the existence of a powerful Protestant elite who upheld the Union to safeguard their social and economic position. Having the benefits of a broad class base and a high numerical concentration, Ulster Unionists could and did resort to physical force.

By 1912, the Liberal party had destroyed the power of the Lords and embarked upon a programme of social reform and high taxation. Dependent upon the I. P. P. for their majority, the Liberals agreed to introduce the Third Home Rule Bill, a modest measure of self-government for Ireland but one which both Nationalists and Unionists saw as the first step towards independence. The Tories, deprived of all constitutional powers and committed to preservation of the Union, saw the Irish situation as a means of breaking the Liberal party. Northern Unionists, whom both Pearse and Connolly insisted were Irishmen regardless of their national origin, believed that Home Rule could not survive the exclusion of Ulster. Led by Edward Carson and James Craig, Ulster Unionists, through the Orange Lodges, Unionist Clubs, and the Ulster Unionist Council (U. U. C.), determined to limit Home
Rule to southern Ireland. By their actions the Unionists "set the pace for the Southern Nationalists."\(^99\)

Before the Home Rule Bill was introduced in Parliament, Carson told a large crowd at Craigavon, "we must be prepared . . . the morning Home Rule passes, ourselves to become responsible for the government of the Protestant province of Ulster." Two days later the U. U. C. formed a committee of five men "to frame and submit a Constitution for the Provisional government of Ireland."\(^100\) Ulster Unionists were prepared to defy the English government and were joined in their defiance by the Tory party. In 1912, Tory leader Andrew Bonar Law told a Unionist gathering at Blenheim Palace, "I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster can go in which I should not be prepared to support them. . . ."\(^101\) The Home Rule Bill came to the floor of the Commons in April, 1912 and in September thousands of Ulster men and women pledged to uphold the Union by signing the Solemn League and Covenant, many in their own blood. In January, 1913 the U. U. C. decided to form a private militia of 100,000 men—the Ulster Volunteer Force. The Liberal resolve began to weaken; Prime Minister Asquith, who held that "Ireland is a nation, not two nations, but one nation,"\(^102\) considered Carson's proposal to amend the bill, and persuaded Redmond to agree to the exclusion of six Ulster counties for a period of six years. In March 1913, 100 Peers and 120 M. P.'s joined the British League for the Support of Ulster and the Union, and in that year the Lords rejected Home Rule. Under pressure from all sides, the Liberal government had no choice but to entertain compromise.

The effect in the South was to unite the diverse nationalist groups
firmly behind the policy of Home Rule for all of Ireland. This union, however, was one that the I. R. B. could easily take advantage of. In a November, 1913 issue of An Claidheamh Soluis, Eoin MacNeill published an article entitled "The North Began." MacNeill reflected the admiration of many Irish nationalists for the "good rebel" Edward Carson. Carson, MacNeill claimed, courageously asserted the rights of Ulster and pointed the way for Irish nationalists to form an Irish Volunteer Force in the South. MacNeill hoped that the presence of such a force would save Home Rule from "the extremists on both sides." MacNeill was a Home Ruler and intended the Volunteers to be "defensive and protective, and they will not contemplate either aggression or domination." The idea was taken up by O'Rahilly and Hobson, whose I. R. B. affiliations were unknown to MacNeill. By May, 1914, 75,000 men had enlisted in the new organisation.

Amid fears that the Lords would veto the annual Army Act that appropriated funds for the army, the government decided to strengthen its military presence in Ulster. The result was what became known as the Curragh Mutiny: fifty-eight officers stationed at the Curragh in County Kildare offered their resignations rather than "coerce" Ulster. Officers at Sandhurst in England indicated that they would also refuse to serve in Ulster. In April, 1914 the government helplessly looked on as the U. D. F. was dramatically and illegally armed with 20,000 guns and three million rounds of ammunition from Germany. In desperation, Asquith introduced an Amending Bill which provided for the six-county exclusion agreed to by Redmond. This proved unsatisfactory to both Nationalists and Unionists, and in an attempt to avoid civil war,
King George the Fifth called a conference of all parties at Buckingham Palace. The conference came to a fruitless end on July 24, and two days later the Irish Volunteers received their shipment of arms from Germany. The Home Rule Bill, without amendments, passed the Commons for the third time in 1914, and was placed on the statute book under the Parliaments Act. The imminence of war in Europe offered Asquith a temporary solution to the Irish situation; Home Rule and the attendant problems of Ulster exclusion were suspended for the duration of the war.

In 1914 "the overwhelming majority of Irish nationalists were parliamentarians." The Volunteers, who then numbered 180,000 under the nominal control of John Redmond, were an expression of national solidarity behind the I. P. P. They were the product of a reaction to events in England and Ulster and were intended to even the balance between Home Rule and Unionism. Their arms had been purchased and supplied by English and Anglo-Irish Home Rulers, Erskine Childers and Alice Stopford-Greene, and at the outbreak of war all but 11,000 of them responded to Redmond's call to go "wherever the firing line extends." Redmond's recruitment drive met with remarkable success; in 1915, 6,000 Irishmen per month enlisted in the British Army. The reason for this display of loyalty was expressed by an anonymous Irish woman who wrote, "of course we want our own country free from the foreign rule. What's more we mean to have it. But anyone with sense must see that is must come by England's consent, not against England's will." Ireland's commitment to Britain's war effort would, many nationalists believed, morally commit England to the implementation of Home Rule at the end of the war.
Those who refused to follow Redmond were reorganized as the Sinn Féin Volunteers under the leadership of MacNeill but under the I. R. B.'s control. The Brotherhood then had a private army whose strength and intentions Redmond greatly underestimated. While Home Rule still seemed a certainty, the Sinn Féin Volunteers concentrated upon opposing recruitment to the British Army. But "Irish recruiting [had] been one long desperate effort on the part of Irishmen to keep the Government of Westminster from ruining their own cause." By 1915 British attitudes became clear. The War Office insisted that the Irish brigades be commanded by the Unionist General Parsons, refused to grant them their own ensignia, and listed the Irish among the English dead rather than by brigade, as was the custom. This is explained by the fact that in wartime, Britain is governed by a coalition of all parties, and the coalition Cabinet that controlled policy included Carson and Bonar Law. In an effort to maintain the unity so desperately needed in a war situation, Asquith tried but failed to appoint Carson-supporter J. H. Campbell as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Irish loyalty had been given freely as a gesture of trust; the final betrayal of that trust came in 1915 with the threat of conscription. Supplied with German arms, the I. R. B. staged an insurrection in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916.

Approximately 1,600 men and women took part in the rising. Because MacNeill issued last minute countermanding orders that ruined plans for insurrections in other parts of the country, the number of people prepared to take part in the rebellion was minimal. The reaction of Dubliners "was one of incredulity, suspicion or dour hostility." The rising took the country by surprise. MacNeill expressed the general
attitude when he wrote,

What we call our country is not a poetical abstraction . . . there is no such person as Caitlin Ni Uallachain of Roisin Dubh . . . the only possible basis for successful revolutionary action is deep and widespread popular discontent. We have only to look around us in the streets to see that no such condition exists in Ireland. . . . I am definitely opposed to any proposal involving insurrection. I have no doubt at all that my consent to any such proposal at this time and under these circumstances would make me false to my country. . . .

The Irish people, not the romanticised political history of the country, should, and for the majority of nationalists in 1916, did form the basis of their nationalism. Given the comprehensive nature of pre-1916 Irish nationalism, patriotism appeared in a variety of forms. Imbued with the spirit of Sinn Féin, Pearse and Connolly resorted to violence in an effort to seize rather than plead for independence. Their sacrifice inspired a war of independence which led to the creation of the Irish Free State. The pacifism of Sean O'Casey and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington prevented them from taking part in the rebellion, but as Sinn Féinners they would not enlist in the British Army. The Irishmen who fought in Europe during World War I did so for many reasons, often personal reasons. Only one such reason was to force the English to grant Irish independence. This, however, did not detract from their Irishness. The half-million Irish who fought for England remained within their rights as Irishmen.

That other Ireland did you wrong
Who said you shadowed Ireland's star,
Nor gave you laurel wreath nor song.
You proved by death as true as they,
In mightier conflicts played your part,
Equal your sacrifice may weigh.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 80.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 79.


9 The term used to denote the areas in which Irish is spoken as a first language.


11 Daly, The Young Douglas Hyde, p. 108.

12 Ibid., p. 107.


14 Ibid., p. 85.


16 Ibid., p. 55.

17 Ibid., p. 59.

18 Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 233.

19 Ibid., p. 239.
22 Ibid., p. 12.
30 John Eglington, United Irishman, (Dublin), 31 March 1902.
34 Yeats, United Irishman, 10 October 1903.
35 Eglington, United Irishman, 31 March 1902.
36 Yeats, Essays, p. 317.
37 Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 237.
38 Yeats, United Irishman, 17 October 1903, quoted in Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 264.

41 Ibid., p. 240.


43 Ibid., p. 199.


48 The heroine of *Juno and the Paycock*.


52 Ibid., p. 256.

53 O'Casey, *The Plough and the Stars*, p. 244.


55 Ibid., p. 78.


58 Patrick Pearse, quoted in Mansergh, *The Irish Question*, pp. 269-270.


61 Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, p. 278.


69 Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, p. 211.


75 Ibid.


77 Ibid., p. 113.

78 Ibid., p. 112.

79 Ibid., p. 109.

82 Ibid., p. 450.
83 Mansergh, The Irish Question, p. 197.
84 Arthur Griffith, quoted in Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 252.
85 Ibid., p. 249.
86 Ibid., p. 256.
88 Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 256.
89 Ibid., p. 253.
90 James Connolly, quoted in Greaves, James Connolly, p. 116.
91 Arthur Griffith, quoted in Clarkson, Labour and Nationalism in Ireland, p. 250.
95 Ibid., p. 21.
97 Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 291.
98 Connolly, Labour in Ireland, p. 287.
100 Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p. 301.
101 Ibid., p. 303.
102 Ibid., p. 304.


106 Ibid.


115 Ibid.

Irish emigration to Montana began as a trickle in the days when Butte was still a small silver-mining town. Marcus Daly's discovery of copper in the Anaconda mine in 1880 heralded the opening of a new era in the history of Montana and of Butte. Butte became a world centre for the production of copper and a magnet for emigrants of all nationalities. The development of the Anaconda Company in Butte coincided with the closure of a small copper mine—the Allihies—near Castletownbere, in the Irish county of Cork. The Allihies mine provided employment for most of the male residents of the four surrounding parishes: Allihies, Eyeries, Adrigole, and Castletownbere. When the mine closed in 1884, the men of these parishes sought employment in the United States. They gravitated to the mining centres of America: Michigan, Colorado, Nevada, and finally, Butte. Initially, Irish miners came to Montana after a sojourn in the Calumet and Hecla mines of Michigan, Nevada's Comstock Lode, or in Leadville, Colorado. In the closing decade of the nineteenth century, however, many came directly to Butte from Cork. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the railway companies serving Montana operated promotional campaigns in Ireland, although they undoubtedly steered a number of immigrants westward from New York and Boston.

Family ties account for the large number of Irish living in Butte.
For example, two brothers and sisters of Daniel O'Sullivan of Barrakilla, County Cork, emigrated to Butte in the 1850's and 1860's. Daniel remained at home and married Anna O'Sullivan, by whom he had four children. Two of the four joined their aunts and uncles in Montana. Between 1853 and 1865, Doncha and Kate O'Sullivan of Canfe East parented seven children, three of whom emigrated to Butte. One of them, William, remained in Cork where he and his wife had six children. Two of William's sons, Quin and Denis, also emigrated to Butte. In many instances friends and neighbours in County Cork emigrated to the United States only to meet each other again in Butte, and the large numbers of Butte Irish bearing the surname of Sullivan is explained by the fact that Eyeries parish was home to twenty-three branches of the O'Sullivan clan.

The circumstances surrounding the departure of the Butte Irish from their homeland are significant for the subsequent development of Irish-American nationalism in Butte. The Irish came to Butte, not in eager response to a promotional campaign promising fame, fortune, and adventure in the new world, but in unwilling flight from a life of unemployment and poverty. The Irish did not want to leave Ireland; they were forced to do so out of economic necessity, and this had a profound effect upon their attitude towards England. Emigrants from Europe could blame their unfortunate position as exiles upon the impersonal economic forces at work within their respective homelands. Other culprits were available; Russians could blame the aristocracy, and Germans could denounce the Junker class. Ireland, however, happened to be governed from London. Rather than condemn the hardship "wrought by
Irishmen upon Irish men and women," rather than blame themselves, Irish immigrants considered England the sole author of their woes. Immigrants from the area north of the Allihies mine were more vigorous in their opposition to England, and more enthusiastically involved in the activities of the Butte Irish societies than were their neighbours to the south. North of the mine the land is barren and rocky, and the inhabitants depended totally upon the fortunes of the copper mine for their income. The more fertile soil to the south offered the alternative of farming, and for the people of this area, the element of choice figured more prominently in their decision to emigrate. 

The development of the Irish community in Butte closely followed the pattern described by Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted*. Early Irish settlers in Butte established boarding houses patronised exclusively by Irish miners, and many of these houses catered only to immigrants from specific counties in Ireland. Over the years the Irish in Butte formed a highly organized, closely-knit, and successful community concentrated in the areas of Centerville, Walkerville, and Corktown. Members of the Irish community quickly rose to positions of importance in Butte; Jeremiah Lynch from Ballycrovane, County Cork, became a prominent District Court Judge; J. J. McCarthy was a director of the Sentinel Brewing Company; J. B. Mulcahey founded and edited his own newspaper, the *Butte Independent*; and P. J. Brophy owned one of Butte's largest grocery businesses.

In politics and business the Irish were among the leading citizens of Butte, but the climb to positions of importance coloured their nationalism. Butte Irish, seeking acceptance and success within the
United States, never missed an opportunity to assert their Americanism. For the Irish of Butte, being a good Irish person was synonymous with being a good American. Their loyalty to Ireland would, they hoped, win the respect and acceptance of native white Americans. The leaders of the Irish community in Butte ceaselessly praised the attributes of their native land and the features of the "Celtic race" which they deemed important. Indirectly, they apologized for the shortcomings of the Irish by blaming those shortcomings upon English rule in Ireland.

Among Irish-American towns, Butte could claim a generosity to the cause of Irish independence difficult to surpass. Among Irish nationalists, the people of Butte had a well-deserved reputation for hospitality and a renowned willingness to support any cause deemed to be in the interest of Ireland. Butte could boast a Gaelic football league, an active if short lived branch of the Gaelic League, and an Irish community that was at times amazingly well-informed about events in Ireland. The people of Butte indiscriminately supported all Irish nationalist movements, including the Irish cultural revival. This lack of discrimination, however, indicated a corresponding lack of perception. The people of Butte may have known more about events taking place in Ireland than did the average Irish person, and in terms of organized nationalism, Butte easily kept pace with Ireland. But at a distance of five thousand miles and responding to unique pressures, needs, and demands at both the personal and communal levels, the people of Butte had a limited interpretation and understanding of developments in Ireland. The meaning of Sinn Fein, that the Irish should rely upon themselves and promote what was worthwhile and Irish rather than
literature, ideas, and organisations which were simply anti-English, was lost on the people of Butte. The Irish community in Butte supported anything that was Irish, and interpreted anything in Ireland that was not English as being anti-English.

**Irish-American Societies**

The Irish of Butte and Anaconda formed numerous Irish societies; some were purely social, but many were devoted to the cause of political independence for Ireland. Through these organisations the Butte Irish performed valuable social functions which helped to maintain unity and promote the success of the Irish community. Irish societies also acted as vehicles for the expression of Irish-American nationalism. Members promoted the cause of Irish freedom, the loyalty of the Irish immigrant to the United States, and the value of the immigrant as an American citizen. This last point, in the mind of the immigrant, was a direct function of his or her Irish nationality.

Of the purely social and charitable organisations, the Irish were most involved in the Knights of Columbus and the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick. The Knights of Columbus is a lay organisation of the Catholic Church and was by no means exclusively Irish. In Butte, however, the Irish were the dominant Catholic ethnic group, and as such were prominent members of the Knights of Columbus. The Knights performed valuable works of charity, organized fund drives for the church, and contributed to the social life of Butte by holding dances and picnics. The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was similar in function to the Knights of Columbus. Established in 1908 by Jeremiah Lynch, Maurice English, and
J. J. O'Meara, this organisation also raised money for the construction of Catholic churches and to supplement the finances of parochial schools. It was not an arm of the Church, and was more oriented to the needs and service of the Irish community than the Knights of Columbus. The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick helped to organize the annual St. Patrick's Day parade and the St. Patrick's Day eve banquets. Although founded by three of the men most active in Irish nationalist circles, there is no evidence to suggest that the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was ever used in the interests of the Irish independence movement. The parade and the banquets were open to and involved all ethnic groups and religious denominations. St. Patrick's Day was a day of festivity for the whole town; a variety of organisations, especially the Methodist Epworth League, helped to plan the schedule of events and one of the most important participants in the parade was the Cornish Anaconda Company band under the direction of Sam Treloar.

The oldest Irish-American organisations in Butte, and the ones through which Irish-American nationalists chiefly operated, were the Ancient Order of Hibernians (A. O. H.), and the Robert Emmett Literary Association (R. E. L. A.). Both of these had been established in Butte while Montana was still a territory and both were affiliates of national organisations with headquarters in New York City. The Ancient Order of Hibernians was originally an Irish organisation founded in Ulster in the late eighteenth century as a Catholic reaction to the development of the Protestant Orange Order. An often bitterly sectarian society, it opened its ranks only to select Catholics, and although used by John Redmond to supplement the work of the United Irish League, its narrow political
attitude and religious prejudice was distasteful to the majority of nationalists. The first American branch of the A. O. H. was founded in 1836. Although still an exclusively Catholic fraternal organisation, the A. O. H. in the United States projected a less sectarian image and quickly became the leading and most respectable Irish-American society in the country.

The A. O. H. had branches in several Montana towns including three in Butte. Division 1 was founded in Walkerville in 1879, and later Divisions 2 and 3 were located in Centerville and Butte. The Hibernians, as they were known, also owned a share in the Centerville Hibernian Hall valued at five thousand dollars. Membership varied in number from 221 in 1911 to 463 in 1916, and was open only to practising Catholics of Irish birth or descent. In November, 1894 the Ladies Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was formed by sixty women led by Bridget Leary, Maggie Lynch, and Margaret Crowley. The only years for which membership figures for the Ladies Auxiliary, or Daughters of Erin, are available are 1900 and 1901, when the record books list fifty-four and fifty-eight women respectively.

The "three cardinal principles" of the A. O. H. were "Friendship, by regarding each other as brothers in this great family of man . . . Unity, in counseling concert of action on the part of all Irishmen . . . in the causes of Church, Country and Mutual Support, that we be thus enabled to present an unbroken front to the enemies of our Church, our country, and ourselves, [and] True Christian Charity, by kindly bearing with each other's weaknesses . . . ." Members of the A. O. H. took the guiding principles of their organisation very seriously. In Butte,
the A. O. H. made substantial donations to orphanages in Helena and Great Falls, established a three hundred dollar scholarship fund which would enable the son of a needy member to attend college in Washington, D. C., paid sick benefits to members who, through illness, found themselves unemployed, and provided for families throughout the city in many other ways. Through its generous paternalism, the A. O. H. helped to ease the hardships and maintain the cohesion and distinctive characteristics of the Irish Catholic community in Butte.

The Hibernian Hall in Centerville was also home to the Robert Emmett Literary Association. The R. E. L. A. never functioned as a literary club, but was a branch of Clan na Gael, a secret society established in New York City in 1867. John Devoy, the founder of Clan na Gael and contemporary of Thomas Davis, fled to the United States after the 1848 Fenian rebellion in which he played a leading role. Militantly anti-English, Devoy's experience in the United States only served to intensify his hatred for England and distort his view of the Irish situation. Devoy's organisation made substantial contributions to the Land League, the Parnell campaign, and to the execution of the 1916 rising—contributions that were disproportionate to its small size. By the early twentieth century, however, Irish nationalists had come to regard Devoy as a useful but cantankerous "old fool," and Clan na Gael as a decidedly American organisation.

Clan na Gael had branches throughout the nation including the Robert Emmett Literary Association in Butte, the Sarsfield Club in Anaconda, and the Thomas Francis Meaghar Club in Great Falls. To ensure security, relocating members had to be officially transferred from one
branch to another. In August 1916, Michael Murray, secretary of the New York City Shamrock Club (District 14, Division 1), vouched for the loyalty of James Mallow of the Bronx, who wished to become a member of the R. E. L. A. (District 90, Division 28). During the period under review, the R. E. L. A. was led by the same men who administered the Ancient Order of Hibernians. At various times Judge Lynch, John O'Meara, J. J. McCarthy and others held offices in both organisations, and the R. E. L. A. conducted its meetings in the Hibernian Hall. The income for both societies came from membership fees, voluntary contributions, and a variety of social functions. The A. O. H. held frequent dances in the Hibernian Hall and the R. E. L. A. sponsored the annual Robert Emmett celebrations and a New Year's Eve ball. These events featured prominently in the social life of Butte and were well attended, often by members of the clergy and the city's leading socialites. By the early twentieth century, both organisations had achieved a degree of respectability which made this possible.

Irish-American Nationalism in Butte

The leaders of the Irish community—John O'Meara, J. J. McCarthy, P. J. Brophy, Jeremiah Lynch and J. J. Gibbons—were among the most popular, intelligent, and well-respected men in Butte. Among members of the A. O. H., respectability was placed at a premium; to qualify for membership a candidate had to be of "good moral character" and be proposed by a standing member, the "said proposer to have known the applicant at least twelve months prior to presenting his name. . . ." Brawling, drunkenness, "vile language," dishonesty, disrespect towards
the Church, and absence from meetings without a doctor's certificate of ill health were punishable by fine, suspension, or expulsion. Yet the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Robert Emmett Literary Association constantly engaged in illicit activities which were frowned upon by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in many other states and in Ireland.

Undoubtedly both the A. O. H. and the R. E. L. A. contributed to various Clan na Gael-organized Irish freedom funds. Term reports for the A. O. H. and receipts for both societies reveal the large amounts of money sent from Butte to various east coast cities in the form of annual assessments and voluntary contributions. Officers of the A. O. H. and the R. E. L. A. corresponded with two men who signed themselves, in Gaelic script, F. D. A. and E. D. A. In 1913, E. D. A. acknowledged the receipt of $148.52 in term assessments from John O'Meara, and as secretary of the Victory Committee—one of the Clan's many fund raising bodies—promoted the sale of the Clan's newspaper, the Gaelic American. F. D. A.'s signature appears on a receipt for $500, a contribution made by the A. O. H. through J. J. McCarthy. The return addresses for both F. D. A. and E. D. A. alternated between that of John Gannon, 69 Oak Street, Providence, Rhode Island, and that of James Reidy, P. O. Box 1656, New York, New York. One letter sent under the Rhode Island return address included two receipts from F. D. A. for $170.10 in term assessments and $5.50 as a second installment on the Emergency Fund. The letter was from a Martin Keogh who thanked J. J. McCarthy for a $50 contribution to the Gaelic League and who wrote on notepaper headed "Supreme Court of the State of New York, La Rochelle, New York."
Clan na Gael established a variety of funds levied according to membership numbers in its local branches throughout the nation. The R. E. L. A. enthusiastically responded to these fund drives. In 1913, members contributed $495 to the Emergency Fund, and in May, 1916, sent $800 to the Defense of Ireland Fund committee. The A. O. H. made voluntary contributions to these funds. Term reports list donations to the Republican Fund of $248.31 in August, 1912, and $435 in August, 1916. Most of these quarterly term reports are missing, but available figures give some indication of the amount of money sent to Ireland by the people of Butte during the period 1900 to 1916. These contributions reached a peak in December, 1919, when J. J. Harrington, Butte treasurer of the Irish Freedom Drive committee, forwarded to the national treasurer in New York the sum of $10,000 raised by the Irish societies in response to Eamonn de Valera's visit to Butte. As the majority of A. O. H. and R. E. L. A. members were miners, and the average mining wage in 1906 was $3.50 per day, these contributions represented a sizeable portion of the family income. For their efforts, the Irish community of Butte well deserved the gratitude of E. D. A. when he wrote,

I thank most heartily yourself and brother members of D. 90 for your more than generous contribution to the Emergency Fund. The generosity of the Irishmen in Butte is proverbial, and in this instance the Emmett Association has given practical proof of the fact that the hearts of the men of our race in your city are as large as ever.

The amount of the contributions to Clan na Gael, and therefore to the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood, indicate the degree of commitment to Irish independence on the part of the Irish community in Butte. This does not, however, offer any explanation of the motives behind such generosity, or the degree to which the people of Butte
understood or appreciated the attitudes and wishes of the nation they so eagerly desired to help. The key to understanding the anomaly of respectable men engaged in covert activities lies in an explanation of the nature of Irish-American nationalism in Butte. That nationalism is best revealed in the public actions and opinions of the Irish community.

Nearly every year in Butte, the Irish societies held a spectacular St. Patrick's Day parade. The parade was invariably preceded by a banquet at the Silver Bow Club on the night of March 16, and followed by festivities in the Butte auditorium on the holiday. The celebrations usually concluded with dances throughout the city including one in the Hibernian Hall. Each year on March 4, the Robert Emmett Literary Association hosted a banquet in honour of Robert Emmett. The speeches, lectures, and other entertainments which were part of these events offer an insight into the attitudes of the Butte Irish towards Ireland. They are, however, even more indicative of Butte Irish attitudes towards themselves and their position as immigrants in a foreign country.

In his Autobiography, W. B. Yeats observed that it is better to criticize than to praise the Irish. For too long the Irish had been wooed into self-satisfaction and political lethargy by orators who praised and exaggerated the Irish people's virtues, and ignored their flaws. Yeats was quick to illuminate those failings and to point out that at least in part, the Irish were the authors of their own misery. Turn-of-the-century Irish nationalists attempted to restore to the Irish the energy and self-respect that is lost when a nation abrogates responsibility for its own destiny. Throughout the period under review, the Irish of Butte praised themselves, their race, and their native
land on every public occasion. The St. Patrick's Day or the Robert Emmett anniversary celebrations provided platforms for orators who delighted in the rhetoric of melodramatic nationalism.

The attitude of the Butte Irish and the tone of Irish-American oratory was captured by John Finnerty in 1901. Colonel Finnerty occasionally lectured in Butte and Anaconda. In a speech given in May, 1901, he "carried his audience through the history of Ireland and its glorious struggles and recurring wrongs inflicted by England. . . ."32 Throughout the pronouncements of the Butte Irish upon their native land three themes recur: the greatness of the Irish race, the evil of British rule in Ireland, and the interpretation of Irish history as the history of Anglo-Irish relations.

Irish virtues most frequently praised by Butte residents were valour, learning, and loyalty to the Church. The people of Butte portrayed the Irish as one of the most courageous, noble, and valourous nations in the world. The Irish, portrayed in the writings and speeches of the Butte Irish community, fought with unparalleled gallantry on the battlefields of Europe throughout history. In speaking of the Irish Brigade in the French Army, the chairman of the 1905 St. Patrick's Day celebration proceedings, Con F. Kelley, claimed that

The old Irish brigade . . . in the service of France won immortal renown on every battlefield of Europe from "Dunkirk to Belgrade" and the glory of Fredericksburg, Antietam and Chancellorsville ranks with that of Cremona, Ramillies and far-famed Fontenoy itself where the fiery valor of the exiled children of the Gael turned the tide of battle against Cumberland's well-nigh victorious legions and won a decisive victory for the arms of France.33

Always on the side of right, Irish exiles were a credit to their country and the saviours of other nations. The Irish had "come to the
fore in many of the critical periods of the world's history, and had become the patriots of the world. Wherever there is a standard raised in the cause of freedom, there you will find the Irish fighting under that standard. According to John O'Meara, the fact that Irishmen represented the countries that took part in the first international court of Europe held in Vienna in 1776 was further testimony to the greatness of the Irish race. The Irish exile most celebrated by the people of Butte was Montana's Thomas Francis Meagher. In flight from the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land, (where he was transported for his part in the 1848 rebellion), Meagher arrived in New York in 1852. During the Civil War he organized and led the "fighting" 69th Brigade of the Union Army, and later became the first acting governor of Montana. A blustering soldier of fortune, he became, for the Irish of Montana, a figure of heroic proportions whose name was "familiar in two hemispheres." The Thomas Francis Meagher Memorial Committee, under the auspices of the A. O. H., raised a statue to his memory in Helena worth $16,000. On St. Patrick's Day, 1905, R. P. O'Brien of Butte described Meagher's contributions to the American Civil War.

Never at Fontenoy, Albuera nor at Waterloo, was more undoubted valor displayed by the sons of Erin than during these six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe, with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained fame on a thousand battlefields and never more richly deserved it than at the foot of Mary's Heights.

O my countrymen, think of the imperishable glory of that peerless charge across the plain and up those heights swept by the iron tempest from Walton's guns. Six times up the hill and even to the very muzzles of the death-dealing guns charged the devoted brigade; and each time at its head, ever in front of its foremost files, rode Meagher, cheering and animating his troops, his uniform tattered with shot and his good sword flashing in the frosty light of that December day. Aye, be alawys proud of the memory of that historic charge and of Meagher's fame, for it is a heritage of glory.
In sober and refreshing contrast was the view of an Irishman, Reverend Lorcan O'Ciarain who, speaking in Dundalk, County Louth, Ireland, said:

The Irish brigade won a glorious victory at Fontenoy for the honour of Ireland but for the benefit of France. They fought for their own country... We know that according to history 250,000 of the flower of the Irish race laid their bones on the continent of Europe within the life of one man... A quarter of a million more fighting men than we have at present in Ireland. They left behind them, many of them, brothers and children and relatives who did not die. Where are they now? What is Ireland the better of them? There may be an O'Neill in France and an O'Donnell in Spain—one or two or perhaps three... The descences of these people are of less value to Ireland than the intelligent and patriotic population of one townland. That is the sad sight of Fontenoy, and this is the sad side of Irish history that for nearly 300 years we have never for one hour depended on ourselves to live and be free in our own land.

The Irish reputation for learning also attracted the praise of the Butte immigrants. According to the Reverend John Carroll, Bishop of Helena, Irish "higher schools of learning... made Ireland the teacher of the world for 300 years," and the Irish "had laid the foundations of religion in many of the countries of Europe." An article written by Dr. Thomas Shahan and published by the Anaconda Standard in 1901 proclaimed that "the Gaelic peoples of antiquity were the most musical of the world. Their chief seat, Ireland, was known as the 'Land of Song'... It is said, on good authority, that not less than 318 metres were actually known and classified, though the musical capacities of the Gaelic tongue were far from being exhausted by this number." Ireland "produced more orators of the first rank than Greece itself," and Thomas Francis Meagher possessed "the most finished blade of perfect speech that has been wielded in assertion of a nation's liberty since the days when Demosthenes attempted to revive decadent Hellas with the thunder tones of his immortal Philippics." From lauding the virtues...
of the Irish, the people of Butte advanced to self-congratulation. "The days of Irish splendor, when the parliament and the court of the era ruled over the Emerald Isle, never witnessed a more loyal or a more brilliant gathering of those who are proud of their Gaelic ancestry . . ." than those assembled at the Silver Bow Club on March 16, 1914. Children in the schools of Butte wrote essays which "for sublimity of thought and keen appreciation of true patriotism . . . would do justice to the pen of a John Mitchell; would pass for the production of a Gavan Duffy or Thomas Davis . . . recalled the fiery language of Thomas Francis Meagher, or the calm and dignified eloquence of the author of Catholic Emancipation." The Irish of Butte identified themselves with the heroic figures of Irish history in honour, loyalty, courage, and learning. Unlike the Irish themselves, Irish-American immigrants rarely admitted to the flaws or inadequacies of the Irish as a people, or to highly culpable failures and mistakes on the part of the Irish throughout their history. To do so was to be un-Irish. The A. O. H. established a special committee to work for the introduction of Irish history as a subject in Montana parochial schools. But for the Irish of Butte, that history could be defined as the story of a "long suffering, much maligned and little understood people" who had suffered under the "yoke of tyranny and oppression which they had long endured." Ireland was the innocent victim of England, the mother of "the most heinous crimes ever perpetrated against humanity." From the Norman Invasion of 1169 to the Tory opposition to Home Rule, Irish history as portrayed by the newspapers of Butte was the chronicle of a noble and helpless victim suffering at
the hands of an evil, almost Satanic, villain. Elizabeth the First
"persecuted" the Irish, and the Montana Catholic, in a series of
articles on Irish history, declared that Cromwell was "altogether
black"—he was "one of the most cruel monsters that ever cursed the
earth since the days of Herod and Nero." Ignoring facts, Peter
Breen of Butte "recited some of the horrors of the famine" for his 1910
St. Patrick's Day audience. Breen "went into the details to a consid­
erable length," telling how "grasping landlords compelled the tenants
to give even their life blood in order that their payments should be
met." England was not content with persecuting the Irish in their
homeland.

Ireland's just claims have been and are being decried by her
enemies, who are sparing no effort to make her name detested where
it should be honored, respected and beloved. They hope to alienate
sympathy from the oppressed people, so that the misrule which has
dwarfed the national life of Ireland may be condoned and permitted
to continue.

England's evil intent was not confined to the destruction of Ireland;
through the Industrial Revolution, England

went on to prostrate the local industries of the rest of the
continent, inflicting on the laboring class of other countries an
amount of misery only exceeded by the universal impoverishment to
which she reduced Ireland and India. She built up her manufacturing
system on the poverty, the hunger and the industrial degradation of
the rest of mankind.

The article continued to praise the industrial expansion of the United
States. This criticism of English foreign policy degenerated into
abuse of the English national character. The Montana Catholic pro­
claimed that "the Englishman's first inclination is to look for some­
thing worthy of contemptuous remark in whatever comes before him. He
constantly nourishes the baser instincts of the mind by using his powers
of discernment, not in finding what he can praise, but what he can despise or at least find faulty."^55 John O'Leary had described such abuse as "the stock-in-trade of canting agitators ... the imperfect utterance of the illiterate."

Abuse of England and exaggerated praise of Ireland, coupled with a conspicuous absence of reference to nationwide rebellion in Ireland were the features of Butte Irish oratory. These were not the features of Irish oratory or literature in the same period. When Patrick Pearse spoke of resistance to the English domination of Ireland, he did not abuse the English, nor did he pass over the faults and failures of the Irish themselves. 56 As demonstrated by Handlin and Brown, the reason for this discrepancy can be found in an examination of the other major characteristic of Irish-American nationalism: the aggressive assertion of the immigrant's loyalty to his new homeland and his worth as a citizen of the United States. Irish origins only served to enhance the value of the Irish immigrant as an American. Elaborate displays of Irishness by the Butte Irish community were inseparable from conspicuous demonstrations of their new-found Americanism.

The Irish-Americans of Butte had been "driven from their native land" 57 to the hard physical labour, low wages, and high death rate in the Butte copper mines. In the United States Irish immigrants faced a constant struggle for success. Jeremiah Lynch left his native Cork when he was eighteen years old to find a "new world where a hard-working man could bring life to his dreams." Judge Lynch graduated from Kent College of Law in Chicago, but his was "the story of a youth who labored aboard ship and in the mine depths of a land far from his birthplace to
achieve his goal.\textsuperscript{58} This was the story of the Butte Irish, most of whom, despite their struggles, met with far less success than did Jeremiah Lynch. They naturally resented the nation that in their opinion, had forced them into exile. In the newspapers, letters, and documents of the period, there is little to indicate that a substantial number of the Butte Irish wished to return to their native land on a permanent basis. But with the altered view of an immigrant five thousand miles from home, this fact was never the subject of deliberation.

From these hardships, from the natural insecurity of foreigners in a foreign country, and most of all, from the need for acceptance as rightful citizens of their adopted land arose the fierce nationalism of the Irish-American community. The Irish-Americans of Butte felt it necessary to prove their loyalty to the United States, both in the past and the present. In a speech given in 1905, Con Kelley claimed that

\begin{quote}
There never has been a more loyal or braver class of Americans than the Irish. Commencing at the revolutionary period, he recited a list of Ireland's sons who have given their lives for the cause of liberty in America. When the speaker referred to Thomas Francis Meagher as the "Hero of Fredericksburg," the house rang with applause.\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

The Irish served the United States in other ways. "So soon as the country grows to the need of brains and muscle so soon do the Irishmen gather to supply the demand. . . ."\textsuperscript{60} The Irish also brought democracy to America for "Irish history is teeming with evidence of the conception of her people of true ideal democratic government. . . ."\textsuperscript{61} Irish-Americans wished to be publicly recognized as good Americans. The R. E. L. A. Fife and Drum Corps, the A. O. H. Fife and Bugle Corps, and the handsomely-uniformed Meagher Guards featured prominently in the Fourth of July parade. The A. O. H. band wore green sashes decorated
with symbols of the harp, the cross, and the bald eagle. No St. Patrick's Day celebrations were complete without a rendering of "You're a Grand Old Flag" and the "Star-Spangled Banner." The 1901 parade marched to the Catholic school on Park Street where "the stars and stripes waved from every window." At the school "a wreath was woven of gay streamers, in which the national colors [of the United States] were tastefully blended and Ireland's melancholy harp was placed beside it, its broken strings typifying the tuneless wail of Erin's lost nationality."\(^6\) The Irish of Butte identified Ireland's long struggle against England with that of the American colonies prior to 1776. Judge Lynch emphasised that "Ireland did not send one soldier to help subdue the thirteen colonies."\(^6\) Reverend M. McCormac, spokesman for the A. O. H. Irish History Committee, demonstrated the "significance and importance of combining the study of the history of the native land of the Gael with the study of the history of America, the adopted land. . . . What a grand combination then is not the history of Ireland and America. . . ."\(^6\)

The need to cement this spiritual alliance between the United States and Ireland and to strengthen the immigrant's position within American society further intensified the Irish community's hostility towards the English. Robert Thompson, in commenting on the English satirical paper the Saturday Review, extended his contempt for the English to include English-Americans. "No other country could have produced a Saturday Review, and its American copy, the Nation, finds its public among the Anglicized class in America, who are almost Englishmen in their capacity for sneering." He was, however, quick to point out that "there is less sneering in America than in any other country."\(^6\)
The Butte Irish protested against British imperialism at every opportunity, and publicly voiced their opposition to Anglo-American treaties and ententes. In opposition to the proposed Anglo-American arbitration treaty of 1908, the Irish of Butte petitioned President Taft, Secretary of State Root, and other prominent politicians. They warned that "the certainty of going to war with the United States" undermined "England's professions of peace." The treaty, they claimed, was designed to leave "England free to carry on her policy of aggression and spoilation against weaker peoples and maintaining her proper grip on and continuing to oppress countries to which her rule has been a curse and a blight." The United States and Ireland would experience a common degradation and suffering at the hands of England.

In the eyes of Irish-Americans, the Irish struggled throughout history "to make possible their ideas despite overwhelming opposition of the tyrannical Anglo-Saxon." The Irish of Butte emphasised the strength of the British forces in Ireland, using this as an excuse for the failure of Irish attempts at resistance. By these means they successfully avoided asking or answering the question of why, after more than seven hundred years of occupation, the Irish had not been able to drive the English out of Ireland. Butte Irish ignored many painful facts of Irish history. The role played, without coercion, by the Dublin parliament in bringing the Cromwellian regime to power in England was obscured by tirades against the Anglo-Saxon tyrant and eulogies on the magnified virtues and glories of the Irish abroad.

Rather than expelling the English, the Irish fled their native land in vast numbers; they allowed themselves to be exiled from their own country
by a foreign invader. In the United States the Irish sought respect, and they believed that this could not be won without first removing what they perceived as the stigma of national failure. Ireland had to be a great nation—a nation that could stand face to face with Americans. England therefore had to shoulder the responsibility for Ireland's failures, and the work of promoting Irish independence became at once a means by which Irish-Americans might command the respect of native Americans and an admirable pursuit in itself.

Given the nature and pragmatic intent of Irish-American nationalism, the Irish of Butte failed to understand the new nationalism evolving in Ireland itself. The Butte Irish community kept pace with developments in Ireland, and the catch-phrases of Sinn Féin appeared in the letters and newspaper articles of the time. A closer examination, however, reveals a subtle but important difference between Irish and Irish-American nationalism. The people of Butte could understand and identify with Sinn Féin as an anti-English political party, but completely misunderstood the term when it denoted the far-reaching social, cultural, and economic philosophy of national self-reliance. They supported the organisation and used the rhetoric of Sinn Féin, without understanding the philosophy that pre-dated Arthur Griffith and formed the basis of twentieth-century Irish nationalism. The Irish community of Butte supported that nationalism, not because it was the product of the thoughts and aspirations of the Irish people, but because in the eyes of the Butte Irish, it was anti-English; anything that was Irish by definition had to be anti-English. This phenomenon is best revealed by an examination of the cultural life of the Butte Irish community.
In their leisure time the Irish of Butte entertained themselves with a variety of dramas, lectures, night classes, and sporting activities. Not all of these social activities were Irish in nature, but many of the dramas and lectures patronised by the Irish community were, or claimed to be, of Irish origin and content. The Butte community invited several prominent Irish men and women to speak in their city: Edmund O'Brien Kennedy in 1901, Douglas Hyde in 1906, James Connolly in 1910, James Larkin in 1915 and 1916, and after 1916, Eamonn de Valera, Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, and Countess Markievicz. These speakers received a warm reception on their visits to Butte, but the newspaper reports following their lectures reveal the attitudes and lack of perception that lay beneath the enthusiastic response of the Butte Irish.

In February, 1901 Edmund O'Brien Kennedy, who had shared Tom Clarke's fifteen years of imprisonment, spoke at the A. O. H. hall in Centerville. Kennedy, an old-style I. R. B. nationalist, was scheduled to lecture on the subject of his prison experiences and the state of Ireland. To advertise his visit, the Anaconda Standard printed a picture of five ex-prisoners including Kennedy and Tom Clarke. The comment beneath the picture was, "what other nation ever gave to the world such examples of enduring loyalty as this simple group represents?" The Standard took the opportunity to magnify the virtues of a small group of men out of proportion to their importance. For the Butte Irish the strength and endurance of five men assumed national significance; the Irish possessed these qualities to a greater extent than did any other nation. In promoting the greatness of Ireland, the words of the real Irishman who stood before them lost much of their
importance. Similarly, when twenty-five Irishmen who had fought with the Boers in South Africa visited Butte in March 1901, John Finnerty spoke to an audience gathered to celebrate Robert Emmett's anniversary. His subject was "'Blake and his Irish brigade in the Boer army' . . . [and] he took occasion to point out how the pride of England had been humbled in this latest war against the oppressed." If the numbers of Irish fighting in the Boer War gave any indication of Irish attitudes towards that war, Irish sympathies undoubtedly lay with England. If the majority of Irish people supported England, the majority of active Irish nationalists sympathised with the Boers. But while these nationalists opposed British imperial policy in South Africa and disliked the idea of Irishmen fighting and dying for the cause of imperialism, the people of Butte seized the opportunity to exult in England's humiliation, and what was for them the glory of the Irish.

In 1906 Douglas Hyde visited Butte and Anaconda as part of his fund-raising American tour. He received an excellent reception in Butte, where he was given a tour of the city by the Irish societies' welcoming committee specially organized for his visit. Hyde delivered a lecture "before an audience that packed the Broadway theatre." He left Butte with the sum of $3,200 donated by the Irish community, "and each year since they have forwarded him $600 to aid the preservation of the Irish language." In 1912 an Irish miner, Seamus Moriarity, founded the Butte branch of the Gaelic League, and Butte was home to at least one Gaelic football team—the Wolfe Tones—which took part in the Montana State Gaelic Football League.

These facts would seem to argue well for the claims of the Butte
Irish community to be truly Irish and in tune with developments in Ireland. On closer examination, however, the same subtle differences again become apparent. The Butte branch of the Gaelic League was an active one, taking part in the St. Patrick's Day celebrations and occasionally staging plays in Butte and Anaconda. The League teacher, Dan Leahy, held classes once a week in the A. O. H. hall and the League received financial support from members of the A. O. H. Membership figures for these classes are not available but attendance was certainly low. Among the Irish of Butte, Irish culture was passed on to the children from the father rather than the mother. The women of Butte tended to be more realistic in their approach to life in America; they abandoned the traditions and memories of their homeland more readily, and concentrated upon becoming Americans rather than dreaming of returning to Ireland. The death rate for Irish miners was far higher than that of their spouses. Mortuary records for Butte list 170 deaths among Irish-born adult males in the years 1906 and 1907. Of these men, 103 were forty-five years of age or younger. In contrast, only thirty-six Irish-born adult females died in the same period, thirteen of whom were younger than forty-five. Consequently the folk culture of Ireland that became material for the Gaelic League did not form an integral part of community life among the Irish of Butte. In August, 1913 the A. O. H. withdrew its support from the Gaelic League in Montana, explaining that because of "prejudices and opposition shown by the local branches . . . it was not worthy of support." The Butte Gaelic League petered out in 1914 due to poor attendance at classes. The early demise of the Gaelic League in Butte was a natural
result of grafting a foreign culture onto a section of American society.

But why did the Gaelic League receive the support of the Butte Irish, even for a limited period of time? The answer lies in the fact that the League was Irish and was associated with nationalist movements in Ireland. In his lecture at the Broadway theatre, Douglas Hyde gave "a lucid exposition of the aims and objectives of the Gaelic League," and in an interview with the Anaconda Standard he further clarified his ideas by exclaiming, "thank God we belong to all politics and all shades of politics... Then you are not all Home Rulers? Certainly not. We have plenty of men among us who do not believe in Home Rule at all." Yet the people of Butte persisted in associating Hyde and the League with their particular brand of Irish nationalism.

Hyde led the Irish language revival movement because he believed that Irish was a beautiful and worthy language, and that the Irish could revive the spirit and self-respect of their nation through their language. Bishop Carroll found other reasons to support the revival. In a letter printed in the Anaconda Standard he wrote,

But when that language is the key to one of the world's greatest literatures—a literature which is eminently Christian, which contains the record of the labours and sufferings of the great men who laid the foundations of religion in many of the countries of Europe—then the effort is worthy of the encouragement and support of every lover of history and Christian civilization. Such is the language of the Gael.

The Irish language symbolised the religious glory of the Irish people and deserved the attention of all Irish men and women. In 1901 a reporter for the Anaconda Standard, writing about the Gaelic League and the Irish language revival, proudly proclaimed that "there is one paper... printed altogether in Gaelic." The reporter misspelled the
name of the paper as Cline Sulus. The comment on Hyde's visit made by
the Butte Intermountain is even more revealing. Hyde, the Intermountain
commentator claimed, "aims at a rebirth of the imaginative and aesthetic
life of Ireland, the moulding anew of Ireland's national ideals, and
the stamping out of the cheap, vulgar books and the vulgar songs that
were coming into Ireland from England." An Irish nationalist movement
which respected the English national character and admired England's
art and literature was inconceivable for the Irish of Butte. The Gaelic
League thus became simply one more weapon to use against England and
one more glorious episode in the history of Ireland. This view was not
shared by Irish nationalists, and by-passed the opinions of the Irish
people.

The drama and poetry of the Anglo-Irish literary revival did not
reach Butte, although the people of Butte welcomed "the new realism" in
Irish drama and applauded the demise of the stage Irishman. Several
travelling theatre companies visited Butte and Anaconda on a regular
basis and performed plays of Irish interest. One such company was the
troup of Chauncy Olcott who performed the Olcott play Shameen Dhu in
Butte in 1914. The title, Shameen Dhu, is an Anglicised version of the
Irish Seamin Dhubh or Black James, but it lent an Irish flavour to the
play. The Anaconda Standard claimed that through this play, Olcott had
finally buried the image of the stage Irishman.

The tail of the British lion is not so twisted as of old. There
are fewer pikes and pikers than formerly. Expressions like "Gimme
the papers that shall prove me innocence," "Meet me at the foot of
the old cliff at midnight and you shall have your gold," "My Gawd,
we are evicted and all is lost save honor," are among the things
which were, and [now] the elements of sense and possibility have
been introduced.
The Standard, however, went on to describe the plot of the play. Shameen was "a leader among his countrymen in one of the numerous movements on foot in the Emerald Isle at the time that the American revolution was at its height." The poet-hero was also a recruiting officer for the army of George Washington, the heroine was Irish-American, and the author, Rida Johnson Young, heavily emphasized the struggle against England shared by the United States and Ireland. In 1913 the residents of Butte performed a play entitled Cushla Machree in both Butte and Anaconda. The play was written by James Cummins and Professor A. H. Cammack, both of Butte, and "packed audiences in both towns." One of the features of this "exciting and delightful operetta" was a scene depicting "the loyalty oath of the United Irishmen taken in the lonely glen at midnight, while the armed agents of England were scouring the woods for them..." For the Irish of Butte a dramatization of the Anglo-Irish conflict was the sole criterion by which a play was judged to be Irish.

In poetry, the taste of the Butte Irish community differed sharply from the Irish literary revivalists. The Irish-Americans sacrificed quality to nationalism in contrast to the poetry of Yeats or the translations of Hyde. The Irish of Butte were fed a diet of Irish poetry that failed to transcend the political or to give expression to themes of universal importance. The simple Love Songs of Connaught were out of place among the political and nostalgic immigrant poetry so popular with the Irish of Butte. For the Butte Irish community, an Irish poem by definition commented on some aspect of Irish nationalism.

Furl that banner, for 'tis weary;  
Round its staff 'tis dropping dreary;
Furl it, fold it—it is best,
For there's not a man to wave it,
And there's not a sword to save it,
And there's not one left to lave it,
In the blood which heroes gave it.
Furl it, hide it—let it rest!^86

An element of stage-Irishness could also be found in the Irish-American poetry of Butte. At every meeting, members of the A. O. H. saluted the shamrock thus,

'Tis the shamrock, the shamrock, the
Shamrock immortal and green;
On Ireland's hills, by her murmuring rills
The shamrock can be seen.^87

Irish poetry became a means for the Irish-Americans of Butte to emphasise the common interests of the United States and Ireland and the service rendered to America by Irish immigrants.

The Winter's wind moans in the pine;
The worn flags proudly fly,
And loyal hands their staves entwine,
With them to live or die—
One, bright with "Stars and Stripes," was seen
And one, war-torn, displayed
The "Sunburst" and the Irish "Green"
That waved o'er Our Brigade.^88

The Irish of Butte totally misunderstood the Irish literary and Gaelic revivals, failing to recognize the extent to which revivalists aimed at completely reforming the attitudes and spiritual condition of the Irish people.

This misunderstanding developed into an unconscious condescension. Butte Irish delighted in the prospect of ending the image of the stage-Irishman, yet continued to propagate the image. To bury Paddy, the Irish buffoon, was a secondary ambition of Irish nationalists. The Irish of Butte, without fully understanding the concept, deemed it an asset of modern Irish-American literature and drama, while maintaining
the attitude which had produced the image. Living far from Ireland and
with their lives and ambitions centred on the American situation, Butte
Irish tended to regard the Irish with unintentional condescension not
evident in their dealings with fellow Americans. Reminiscent of white
American attitudes towards Blacks, the Anaconda Standard claimed that
"the Irish . . . are—a people steeped in sentiment, of quick and
generous sensibilities, as happy in poverty as in riches . . . " The
Montana Catholic carried short stories about the mysterious, possibly
magical disappearance of some butter from an Irish village, and many
similar topics. An article printed in a 1905 edition of the paper
featured the "Happy Go Lucky Hackmen" of Dublin, and described the
"Irish horse which shares Paddy’s gragh for independence," and
Barney, the Irish Jarvy, who "believes that animosities should be
cultivated. Being a good man with his hands and blithe and gay in
battle, he colors the week’s end with riot." This condescending
attitude was borne of the fact that the Irish of Butte, responding to
their immediate circumstances, saw Ireland and the Irish only in terms
of a political struggle with England, and not as a people with ideas
and ambitions of their own.

The largest political organisation in Ireland, the United Irish
League, never opened an office in Butte and no receipts exist to
indicate that the Irish societies ever contributed to the League. The
Irish of Butte donated money to the Irish Volunteers, ostensibly led by
John Redmond. Clan na Gael members were partly responsible for pro-
cessing Irish Volunteer money, and by 1913, the Clan had adopted a policy
of cautious hostility towards Redmond. As often as possible, Clan
members diverted contributions to the I. R. B.-controlled Volunteers rather than to the United Irish League. For their generosity to the Volunteer fund, the Irish of Butte were personally thanked by The O'Rahilly, and in late 1913, formed two Butte companies of more than one hundred armed and uniformed Irish Volunteers.

Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party were not totally without support in Butte. Several newspapers carried favourable news and feature articles on the party, its leader, and Home Rule. These articles, however, displayed all the standard features of Irish-American nationalism. In 1910 the elected members of the party were dramatically described as the "good men and true" who, under "the vigorous leadership of John Redmond . . . will compel Great Britain to realize that Home Rule is a livelier issue than it ever was." The M. P.'s were backed by "the Irish people, fighting under the banner of the United Irish League . . . ." In 1905, Redmond offset a bill designed to reduce Irish representation in the House of Commons by insisting upon a debate of the proposed legislation. Prime Minister Balfour, not wishing to waste Parliament's time, dropped the issue. The Montana Catholic, however, claimed that "the knavish intentions of the Scotch-English terrier, Balfour . . . [were] promptly and bravely met by John E. Redmond, the Irish leader . . . a master of the rules of debate. . . ." The author went on to say that "there is no mistaking the intention of Balfour to drive Ireland to desperation," and concluded by boasting that Ireland's "'resources of civilization' are not quite exhausted yet, and thousands of men who would condemn violent measures under present circumstances could not be relied upon to hold the same view of
England by her premier and parliament, should persist in turning the knife in the old wound." This threat echoed a statement made earlier in the same paper.

There indeed is ... only thing that would bring the Irish question to the attention of England. An Ireland well armed, as aggressive and as hostile as the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Not Ireland supplicating and begging and entreating for her rights on the floor of the English parliament but an armed, aggressive Ireland demanding her rights and enforcing those demands at the mouth of the cannon. Ireland has been entreating and supplicating long enough.

The Irish of Butte supported Redmond and Home Rule in the absence of a more vigorous and radical solution to the Irish question. To justify this support, they tended to elevate the reserved and gentlemanly Redmond to the status of a romantic national hero. As far as the Butte Irish were concerned, Redmond was an Irishman, leading an Irish following in a battle with the British for the cause of Ireland. Credit for any success was also due to the Irish of America.

The Irish party, too, has the strength of the Irish in America behind it, as in the stirring days preceding the last sad decade of the century, and the gain of the Irish people through exercise in even the small measure of self-government which they have begun to enjoy is most happily manifest to those kindred beyond the sea who accept majority rule as naturally as they accept the sunrise.

In 1914 an alternative to the constitutional movement appeared. Redmond's commitment to Britain's war effort split the Volunteers, and the Irish of Butte, Clan na Gael, and the U. I. L. of America repudiated the I. P. P. and its leader. The Butte Irish unanimously opposed Ireland's involvement in the war and looked upon the conflict as a prime opportunity for a successful Irish rebellion. As American commitment to the British war effort became apparent, Butte Irish leaders openly joined German-Americans in their protest against the war. Given the
climate of opinion in Montana at that time, and the reactionary Montana Council of Defense, this stance was courageous. In July 1916, Judge Lynch addressed a meeting of German-Americans in Butte; he praised the valour of Germany and encouraged his fellow immigrants in their patriotism. Although Lynch "received anonymous communications because of his attitude towards the European war," the Irish Volunteers, in full uniform and carrying rifles, began to drill and perform maneuvers at Brown's Gulch near Butte.

On April 4-5, 1916, the Irish societies of America held an Irish race convention in New York City. Convention delegates approved of organizing Irish-Americans into the Friends of Irish Freedom "to uphold Ireland's right to Self-Determination, and Complete National Independence and to inform American public opinion of the justice of Ireland's claims." In May, at a meeting in the A. O. H. hall, the Butte branch of the F. O. I. F. was formed. The Easter rising had aroused the national fervour of the Butte Irish to an unprecedented level, and on April 30, one thousand Irish and Irish-Americans of Butte crowded the Hibernian hall to capacity, then more clamored for admission. in answer to the call for sympathizers of the Irish freedom cause and, after vigorous speeches had been made against English rule and in behalf of the German cause in the present war, practically every man in the audience signed the roll call of the Butte branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom.

Judge Lynch then disregarded the I. P. P. by stating that "every Irishman who is waiting for events and who is not with us is against us," to which members of the audience replied "They are Redmond's." The meeting raised $976 for the Irish cause with pledges of $1,500 to be paid within ten days. The speakers again took advantage
of the platform to claim that "the men now dying in Dublin were better than any regular soldiers the British had." Judge Lynch pointed out the history of cordial relations between the United States, Germany, and Ireland and the fact that Britain had sympathised with the South during the American Civil War. In the present war, Lynch claimed, the Allies intended to shackle the United States with a commitment of two million men and twenty billion dollars. "We Americans," he commented, "do not propose to lick stamps for the next 50 years to please the British government." The Irish of Butte considered themselves to be Americans as well as Irish; in their protests against the war, expressions of concern for the welfare of the United States were inseparable from, and as important as, their loyalty to Ireland. That concern played the dominant role in forming their attitudes towards Ireland and the European war.

The only obstacle to uniformity among the Butte Irish in their attitude towards Ireland was socialism. Butte had long been a stronghold of trade unionism. Known as the "Gibraltar of Unionism," the Butte Miners Union was Local Number One of the powerful Western Federation of Miners which had originated in Butte. Butte, however, was also dominated by the giant Anaconda Mining Company—owned by Standard Oil—against which the B. M. U. was ineffective. The union could exact minor improvements in working conditions and wages from the Company, but the Company's dictation of general policy and hiring practices went virtually unopposed. By 1912, the politically conservative B. M. U. had been infiltrated by a small number of Marxists, members of the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World. Tension
between the radical and the conservative members of the B. M. U. first appeared in 1906 when the Union publicly thanked the Company for a wage increase of twenty-five cents per day. In 1912, the Company introduced the "rustling card" system by which it could control all personnel employed in the mines. The Union did not protest and suspicion grew that the Union was also Company-dominated. Tension between the two groups came to a peak in 1914. On June 13, the annual Miners Union Day parade erupted into violence. A second, more radical union was formed and led by Muckie McDonnell who denied charges that his "progressive" group was controlled by the I. W. W. Violence continued throughout the summer, and on September 1, Governor Stewart placed Butte under martial law. On September 9, the Company refused to recognize any miners' organisation and the Socialist mayor of Butte, Lewis Duncan, was replaced by acting mayor M. D. O'Connell.

In 1915 James Larkin came into this situation. Well known in Butte as the radical Socialist leader of the Dublin lockout, Larkin was scheduled to speak at the Butte auditorium. Larkin arrived in Butte as an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners and with a reputation as an opponent of the war and a friend of Germany. In a speech in honour of the English Socialist Kier Hardie, Larkin planned to outline the achievements of the Miners' Union of Great Britain with special reference to local conditions in Butte. Acting mayor O'Connell refused the use of the auditorium to Larkin and in this decision he was supported by ten of the fifteen city aldermen, most of whom were Irish, and three of whom were absent from the voting. On being turned away from the auditorium, Larkin and his followers marched to the
Carpenters' Union Hall. They were met by Sheriff Henderson and his men who "were armed and displayed night sticks as big as pick handles," and who "acted as though they were trying to provoke disorder instead of to keep the peace." "Another burly deputy, an Irishman . . ." attempted to provoke the crowd into violence, but on finding the Carpenters' Hall closed to them the group proceeded quietly to the Finnish Workers' Club, where they were admitted.

A minority of Butte Irish were prepared to fight for the rights of labour in Butte as American Socialists rather than clinging to their identity as Irish Americans. Concentrating on their immediate problems and freed from the necessity of being Irish, the Irish Socialists of Butte saw Ireland and the Irish from a different perspective, which was more realistic and ultimately more respectful. Both sections of the Butte Irish community bitterly denounced English rule in Ireland but the Socialists, interpreting the Irish situation in terms of class warfare, avoided the abusiveness of other Irish-Americans in Butte. Although mired in the romantic image of the "Emerald Isle," the Socialists could still describe Ireland and the Irish with some degree of objectivity. Ireland was "a strange blending of brains and stupidity, beauty and sordidness, doltish acceptance of wrongs and passionate revolt. . . . The whole history of Ireland is that of long periods of doltish submission to terrible wrongs and sudden wild orgies of revolt." In the writings of Montana Socialists, the Irish assumed the characteristics of real people rather than forming one side in an historic war of good and evil.
In his speech at the Finlander Hall, James Larkin recognized this difference. He angrily proclaimed,

I am an Irishman. I love my native land and I love my race, but when I see some of the Irish politicians and place hunters you have in Butte, my face crimsons with shame and I am glad they did not remain in Ireland. . . . I tell you the Irish champions of freedom—Emmett, Mitchell, Tone and the rest—whose names these contemptible traders in Irish patriotism take on their lips for their own selfish purposes, would spit in the faces of these renegade shoneen Irish of Butte.106

Shoneen was a term first coined by D. P. Moran in the Leader to describe Irish people of Gaelic origin who stressed their Irishness while emulating English manners, standards, and tastes. These were the Irish who had lost their self-respect and who had fallen prey to a "slave mentality." In an earlier address made in Butte in September, 1915 Larkin had accounted for shoneenism "by saying that any immigrant people absorb the standards and the ideals of the country to which they come. . . . The slogan of the American people is to 'get there' and the Irishman is foremost in the race."109

The staff of the Butte Independent and the Anaconda Standard, the two papers that catered to the Irish community, reacted to Larkin with hostility. A Standard reporter scathingly described him as the "head of a rabid socialist party in Ireland" and as the "imported socialist from Ireland."110 When Larkin spoke again in Butte in July 1916, his subject was the Easter rebellion and his reception was "quite different from the last. . . ." The Montana Socialist offered an explanation. "Perhaps the rulers of this baliwick thought the Rebellion in Ireland a less dangerous subject for an 'agitator' than an address in memory of Kier Hardie. . . . Perhaps the fact that this meeting was not held under socialist auspices had something to do with this official and
unofficial tolerance."\textsuperscript{111} Undoubtedly the Anaconda Company had influenced the actions of Mayor O'Connell in 1915, but Larkin's misinterpretation of the Easter rebellion as "a spontaneous uprising of Irish working class patriots to prevent the contemplated and imminent devastation of the Irish race and to reassert the undying loyalty of the Irish working class to the cause of Irish freedom and independence,"\textsuperscript{112} appealed to the more orthodox Irish-Americans of Butte who were present at this event. Larkin, however, continued to criticize leaders of the Irish-American community in Butte,

\ldots the type of Irishmen in America who use their Irish names and Irish birth as social, political and commercial assets to further \textit{their} own petty personal ambitions. "What do these men know about the Irish rebellion? \ldots nothing. \ldots What have they done for Irish freedom? \ldots nothing but talk a lot of sob stuff about Ireland. \ldots"\textsuperscript{113}

Mr. J. B. Mulcahey of the \textit{Butte Independent} interrupted Larkin to protest, but "received for his interruption a flood of bitter and denunciatory invective, such as has seldom been heard on a public platform in Butte."\textsuperscript{114}

The Irish of Butte, both Socialist and non-Socialist, were united in their opposition to the war. The non-Socialists protested American involvement on the side of England, while the Socialists disapproved of war in general, and the position of England and predicament of Ireland were secondary grounds for opposition. Both sides shared the same anti-war platforms. Some of the more orthodox Irish-Americans found a way to unite nationalism with a moderate degree of socialism through the structure of the Pearse-Connolly Club. In founding this club, Father Michael Hannon from County Tipperary, Ireland and an officer in the Butte branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom, attempted to unite
the principles of Pearse and Connolly. In June 1917, six hundred people marched in a Pearse-Connolly Club organized parade behind a large banner inscribed with the words "Down With War."\(^{115}\) Registration for the draft opened in Butte on June 6, and a pamphlet circulated prior to the parade revealed the strong socialist leanings of the participants. The pamphlet, entitled "War is Hell, We do not Want War," stated that

We are ordered to register that we may be examined as to our fitness to kill and murder workingmen of other countries against whom we have no grievance. . . . We are, at the behest of the money powers, to be taken forcibly to kill and be killed. We are to be forced to assist the nation which has riveted the chains of slavery around Ireland. . . . Strike against militarism. Strike against war. Do not register tomorrow.\(^{116}\)

After marching four blocks the parade was attacked and dispersed by citizens of Butte and the police.

Radical Socialists among the Irish of Butte were few in number. The attempt to unite socialism and Irish nationalism by Father Hannon failed, and the incisive criticism of James Larkin only aroused the hostility of Irish community leaders. Throughout the period under review, the Butte Irish-American vision of Ireland continued to be clouded by distance and by the interests of the Irish in America.
FOOTNOTES


2Ibid., p. 17.

3Ibid., p. 282.

4Father Sarsfield O'Sullivan, Personal Interview, Butte, Montana, 26 April 1981.


6Frank Quinn, Personal Interview, Butte, Montana, 25 April 1981.


8Ibid., August 1911.

9Ibid., August 1916.

10Butte Daily Post, 20 November 1915.


14Ibid., p. 19.

15John Yeats, Letters to His Son, p. 186.

16Michael Murray to J. J. O'Meara, 18 August 1916, World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.


19D. A. to J. J. O'Meara, 31 August 1914, World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.


27. Ibid., 31 August 1916.


32. Anaconda Standard, 4 April 1901.


38. Judge Lynch Scrapbook in possession of Mr. J. Martin, Butte, Montana.


40. Ibid., 2 June 1900.
41 Bishop J. P. Carroll to J. Murray, 3 March 1920, Papers of John P. Carroll, Diocese of Helena Archives, Helena, Montana.

42 Bishop Carroll, Anaconda Standard, 13 August 1913.

43 Anaconda Standard, 17 March 1901.

44 Montana Catholic, 25 March 1905.

45 Anaconda Standard, 17 March 1914.


47 John T. Casey, Anaconda Standard, 5 March 1901.


50 Montana Catholic, 27 October 1900.


52 Anaconda Standard, 18 March 1910.


54 Montana Catholic, 11 January 1902.

55 Ibid.

56 See P. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches.


58 Judge Lynch Scrapbook.

59 Montana Catholic, 25 March 1905.

60 Montana Catholic, 10 November 1900.


62 Anaconda Standard, 19 March 1901.

63 Anaconda Standard, 1 May 1916.

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Daly, The Young Douglas Hyde, pp. 121-122.

Oh were you on the mountain or saw you my love,
Or saw you my own one, my queen and my dove,
Or saw you the maiden with the step firm and free,
And oh, is she pining in sorrow like me?

I was upon the mountain and saw there your love,
I saw there your own one, your queen and your dove,
I saw there the maiden with the step firm and free,
And she was not pining in sorrow like thee.

86 Judge Lynch Scrapbook.
87 Song Sheet, Ancient Order of Hibernians, World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.
88 Judge Lynch Scrapbook.
89 Anaconda Standard, 2 June 1914.
90 Montana Catholic, 10 November 1906.
91 Montana Catholic, 4 March 1905.
92 The Ua Raghaille to J. J. McCarthy, 7 March 1914, World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.
93 Montana Catholic, 17 November 1910.
94 Montana Catholic, 29 July 1905.
95 Montana Catholic, 25 May 1901.
96 Montana Catholic, 7 November 1901.
97 Anaconda Standard, 1 May 1916.
98 Father Sarsfield O'Sullivan, Personal Interview.
100 Anaconda Standard, 1 May 1916.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid.
105 Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 129.
106 Montana Socialist, 9 October 1915.
107 Montana Socialist, 3 May 1914.

108 Montana Socialist, 9 October 1915.

109 Montana Socialist, 18 September 1915.

110 Anaconda Standard, 27 September 1915, and 1 October 1915.

111 Montana Socialist, 22 July 1916.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.


CONCLUSION

Irish-American nationalism in Butte was the product of diverse factors: the origins and loyalty to their native land of the Butte Irish, the need to become a part of their adopted country, and a response to pressures and events in the United States and Ireland. These forces combined to create a nationalism fundamentally different from the nationalism which developed in Ireland during the same period. Time and distance dulled the Irish-American's view of his native land; forgetting any hardships imposed upon him by Irishmen, he blamed England for his unwilling exile. Once in the United States the Irish immigrant had to face the task of becoming an American. The immigrant, were he to be happy in his new home, could not continue to live in both worlds, the United States and Ireland. Gradually he ceased to think like an Irish person and began to enter fully into American life. When the immigrant finally abandoned his emotional and spiritual ties to Ireland and began to respond to the American environment, he opened himself to new and totally different experiences. Under the influence of life in America the immigrant grew apart from his family and friends in Europe. Once he began the process of Americanization, he invariably and inevitably ceased fully to understand the people and society he had left behind when he boarded ship for the United States.

Out of this process among Irish-Americans developed a nationalism that was more American than Irish, oriented more towards the life and
needs of the Irish in America than the state of Ireland. Irish-American nationalism essentially was a response to life in the United States, not a concerned effort to ease the lot of the Irish who remained at home. The Irish of Butte ceased to be aware of the Irish people for whom they were working. Through the pages of the Montana Catholic, the Butte Irish kept apace with events in Ireland down to the details of each county. Their concentration, however, centred on events and actions rather than on the thoughts and attitudes of the Irish people. Out of their own needs and a simple delineation of Irish troubles into a conflict of Ireland and England, good and evil, white and black, the people of Butte supplied their own framework of cause and effect for events in Ireland.

The people of Butte developed their own conception of the Irish problem, their own solution to that problem, and their own image of what an Irish person should be. In their analysis of Anglo-Irish relations, the people of Butte neglected to consider the Irish people. They imprisoned the Irish in a rigid image of poor, downtrodden, but noble and romantic freedom fighters. This image did not allow for failure or freedom of thought and action, which are the prerogatives of any nation. The image generated as much condescension as the stage-Irishman did ridicule. The people of Butte believed that they understood the Irish and their problems, and rarely questioned their own motives and images of Ireland. The Irish, for their part, behaved with some hypocrisy. The few Irish people such as Jack Yeats, who recognized the nature of Irish-American nationalism were still willing to accept the money so generously donated by the Irish of Butte.
The situation persists to the present day. Irish-Americans of Butte and other American cities tend to hold extreme views on the subject of Northern Ireland. The rhetoric of Irish-American nationalism is violent and abusive. Extremist ideas such as the deportation of all Protestants from Ulster find advocates among active Irish-American nationalists, and Irish history is interpreted as the history of Anglo-Irish relations. Irish-American nationalists unquestioningly support the activities of the I. R. A. in Northern Ireland without having to live with the violent reality of romantic freedom fighting. Neither will Irish-American nationalists tolerate diversity of opinion among the Irish themselves on the subject of Northern Ireland. During the period 1900 to 1916, Irish nationalists such as Douglas Hyde openly admitted to mistakes and failures on the part of the Irish throughout their history. They publicly recognized flaws in the Irish national character, and the existence of politically pro-English sentiments within Ireland, however much they disagreed with such views. Then, as now, the more militant Irish-Americans of Butte and elsewhere find such admissions and sentiments reprehensible, and dismiss the Irish who do not support the I. R. A. as "Free-Staters" or as being less Irish than militant Republicans.

The image of what an Irish person should be persists, and allows no room for the Irish to live as individuals responding to immediate circumstances rather than as self-sacrificing political idealists. The Irish, no more than any other nation, cannot live up to this ideal; but for the Irish—unlike Irish-Americans—this failure is in no way shameful. The Irish did not create the image, and for the most part,
are not aware of its existence. Irish-American ignorance of Ireland, borne of time, distance, and life in a totally different country, is inevitable and a perfectly admissible feature of any nation. But when Irish-Americans participate in violence on either side of the Northern Ireland conflict without having to live with the consequences of their actions, their ignorance is inexcusable.
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