



IRELAND'S

Farthest Shores

MOBILITY, MIGRATION, AND SETTLEMENT
IN THE PACIFIC WORLD

Malcolm Campbell

❧ IRELAND'S
Farthest Shores ❧

HISTORY OF IRELAND AND THE IRISH DIASPORA

James S. Donnelly, Jr.

Thomas Archdeacon

Series Editors

IRELAND'S Farthest Shores

*Mobility, Migration, and
Settlement in the Pacific World*

MALCOLM CAMPBELL

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Map 1. The Pacific world

Introduction

The respected American historian Giovanni Costigan's 1969 book *A History of Modern Ireland with a Sketch of Earlier Times* commences—unusually for a work of its time—with a lengthy reflection on the importance of the sea in Ireland's history. For Costigan, Ireland's relationship with the sea served to delineate fundamentally its historical experience from that of neighboring Great Britain. He wrote in the preface:

The ocean was valuable to Britain as a vehicle of colonization and conquest, and as the high road to empire. Its control ensured her dominion over India. Britain's attitude to the sea was as purposeful and commanding as the fervent words of the popular anthem suggest: “Rule, Britannia! Britannia rules the waves!” [sic] . . . For Ireland, however, the sea has been the means not of dominion but of subjection, the vehicle not of purposeful colonization but of despairing emigration. Despite the fabled voyages of early saints like Brendan the Navigator, the Irish have never been a seafaring people. Generally speaking, their attitude to the sea has been passive and resigned. For over ten centuries, the sea was the element of their enemies and the high road of their conquerors. Hence from an early age it served as a symbol of sorrow.¹

Now, half a century later, many historians of the Irish diaspora would join with Costigan in recognizing the significance of the sea and voyaging as factors in the shaping of Ireland's premodern and modern history. Yet, should we draw so stark a distinction as he did between the maritime experience of Great Britain and Ireland, or maintain the view that Irish attitudes to the sea have been so deeply and

uniformly marked by sorrow? Were the Irish really less a maritime people than their neighbors across the Irish Sea? Was their attitude one of passivity and resignation? Was the sea a “symbol of sorrow”?

In considering these questions, an additional conundrum arises. Should we regard all seas as the same? In this book, I argue that the Pacific Ocean, the world’s largest body of water, is not the same as all others, and the shores on which its waves wash are sites of different historical experiences. In a 1994 television documentary on the Irish in the United States, Mick Moloney, a musician and folklorist, spoke of arriving for the very first time at California’s Pacific coast and encountering the ocean’s edge. “I’ll never forget when my toes touched the Pacific thinking how far away from Ireland I was,” he said. “The further from Ireland I go and find Irish people . . . it’s out there I find the restless ones.”² There is a nice ambiguity in Moloney’s observation about the difference of the Pacific: the place makes the people *and* the people make the place. And that is exactly what this book is about—the ways the Irish participated in the making of the Pacific world and the way the Pacific world made them.

I think some justification for a book about the Irish in the Pacific is warranted. Atlantic history has been everywhere in recent decades—David Armitage’s famous observation that “we are all Atlanticists now” retains its resonance even today.³ It is a very inclusive Atlantic world as any cursory search of a library catalog reveals, with room for the Spanish Atlantic, Portuguese Atlantic, British Atlantic, French Atlantic, Dutch Atlantic, the Black Atlantic, Red Atlantic, and, significantly for this study, the Green Atlantic. Ireland’s place in the list is undisputed, even if one is skeptical of the more ambitious claims made for the voyages of Saint Brendan the Navigator. Physical location, a long tradition of seafaring, and sustained connections with lands on the perimeter of the ocean are testament to Ireland’s place in the Atlantic world.

Even more than in the case of the Atlantic Ocean, historians have grappled with the meaning, duration, and utility of the Pacific world concept. Historian Arif Dirlik wrote that when considering what constitutes the Pacific, it is necessary to decide “*whose* Pacific—and *when*?” As he contended, “In a fundamental sense, there is no Pacific region that is an ‘objective’ given, but only a competing sense of ideational constructs.”⁴ Western scholarship has played no small part in defining and ascribing meaning to the Pacific and its peoples. However, we need to be attuned to the myopia of Eurocentrism. Pacific scholars have highlighted the mobility and connectedness of peoples throughout the oceanic space in the

centuries prior to the arrival of European ships.⁵ As the work of Andre Gunder Frank and others in recent decades has demonstrated, Western historians have also failed to acknowledge East Asia's place in the premodern global economy, contributing to a partial and incomplete understanding of the Pacific world.⁶

The temporal scope of a "Pacific world" has also been questioned. Voyaging and trading in the Pacific long preceded its "discovery" by Ferdinand Magellan. In fact, while people resident on the islands of the Pacific or on its Asian coastal fringes long participated in maritime exchanges, several centuries of European seafaring post-Magellan generated little wake to wash upon the shores. That situation was transformed from the late eighteenth century when the intensification of European shipping expanded the movement of people, goods, and ideas across the broad oceanic space. As Katrina Gulliver explained, this escalation in activity initiated a period of a little over 150 years, from the 1770s to World War II, in which a coherent Pacific world can be identified. For Gulliver, this Pacific world era is characterized by "a philosophical and cultural consciousness of the Pacific, as demonstrated both by trade, cultural connections, and deliberate international affiliation based on a sense of identity shared through Pacific location."⁷

The Pacific world explored in this book is therefore not a fixed or a permanent place. Like most spatial constructions, it stakes a partial claim to coherence on the basis of physical geography but owes much to the inventiveness of historical imagination. Over the passage of time, the fragments of land and waterways that constitute this Pacific world adhered to each other with varying degrees of strength and durability. South Asia bonded meaningfully with the Pacific world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but always shared closer connections with other regions and identities, especially those of the Indian Ocean world. The Americas, too, have shifted focus from time to time, for the most part decidedly locked into the Atlantic world but at other moments choosing to embrace a Pacific identity more wholeheartedly. Changes in economic and political relations have seen states forge Pacific links more or less strongly, while human connections and exchanges across the ocean have ebbed and flowed in intensity like the tides. Historian Matt Matsuda evoked such a fluid conception of this oceanic world when he defined the Pacific as "multiple sites of *trans-localism*, the specific linked places where direct engagements took place and were tied to histories dependent on the ocean."⁸

In contrast to the Atlantic world, Ireland has no claim to physical proximity with the Pacific Ocean. Yet immediacy to the homeland has not stopped historians

from engaging with the concept of a British (sometimes English) Pacific, or a French Pacific, nor did it hinder Oscar Spate's pioneering work on the Spanish Pacific.⁹ In each of those cases, it is true, imperial reach into the Pacific world offers a form of justification. Ireland claimed no temporal empire in the Pacific, although, as we shall see, some in Ireland laid claim to a share in the proprietorship of the empire on which the sun never set, and some individual Irishmen surely did have near-imperial ambitions.¹⁰ Assertions of an Irish spiritual empire have also been made from time to time, on the basis of the notion that aspects of Irish world-views and beliefs existed as a resonant shadow wherever British ambition extended. There may be some truth to that view. However, understandings of empire have become more complicated too, and much recent scholarship forces us to rethink the rigid English/conqueror–Irish/conquered binary that Giovanni Costigan drew and to view in different and more nuanced ways Ireland's engagement with several European empires and the expansion of the West.

At least four sound justifications exist for a study of the Irish in the Pacific world. The first is located squarely in the context of Ireland's history. There is an unsurprising tendency in the scholarship on Ireland and the Irish abroad to view the Atlantic world as the normative experience. For reasons of proximity and size of population that is predictable; however, such an approach runs the significant risk of eliding both variations in experience and understanding of the reasons why different contexts produce different outcomes. Historian Stephen Howe, discussing Irish history's engagement with the study of the British Empire, observed a weakness in Irish (and British) history's capacity to demonstrate "a comparative, and more challengingly, an integrative historical awareness."¹¹ While encouraging signs now suggest that situation is changing, with global and transnational perspectives of Ireland's history coming increasingly to the fore, the study of the Irish in the Pacific world offers an opportunity to rethink assumptions about Ireland's connections with the wider world and to broaden significantly our horizons in the study of the experience of the Irish abroad.¹²

Second, the experience of the Irish in the Pacific offers an excellent opportunity to explore a subset of transnational connections in an oceanic world. However, it is important to try to be clear about what we mean. Ideas of transnationalism ride shotgun in today's historical practice. Almost any study that refers to more than one national context seems now to claim to represent transnational history in action. I am uncomfortable with so vague a use of the term "transnational history" as well as with the proposition sometimes advanced that transnationalism is

synonymous with global history. Though both are products of historians' disenchantment with the nation state, transnationalism in my view implies no necessary attempt to observe connection or disconnection at a global level. As Ian Tyrrell has pointed out, mobility and exchange of peoples, ideas, and artifacts operates at a regional as well as a global level.¹³ The idea for this study originally grew out of work comparing Irish settlement in California and Eastern Australia and my experience that comparative history was far from effective in capturing the movements and exchanges of people and ideas across the oceanic divide.¹⁴ For me, transnationalism has always implied a sense of dynamic mobility and exchange, perhaps bilaterally, more commonly multilaterally. It offers the prospect of capturing historical trends and movements that elude the synchronic constraints of the comparative method. The study that follows shows, I hope, glimpses of such an Irish Pacific world characterized by fluidity and multidirectional exchange. Whether in the voyages of Irish mariners or traders connecting India, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australia; gold-rush-era migrations of Irish-born people between California, Eastern Australia, and New Zealand; the movement to-and-fro of Catholic clerics and religious news; or the circulation of Irish nationalist ideas and literature, the Pacific world was a place of sustained and complex movements. Yet it is also clear that the Pacific world was much more than a vast lake of unconstrained ebbs and flows. Boundaries also dictated possibilities. Movements occurred within the contexts of empires and newly formed states, and these organisms shaped the possibilities and the actualities of the Irish and their descendants who lived within them.

Third, as a nonspecialist historian of the Pacific who is interested in Irish immigration and settlement, I have become conscious of the extent to which the literature homogenizes Europeans, especially those from Great Britain and Ireland. This is not an entirely new phenomenon nor is it confined to Pacific history—for example, scholars have referred for several decades now to the long though diminished tendency in New Zealand's historiography to overlook differences in national origins and assume settlement in a new land erased variations in identity, outlook, and behavior.¹⁵ In some respects, this propensity to view Europeans uniformly may represent tacit acknowledgment of the particular time that Europeans first encountered in any sustained way the islands of the Pacific and the antipodean lands on its western edge. In the late eighteenth century, strong forces were at work forging a new and robust British identity. However, diversity of language and markers of national difference did not dissolve instantly in the warm waters

of the South Seas, even if mollified compared with the situation in the cooler waters of the North Atlantic world. This book investigates when, why, and in what circumstances markers of national or ethnic origin increased or decreased in salience.

Finally, I hope this book enhances our knowledge of the tremendous transformations that affected the Pacific world. Irish involvement there predates the eighteenth century. Irish soldiers and missionaries participated in the establishment of Spain's empire in the Americas, and Irish mariners plied their skills on routes across the ocean from Acapulco to Manila as Spain extended its global hegemony. We find others in the service of the great early modern trade corporations, the East India Company and the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company), as they extended European trade with Asia. Ireland's mariners took to the Pacific among the ranks of pirates and privateers in the age of plunder. However, except for the Americas themselves, these contacts were sporadic and had little lasting impact on the Pacific world. All of that changed after the Seven Years' War when a new era of Western voyaging in the Pacific world began, setting HMS *Dolphin* on course for its famous landfall in Tahiti in 1767. Subsequent voyages by James Cook, as well as expeditions by French and Russian naval ships, intensified the European presence in and around the Pacific Ocean. So, too, did the presence of whaling ships from New England that made landfall during their long voyages to procure whale oil and baleen. The establishment of the British penal settlement at Sydney in 1788 and several nations' late eighteenth-century interest in exploiting the Pacific Northwest fur trade provided bookends for the escalation of Western engagement. The arrival of missionaries and colonial armies, adventurers and bureaucrats, soon followed.

From the 1760s, we find Irish-born men and women throughout the Pacific world—on its perimeters and in its interior—in ever increasing numbers and across all occupations and ways of life. Propelled from Ireland by the forces of economic change and catastrophic famine, the vast majority settled in the Anglophone societies of the North American West Coast, Australia, and New Zealand. Most Irish in this Pacific Anglo-world traveled there to take advantage of the opportunities created by its phenomenally rapid processes of urbanization and industrialization. In short order, this vast oceanic world became home to tens of thousands of Irish immigrants and an exponential number of their descendants. Their lives, whether rich or poor, Catholic or Protestant, Kerryman or Dublin woman, were

lived in multiple contexts. All entered a world where Western power was in the process of appropriating land and resources and undermining indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. All experienced a world where new ideologies, liberalism, and later socialism found traction and competed with conservatism for hearts and minds. All lived in an era when the influence of nationalism was on the rise, inventing new identities, creating different political affiliations, and demanding fresh allegiances. And all resided in a world where Irish identity and the issues of the Irish homeland provided a means of connection and a source of bitter division between peoples of different national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.

The first three chapters of *Ireland's Farthest Shores* deal with Irish mobility and the processes of arriving and settling in. Chapter 1 examines Irish engagement with the Pacific world from Ferdinand Magellan's entry from the Atlantic Ocean through the strait that bears his name in November 1520 to the establishment of the European empires that constituted the Pacific world's perimeter in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The second chapter addresses Irish involvement in colonial encounters. Chapter 3 examines the most concentrated period of Irish settlement in the Pacific world, the years from the 1840s to the 1880s, in which the Pacific's Anglo-world societies attracted a large and sustained influx of immigrants from Ireland. During these decades, troubled economic conditions in Ireland, the lure of gold, and rapid urbanization and industrialization in the societies on the rim of the Pacific Ocean drew the Irish-born in large numbers to the newly emerging urban frontier.

The second part of the book comprises chapters that explore transnational themes and connections that shaped the lives of the Irish and their engagement with new host societies. Focusing principally on the Irish populations in the Pacific Anglo-world, successive chapters investigate radicalism and dissent, religion, Irish nationalism, and the connections forged in the early twentieth-century years of war and revolution. The final chapter of the book analyzes the end of this Irish Pacific world in the early decades of the twentieth century as a decline in the level of Irish migration, a tightening of borders throughout the Pacific, and changed international outlooks closed down the mobility and lessened the fluidity that had characterized the nineteenth-century experience.

It goes without saying that no one book can do justice to the breadth and depth of the Irish engagement with the Pacific world. As will quickly become apparent, Irish-born men and women, and their descendants, were anywhere and everywhere

in the Pacific—geographically, economically, socially, and culturally. Nevertheless, I hope the lives and experiences portrayed in this book will better enhance our understanding of how the newcomers and their descendants shaped the history of this large expanse of sea and land and of the manner in which the Pacific world affected the lives of those who found themselves far removed from home, on Ireland's farthest shores.

European Empires and the Making of the Irish Pacific

In the Atlantic world, Ireland was a subject of empire. Far away, on Ireland's farthest shores, relationships of power proved complex and fluid. The Irish arrived initially in the Pacific Ocean as instruments of European expansion and were participants in the creation of new Western empires. First in the service of Spain, then of the Netherlands, Great Britain, and its antipodean settler colonies, and last, of the United States, people of Irish birth and Irish descent engaged actively in the mapping of terrain and the conquest of indigenous peoples. They served as agents in the imposition of European authority and functionaries in the perpetuation of Western control. Sometimes this was done enthusiastically, with scarcely concealed brutality. At other times, it took place with indifference, or with empathy and profound regret. It was Irish participation in the prolonged process of European exploration, expansion, and domination, rather than any conventional migration, that first brought the Irish to the Pacific Ocean and laid the foundations for their permanent presence in the Anglo-world there. It was also during these early stages of mobility and fleeting encounter that a variety of visions of the Pacific were implanted in the imaginations of the Irish at home, shaping the expectations and aspirations of those who would subsequently venture to Ireland's farthest shores.

This chapter examines the foundations of Ireland's involvement in European exploration and colonization of the Pacific Ocean. It commences with Irish participation in Spain's westward expansion into the Pacific in the sixteenth century and ends with the U.S. annexation of California in the middle of the nineteenth century. This story of Irish men and women's escalating involvement in Western penetration of the Pacific provides critical context for our understanding of both

the intimate colonial encounters of the Irish and the subsequent mass migration of newcomers from Ireland to the Pacific Anglo-world that commenced in the mid-nineteenth century. It also casts new light on important recent historical debates about Ireland's complex relationship with the British Empire and Irish involvement in the imposition of European authority around the globe. Most particularly, our study of Irish mobility in this oceanic space in the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century forces us to deal with some of the difficult issues surrounding identity and to rethink assumptions about how we link Irish birth or ancestry with Irish identity and behavior. For as we shall see, service in the name of Spain or Britain or the United States demanded of men and women of Irish birth or Irish descent a willingness to adapt, to vary their behavior and allegiances depending on circumstance, and sometimes to distinguish between public and private personas.

SPAIN, IRELAND, AND THE SPANISH PACIFIC

Spain was first among European states to lay claim to the Pacific Ocean, and it was with the Spanish galleons that the Irish arrived on the Pacific's shores. This may seem surprising unless we are conscious of the deep historical connections that existed between Spain and Ireland, bonds that intensified during the latter decades of the fifteenth century. Shared religion and geographical proximity on the western fringe of Europe underpinned the association. In the spirit of the Reconquista, soldiers from Ireland joined the pan-European contingent that mustered in Isabella and Ferdinand's reinvigorated Spanish kingdom to defeat the Moors and claim supremacy over the Iberian peninsula.¹ Christopher Columbus, already well traveled in the Mediterranean and near-Atlantic worlds, and soon to embark on his voyage westward to India, had Irish connections and by some accounts sought support in Ireland for his new nautical venture.²

Bonds between Spain and Ireland strengthened following the Reformation. As the religious landscape of Europe was transformed in the sixteenth century, Spain became an important ally for Irish Catholic nobles resisting the imposition of English Protestant rule. In 1601, at the height of the Nine Years' War (1594–1603), approximately four thousand Spanish troops landed in southwest Ireland to fight with their fellow Roman Catholics against the English crown. The defeat of the Irish noblemen and their Spanish allies at Kinsale in County Cork foreshadowed not only the Protestant plantation of Ulster but also the celebrated flight of the earls to the sanctuary of the continent six years later. This exodus from

Protestant hegemony laid the foundation for permanent and sustained migration from Ireland to Catholic Spain. In fact, so great was the inflow of Irish Catholics to Spain in the early seventeenth century that provincial officials urgently sought instructions from the royal court about what was to be done with the shiploads of refugees. This inflow of early modern asylum seekers provided the foundation for what became a sizeable and influential Irish presence in Spanish life. Estimates suggest, for example, that close to twenty thousand Irish soldiers were enlisted in the service of Philip IV by the mid-seventeenth century.³ While many of the new arrivals initially faced what one historian has described as a “cool reception” from ordinary Spaniards, on the whole Spain proved to be an amenable host to the newcomers. Religious institutions such as the Irish colleges, the most famous of which was founded at Salamanca in 1593, and a vibrant Irish merchant community, flourished under the protection and patronage of the Spanish court.⁴

Less well documented is the presence of the Irish-born in the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the first (or Iberian) system of New World settlement, state control was paramount; the freer movement of people and the private trade of commodities came only later as English and French influence in the Americas increased at the expense of Spanish and Portuguese control.⁵ Within this regulated system, Irish émigrés had to be recognized as Castilian to enjoy the right of residence in Spain’s overseas colonies, and few can have traveled to the New World during those first two centuries. Nevertheless, fragmentary evidence shows small numbers were undoubtedly there. Two Irishmen, Juan and Tomás Farrell, are reputed to have been present at the foundation of Buenos Aires in 1536. Irish soldiers were numbered among the Spanish garrison stationed in Florida in the 1560s. Irish-born priests served among the Jesuit missionaries in South America in the second half of the sixteenth century, while the Iberian-born sons of expatriate Irish families also preached to the congregations of New World missions. Additionally, by the seventeenth century, a small number of Irish plantation owners were found on the South American mainland and in the Caribbean.⁶

It was not long before enterprising navigators attempted to extend Spain’s reach beyond the Atlantic world. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan commenced his daring voyage through as yet undiscovered straits to the south of the Americas in order to reach the riches of the east. A native of Portugal, Magellan was commissioned by King Charles of Spain to plot a path of exploration to the spices of the Indies and was guaranteed a decade-long monopoly over the fruits of his discoveries if his expedition was successful.⁷ In spite of a mutiny at San Julián on the coast of

Patagonia, the bleak site of winter reft and victuals for numerous Spanish and English ships that followed, Magellan's small fleet successfully passed through the strait that now bears his name into the Pacific Ocean. Nearly four months later, having sailed a route across the northern Pacific, with his crew reduced to eating rats, Magellan's caravel *Trinidad* and two accompanying ships reached Guam in the islands later named the Marianas. Sailing further, Magellan made land on the island of Cebu in the Philippines and died there in a skirmish on 27 April 1521.⁸

It is easy to overlook the audacity of Magellan's expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the challenge of recruiting crews for voyages that sailed off the known charts. Historians of the trans-Pacific voyage now estimate that Spaniards comprised only about two-thirds of the crew of Magellan's multiethnic, multilingual fleet. The remainder was a mixture of seamen drawn hastily from the coastal communities of the Mediterranean and northern Europe (including at least one Englishman). Despite the failure of the eight subsequent fleets to replicate Magellan's remarkable achievement, a flourishing trans-Pacific trade eventually developed between Acapulco and Manila, which profoundly influenced the emergence of the early modern global economy.⁹

Irish mariners participated in that arduous Pacific trade, though it is difficult now for us to know the extent of their involvement given the fragmentary evidence available.¹⁰ In December 1709 Edward Cooke, in his journal kept aboard the Englishman Woodes Rogers's private English expedition to seize Spanish galleons on the Manila-Acapulco run, wrote that the privateers had successfully raided and taken command of a small Spanish frigate before they encountered its companion ship, the larger and much better armed ship *Nuestra Señora de Begoña*. This second Spanish vessel proved too much of a challenge for Rogers's three modest ships: "To give the Enemy their Due, they defended themselves very well. But we might as well have fought a Castle of 50 Guns, as this Ship, which had about 40, and, as some of the Prisoners told us, 600 Men, whereof 150 were Europeans, many of them English and Irish, some of which had been formerly Pirates."¹¹ Cooke's description of early eighteenth-century Irish buccaneers now charged with the protection of Spanish treasure raises as many questions as it answers about Irish mariners' backgrounds, recruitment, and the extent of their involvement in the flourishing Manila trade. Who were these men? How many were involved? Were any recruited directly in Ireland? It is possible that the recent intensification of scholarship on early modern Irish-Iberian connections will one day provide answers to these questions. But in any case, whatever the true extent of their involvement

in the maritime trades, it was later, and on land, that Irishmen in the service of Spain did most to shape the Spanish Empire adjacent to the Pacific Ocean.

The mid-eighteenth century, one historian has written, was “Irish hour” in Spain. The appointment of an Irishman (though born in France), Ricardo (Richard) Wall y Devreux, as Spanish secretary of state by Ferdinand VI saw a proliferation of patronage networks that propelled people of Irish descent to positions of significant authority at court, in the army, and in the professions. Irish merchants simultaneously benefited from the power and patronage of their compatriots in the upper echelons of Spanish life. The Irish ascent at court and in the army was visible and aroused indignation among some Spaniards who resented the extent of the Hibernian influence. However, recent studies of the Irish communities in early modern Spain suggest, unsurprisingly, that those on the make were chiefly pragmatic rather than sentimental in their identification with Ireland: they were well and truly conscious of the need to demonstrate that their principal loyalty was to Spain. This translated into a willingness to embrace the trappings of Spanish identity and assert Iberian identity. Telltale markers of ancestry, including Irish names, were abandoned wherever and whenever prudence dictated the need to do so.¹²

Concurrent with the heightened influence of the Irish in Spain was their development in the latter half of the eighteenth century of closer civil, mercantile, and military connections with the Americas. Once again, the evidence is fragmentary, but when pieced together it presents a recognizable picture. On the shores of the Pacific Ocean, an identifiable Irish merchant community was already present in Peru, while Irish-born military officers General Patricio Savage, his brother Juan Savage, and Captain Juan O’Kelly served as high-ranking government magistrates in the viceroyalty. Even better known on the Pacific coast is the Sligo-born émigré Ambrose O’Higgins, who first went to Chile in 1761. Returning to Spain after his first sojourn in the colony, O’Higgins (or Ambrosio Higgins, as he was known in Spanish circles) utilized to the fullest extent Irish patronage networks to be appointed to a series of military positions in Chile. In 1788 he returned to South America to serve as governor of Chile and was later promoted to the influential post of viceroy of Peru.¹³

By the end of the eighteenth century, then, the Spanish Empire on the Pacific coast of South America was home to a small but influential number of officials, merchants, and military officers of Irish birth or Irish descent. The weight of existing scholarship indicates that these individuals neither wore Irishness on their sleeves nor, as the case of O’Higgins/Higgins demonstrates, were they averse to

drawing on ethnic connections and friendships to advance their interests. Their pragmatism and ambition as agents of imperial Spain were pronounced; their non-Spanish origins engendered an assertiveness and determination that seems to have surpassed that of many of their fellow *peninsulares*. In this they found common cause with numbers of Irish then advancing on the Pacific in the service of other European powers. For by the end of the eighteenth century it was Britain and France, more than the Spanish or the Dutch, that were destined to compete for territory and wealth as Europeans laid claim to the Pacific.¹⁴ Indeed, threatened by Britain's expanding commercial interests around the globe, Spain's attention refocused to some extent away from the Pacific Ocean toward consolidation in the Atlantic. To attempt to strengthen the empire, a new Atlantic-oriented administrative unit, the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, was created. The transfer of the Spanish Empire's American treasure chest, the famous silver mine at Potosí, from Peru to the new La Plata prefecture underscored the shift in the balance of power occurring in Spanish South America. Along with the reinforcement of Spain's Atlantic interests, Chile's influence rose at the expense of its once powerful northern neighbor Peru, heightening for a time the importance of the port at Valparaíso in trans-Pacific trade.¹⁵

RAIDERS AND TRADERS

The intrigues, rivalries, and ambitions of the premodern European states began to play themselves out on the waters of the Pacific Ocean even while details of its geography remained largely unknown. Between 1577 and 1580 the English privateer Sir Francis Drake famously circumnavigated the globe in a westerly direction, plundering Spanish treasure along the way. Subsequent voyages by Thomas Cavendish, who arrived in the Pacific via the Straits of Magellan in 1587, and Richard Hawkins, in 1593, met with mixed success. Cavendish seized one Spanish ship and succeeded in circumnavigating the globe, while Hawkins was unceremoniously captured by the Spanish.¹⁶

This burst of early English activity proved to be short lived. The passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific was a treacherous one at the best of times, and with few easy pickings for privateers in the eastern Pacific Ocean at this time, the focus of English maritime activity shifted instead to the more reliable route around Africa to access the riches of Asia.¹⁷ However, this did not mean an abandonment of all English interest in the Pacific. Officially, it meant the subordination of all claims to the powerful East India Company. In 1601, in a rejection of the global division

initiated by the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spanish Pope Alexander VI's late fifteenth-century partition of the world between Spain and Portugal, the East India Company's charter laid claim to all the world "beyond the Cape of *Bona Esperanza* to the Streights of *Magellan* where any Trade or Traffick of Merchandize may be used or had."¹⁸ It was not until 1669 that Charles II finally commissioned a new expedition, led by Captain John Narborough, to pass through the Straits of Magellan and navigate northward along the Chilean coast. That mission, motivated by commercial and geopolitical goals, succeeded in entering the Pacific Ocean but ended in acrimony and embarrassment when an English landing party was seized at Valdivia in November 1670. Narborough's three-hundred-ton HMS *Sweepstakes* returned to London, successfully navigating a passage eastward through the Magellan Strait but having secured neither strategic nor trade advantages.¹⁹

With the Tordesillas agreement circumvented and the Spanish-Portuguese duopoly under challenge, other Europeans also made their move on the riches of the Pacific's trading world. The Dutch decision to allow the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) a monopoly over trade in Southeast Asia provoked bitterness from rival traders and prompted a new series of voyages of exploration. In January 1616 a Dutch seafarer, Jacob Le Maire, intent on challenging the monopoly of the VOC, rounded Cape Horn and sailed west with the intention of reaching the spices of the east. The VOC, in its own right, also promoted exploratory voyages in the western Pacific, the most significant of which was Abel Tasman's important 1642–43 expedition that sighted the coast of Van Diemen's Land (later Tasmania), sailed east to New Zealand, and tracked north to Tonga before returning to Batavia. As was the case with Spain's Manila trade, small numbers of Irish sailors sailed in the service of the VOC, plying their trade from the vibrant port of Batavia to the neighboring ports of East and Southeast Asia.²⁰

Official English interest in Pacific waters east of the Asian mainland halted after Captain Narborough's voyage. In its place came a new round of illicit seafaring. As the ease of pickings diminished for the pirates of the Caribbean, the eastern Pacific Ocean adjacent to the American coastline became a site for the crimes of the buccaneers. As one historian noted, "Their crews were made up of many nationalities, and if Spain was the common enemy this was more often for plain commercial reasons than for political or religious motives."²¹ Ireland's proximity to the Atlantic trading routes and its own long-established tradition of coastal piracy ensured a persistent Hibernian presence among the crews of the

Pacific raiders. However, the line between pirate and legitimate seaman was not set in stone. As we have seen, Irish buccaneers were reported later to be sailing legitimately for Spain. Another among the number of mariners that navigated the fine line of legitimacy was the widely traveled English adventurer William Dampier, whose late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century voyages provided new charts of part of the western Pacific and whose story contributed to an emerging European literature set within the oceanic setting.²²

European audiences responded enthusiastically to swashbuckling tales of adventures at sea. In the early eighteenth century, privateers came increasingly to the fore as heroic maritime figures. Britain's High Court of the Admiralty issued nearly fifteen hundred licenses to private vessels to engage in wartime activity, including attacks on enemy merchantmen. The privateers' exploits were widely publicized and did much to shape early European notions of the Pacific Ocean.²³ Initially, English navigators held the spotlight. Later, rumors of French vessels' increasing trading and raiding successes in Spanish-American waters began to spread among mariners and merchants, arousing jealously and alarm in English ports. In 1708 a Bristol trader, Woodes Rogers, promoted a privately financed expedition to plunder Spanish and French interests along the eastern Pacific Ocean on land and at sea. Recruitment for Rogers's potentially lucrative but dangerous voyage extended to Ireland, with his third mate dispatched there to sign on willing crew members. That mission to procure Irish hands proved to be successful, and soon after embarking from Bristol, Rogers's two raiders, the *Duke* and *Duchess*, landed at Cork, where "there was a general shakeout; and some of the 'ordinary Fellows' and 'fresh-water Sailors' were exchanged for stouter men."²⁴ Of 225 men who arrived on the ships in Cork, 40 deserted or were dismissed while in port, while a total crew of 334 finally sailed after the period of refitting. This suggests Rogers recruited 149 hands while the two ships were in Ireland, a figure in close alignment with Rogers's own statement that "one third of the crewmen were foreigners." This private expedition, which ended in interminable legal action over the distribution of the booty, foreshadowed the inclusion of a significant Irish component in subsequent British voyages of discovery to the Pacific Ocean.²⁵

Before the eighteenth century, Irish contacts with the Pacific Ocean were at best sporadic and fleeting ones. Interest increased in the eighteenth century, as the Pacific loomed larger in the European imagination. Trade and treasure were the principal objectives in Western minds at this time, not the establishment of colonies of settlement. However, the cultural impact of the fragmentary new knowledge

of the Pacific Ocean and its adjacent lands was also important. As one historian observed, “Austral settings or references were becoming commonplace in the literature of a period torn by clashing ideologies and civil conflict. Republicanism, millennialism, utopianism, all could find expression in a world turned upside down.”²⁶ Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, published in London in 1726, revealed one use of the new setting as Lemuel Gulliver, a ship’s surgeon and later captain, and fictional cousin of the late seventeenth-century English adventurer William Dampier, set sail from Bristol on the *Antelope* on a voyage to the South Sea. Traveling onward from the East Indies, the *Antelope* struck rocks northwest of Van Diemen’s Land, the hero swimming ashore on the island of Lilliput.²⁷ Later in the century, as historian Ian McBride has shown, the United Irish leader Wolfe Tone eagerly read works on the Pacific, including Woodes Rogers’s account of his privateering voyage and the widely available accounts of Captain James Cook’s voyages. Tone’s fascination with the Pacific, which was shared by nationalist leaders a century later, contributed to his proposal for the establishment of a British military colony in Hawaii to counter Spanish imperial claims in the Pacific. In August 1788 he wrote to the prime minister, William Pitt, recommending that five hundred men aged under thirty years be selected for a station in the Sandwich Islands to ensure British interests in the event of war and to support the growing fur trade between Asia and North America.²⁸

While seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century European voyagers traversed the ocean, and the European intelligentsia increasingly read about and imagined the Pacific, Western contact with the islands of the oceanic world remained intermittent. Encounters with its indigenous peoples and their lands were even rarer still. As historian Nicholas Thomas pointed out, prior to the second half of the eighteenth century, Europeans other than the Spanish had not made efforts to establish colonies; the ocean, its lands, and its peoples remained more in the realm of speculation than knowledge.²⁹ However, that situation changed after 1750, bringing new levels of geographic certainty about the oceanic world and profound dislocation for the indigenous populations that Europeans encountered. With the intensified European presence came greater numbers of Irish.

IN SEARCH OF SOUTHERN LANDS

For more than a millennium, peoples throughout the Pacific navigated the ocean and established societies on its island shores. They did not do so in isolation. Anthropologist Ben Finney, for example, pointed out the presence of food exchange

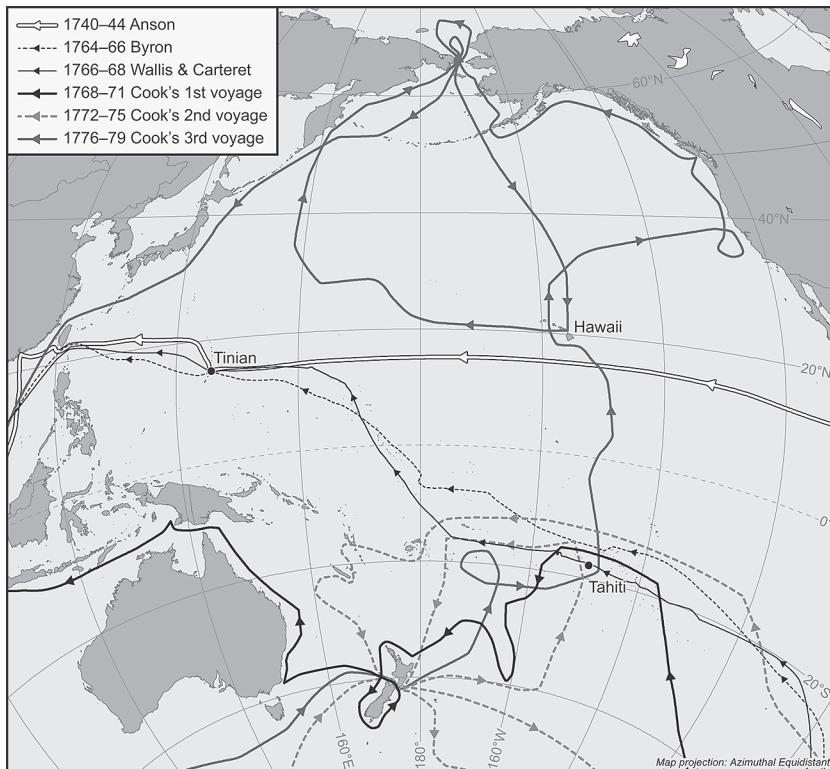
between South America and Polynesian communities. Chinese junks and Japanese fishing vessels established maritime connections across parts of the seascape.³⁰ However, intermittent contacts seem not to have caused an enduring swell. That situation changed toward the end of the eighteenth century. The Seven Years' War (1756–63) is seen by some scholars as the first global war, a conflict that heralded a new era of British imperial ambition and naval activity in the Pacific Ocean.³¹ The previous major English expedition to round Cape Horn, an eight-ship fleet commanded by Captain George Anson, had entered the Pacific in 1741 intent on destabilizing Spanish interests on land and at sea. Anson's powerful fleet, which included six warships and more than two thousand men, many unhealthy soldiers drafted from the infirmary, suffered grievously from miscalculations of longitude and terrible onboard mortality. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the accurate measurement of east–west distance remained a conundrum for mariners, while the ravages of scurvy continued to afflict crews venturing through the largest of the world's waterways. In the end, Anson's mission was largely futile. His own ship, the *Centurion*, was the only one to successfully complete the treacherous rounding into the Pacific Ocean. The seizure of a Spanish treasure ship and a successful circumnavigation of the globe did not atone for the loss of prestige and grievous toll of lives lost at sea.³²

The experience of Anson's ill-fated fleet was not to be repeated. The 1760s heralded a period of intensive maritime activity that left indelible traces across the Pacific, cultural encounters from which there would be no return. First came John Byron's circumnavigation of the globe aboard HMS *Dolphin* between June 1764 and May 1766, which did much to restore English confidence that had suffered so severely a quarter of a century before. Two years later, in what was a significant break with past undertakings, two ships entered the Pacific Ocean with instructions to seek the elusive but long-anticipated southern continent, the frigate HMS *Dolphin*, commanded this time by Captain Samuel Wallis, and HMS *Swallow*, commanded by Lieutenant Philip Carteret.³³ According to the Admiralty's orders, there was "reason to believe that Lands or Islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European Power, may be found in the Southern Hemisphere between Cape Horn and New Zealand, in latitudes convenient for Navigation, and in Climates adapted to the produce of Commodities and useful in Commerce."³⁴

The Pacific expedition of 1767 was that of a Royal Navy—and its maritime technology—in transition. Wallis's frigate was then a state-of the-art vessel, though Carteret's sloop was slow, decrepit, and undermanned. The two ill-matched ships

went separate ways after passing through the Magellan Strait. Carteret initially steered a course to the south of his superior officer, before heading north to East Asia and completing a circumnavigation without encountering the elusive new land. The *Dolphin*, taking at first a more conventional passage, finally made a landfall of lasting significance. Historian Deryck Scarr pointed out: “Isolation, scale, distance, early failures at sea and inability of western science to adjust longitude before the late eighteenth century . . . protected the South Sea as distinct from the northern Pacific.”³⁵ By the mid-1760s, the conditions that had shielded the South Pacific and its peoples from European intrusion were fast disappearing.

On 19 June 1767, short of fresh water and other provisions after four months at sea, the watch on HMS *Dolphin* observed through the haze a land to the southwest. The sighting caused excitement on board as the vessel’s mission appeared



Map 2. British exploration in the Pacific

finally to have been fulfilled. The sailing master, George Robertson, wrote in his journal, "We now supposed we saw the long-wished-for Southern Continent, which has been often talked of, but never before seen by any Europeans."³⁶ However, Robertson's hope that this new land was *Terra Australis Incognita* proved to be unfounded. The *Dolphin* had sighted not the Great South Land but Tahiti, becoming the first British expedition to do so. According to Captain Wallis, thousands gathered on shore as his ships approached, while "the women acted every lewd gesture imaginable" to lure the men ashore. Once the business of naming and claiming the island was completed, Wallis and his crew began to meet Tahitians (see photo 1) and exchange goods with the island population.³⁷ For a brief time, the ship's officers maintained firm discipline as the crew explored the island. Nails proved especially alluring to the Tahitians and were bartered, initially for stores of hogs and exotic fruits and, later, for sexual services. Tahitian elders' attempts to interest the ship's company in the island's women were initially thwarted when a cautious junior officer followed scrupulously his instructions and refused to uplift women to the ship despite the excited pleas of the seamen.³⁸



Photo 1. Interview between Captain Wallis and Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, ca. 1772 (The Photo Art Collection / Alamy Stock Photo, MY39M9)

In the days immediately following this refusal, the ship's discipline seems to have held, and the men were ordered strictly to remain in sight of the vessel while onshore. But on 6 July, while Captain Wallis suffered belowdecks from what the master described as the debilitating effects of "biliary fevers and colics," the ship's order was compromised. Robertson recorded in his journal:

At noon we returned on board and found our traders had but very indifferent success, they only brought off four pigs, a few fowls and some fruit. I was told by one of the Young Gentleman that a new sort of trade took up most of their attention this day, but it might more properly be called the old trade. He says a Dear Irish boy, one of our marines, was the first that begun the trade, for which he got a very severe thrashing from the Liberty men for not beginning in a more decent manner, in some house, or at the back of some bush or tree. Paddy's excuse was the fear of losing the Honor of having the first.³⁹

In the weeks that followed, sexual encounters proliferated as Wallis's crew traded iron for intercourse. Three weeks later, on 27 July, with his threadbare ship stripped almost entirely of its nails and spikes, Captain Wallis finally ordered the *Dolphin* to leave Tahiti.

Unsurprisingly, Pacific historians have devoted a great deal of attention to analyzing the *Dolphin*'s landfall in Tahiti and have assigned various meanings to the early contacts between the islanders and the ship's crew. Historian Anne Salmond offered a new and illuminating interpretation of encounters on the Tahitian shoreline when she showed the ways Europeans' preconceptions colored their reading of the island population's behavior. Acts by Tahitian women that the European crew understood as sexual provocation were in fact signs of derision, she contends. Europeans, who were "oblivious to these cosmological implications," badly misinterpreted the taunting.⁴⁰ Salmond also strips from the Irish marine Paddy the honor of being the first to transgress the sexual barrier, asserting from her reading of the historical record that sexual acts occurred on several occasions prior to his public act of fornication.⁴¹

Even if no longer regarded as the instigator of the sexual trade on Tahiti, the Irish marine Paddy's intrusion on the historical record is significant as evidence of, and a stark metaphor for, the Irish presence and participation in the colonization of the Pacific. When HMS *Dolphin* laid anchor in Tahitian waters it was, as Pacific voyages of all kinds from Magellan on had been, multiethnic and multilingual.

Much attention has rightly been devoted in the last generation of historical writing to recognizing the presence and acknowledging the agency of the peoples of the Pacific on the beaches where they encountered Europeans. Great importance has been attached since the historical profession's "cultural turn" to attempts to read against the grain and pose the question of how indigenous communities understood their interactions with European newcomers. Greg Dening, Anne Salmond, and Nicholas Thomas, each distinguished historians of the Pacific, have been at the forefront of disciplinary engagements of this kind. But perhaps it is now possible to say that the European interlopers have not been so well served. Historians have been reminded of the need to narrate not just what the mariners (thought they) saw but to commence "wrestling with the forces in eighteenth-century society and culture that shaped their 'vision.'"⁴² This injunction poses for historians of the *Dolphin* voyage and subsequent British expeditions a further challenging question—whose eighteenth-century society?

The Royal Navy of the late eighteenth century has been interpreted either as an instrument that served an assimilatory function within the broader project of the creation and consolidation of British identity or, less satisfactorily, as a microcosm of Georgian England. The crew of the *Dolphin*, an amalgam of shadowy individuals drawn from regions across England, Scotland, Ireland, and beyond, belie the presence of any uniform worldview or homogeneous culture. Historians' estimates for the proportion of Irish-born men in Royal Navy crews at the end of the eighteenth century vary considerably, with some older studies suggesting that approximately 12 percent of officers and 13 percent of the seamen and marines housed below deck were Hibernian natives.⁴³ Recent Irish scholarship casts doubt on the general validity of those figures. Pointing to the large-scale increase in Irish recruitment into the British military after the Seven Years' War, Ian McBride suggests the Irish constituted between 20 percent and 30 percent of Royal Navy personnel at the end of the eighteenth century, with at least twenty-four thousand serving by 1797. Recruitment posters in Irish language in the years after the war underscore the importance of Irish labor in the expansion of the armed services.⁴⁴ But who exactly were these men? What were their likely regional origins and what was the intellectual world from which they came?

The *Dolphin*'s arrival in Tahiti coincided with a period of rapid transformation in Ireland. Whereas the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed stable population levels and slow rates of economic growth, the period from 1750 until the end of the Napoleonic Wars proved to be a time of remarkable transformation.

Ireland's population doubled to reach nearly five million by 1800, a rapid rate of increase even by contemporary European standards. National income increased fivefold between 1730 and 1815 driven by strong demand for agricultural exports and manufactured goods, especially in wartime, and income from linen exports. With economic growth came changes we associate with the more commercial orientation of the economy—an increase in the proportion of the population resident in urban centers, heightened investment in transportation by canals and roads, and the emergence of new banks and trading markets. At the same time, increased wealth brought greater purchasing power to Irish households and, even if modestly so, exposure to English markets and cultural influence. While greater interdependence with British society and economy was felt across the island, the broad cultural process of anglicization that affected Ireland was most pronounced in the more economically advanced regions of Ulster and Leinster.⁴⁵

If in the second half of the eighteenth century the trajectory was set toward a modern, more commercially oriented, and anglicized Ireland, much of the belief and practice of premodern Ireland remained alive up to the 1798 rising, and further west, to the time of the Irish Famine of the 1840s. In the two decades either side of the 1801 Act of Union, this was visible in the sporadic and violent outbursts of agrarian protestors such as the Whiteboys, in the dogged persistence of popular religion, and in the survival of a range of other folkways attuned to the Gaelic oral rather than the English written world. Across much of the land, late eighteenth-century Ireland defied easy assimilation into an emerging British state or identity. English travelers in Ireland commented frequently on the extent of regional diversity they encountered and the ways the countryside seemed a very different place from their homeland on the other side of the Irish Sea.⁴⁶

If late eighteenth-century Ireland was the setting for a struggle between modernizing and antimodernizing tendencies, so the Irish population bore at times sharply divergent attitudes to incorporation in an overarching British identity and recruitment for Britain's imperial pursuits. For Protestant Irishmen, the situation tended to be relatively straightforward: Ireland was part of the British world. Most found accommodation with and within the global British Empire agreeable. Well-to-do Catholics, merchants, and minor gentry, even where concerned by restrictions based on religion, frequently recognized the social and economic benefits attendant on the British connection and negotiated their ways between modern Britain and modernizing Ireland. However, for the majority of poor, rural Catholic Irish, British identity was not readily embraced, a point understood by continental armies

that continued to recruit Irishmen in large numbers for military service up to the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷

The *Dolphin*'s Paddy and his Irish shipmates were products of the tumultuous half century of economic and social change that preceded the Act of Union. Reason suggests that most sailors were recruits from Ireland's eastern and southern port towns, familiar with the sea and often versed in its ways. Marines were likely a more diverse group. Studies of Irish involvement in the British army in the early nineteenth century suggest assorted motives were at play in the decision to enlist for military service, ranging from poverty to the search for adventure.⁴⁸ Whatever their exact circumstances, the *Dolphin*'s Irish contingent foreshadowed the presence of other mobile Irishmen in the maritime exploration of the ocean, including crew members on Captain James Cook's subsequent voyages to the Pacific. Ample evidence attests to Irish seamen's presence on those well-documented expeditions, even if numbers and origins have not been determined with certainty. As was typical of Irish Royal Naval enlistments overall, most of Cook's Irishmen who have been identified hailed from the south, particularly Cork and its hinterland, or from the principal east coast maritime centers. For example, at least four Irishmen were aboard the *Endeavour* during its voyage from 1768 to 1771: Timothy Reardon, a twenty-five-year-old from County Cork who died at Batavia in December 1770; John Reading, a twenty-four-year-old boatswain's mate, originally from Kinsale, County Cork; Joseph Childs, twenty-nine, a ship's cook from Dublin; and most famously, twenty-four-year-old John Marra, also a sailor from Cork.

Though for the most part these young men appear only fleetingly in the historical record, the most interesting, John Marra, was determined to leave his mark. Like so many others before and after him who ventured to Ireland's farthest shores, Marra's journey to the Pacific Ocean was a circuitous one. He was a late-comer to the *Endeavour* who joined the crew at Batavia in December 1770, perhaps as a replacement for the lately deceased Timothy Reardon. Marra was a welcome recruit at that stage of the passage: an experienced mariner who had served extensively on the ships of the VOC. As Cook would later testify, Marra was "an Irishman by birth, a good Seaman and Sail'd both in the English and Dutch service."⁴⁹ Having returned to Europe with the *Endeavour*, Marra then signed on to sail with Cook on his second voyage, only to have a late change of heart when he attempted to desert in London. Restored to the ship's company, he did sail on the refitted collier *Resolution* from Sheerness, although his later actions suggest his embarkation to have been an ambivalent one. He leapt overboard and swam for shore when the

Resolution departed from Tahiti but was fished out of the water and put in irons until well out of land's reach. Marra's next attempt to desert was in New Zealand, and earned him one dozen lashes, a modest penalty for his offence. J. C. Beaglehole, the doyen of Cook scholars, cited Cook's benign treatment of Marra's attempts at desertion as a sign of the great navigator's wisdom and mercy, his ability to empathize with the common sailor. "When I considered the situation of the Man in life I did not think him so culpable as it may at first appear," Cook wrote with sympathy when Marra was released from irons after Tahiti. Yet it is also clear that the Irishman Marra was an enigma, very different in temperament to most of his crewmates. Cook mused, "I never learnt that he had either friends or connections to confine him to any particular part of the world, all Nations were alike to him, where then can such a Man spend his days better than at one of these Isles where he can enjoy all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life in ease and Plenty."⁵⁰

In examining these episodes, the historian Beaglehole's focus was on Cook. The navigator's benign treatment of Marra may have constituted, as he proposed, evidence of Cook's wisdom and benevolence. But what do these encounters reveal of the Irishman Marra, this persistently disruptive sailor whose personality and behavior occupied a good deal of Cook's attention? He was a restless man, not beholden to any part of the world, a sailor of no firm commitment or discernible national identity—"all Nations were alike to him." We also know well that Marra bore a literate and cosmopolitan streak that set him apart from the crowd. Much to Cook's consternation, in 1776 he published an anonymous account in London and Dublin of the *Resolution's* voyage, enigmatically mentioning himself by name from time to time, on other occasions hiding himself in third-person references. It is a book unmistakably informed by Marra's particular social background and knowledge of Ireland. Marra observes the Pacific and its peoples through distinctive eyes—as one scholar suggested, an anthropologist's eyes—as where he compares Tahitians and the "wild Irish."

As soon as a native of Otaheite is known to be dead, the house, says the writer of the *Endeavour's* voyage, is filled with relations, who deplore the loss, some by loud lamentations, and some by less clamorous, but more genuine expressions of grief. Those who are in the nearest degree of kindred, and are really affected by the event, are silent; the rest are one moment uttering passionate exclamations in chorus, and the next laughing and talking, without the least appearance of concern: and here we

cannot help remarking, that this description is equally applicable to the wild Irish, as to the people for whom it was written, for no description can be nearer the truth.⁵¹

The comparison with the “wild Irish,” the inhabitants of an oral-Gaelic world in slow retreat, the antithesis of the international maritime world Marra now occupied, at once captures both Marra’s familiarity with and his sense of distance from Ireland. Marra, the man beholden to no nation, crew member for English or Dutch, viewed the Pacific as a European of his age *and* as an Irishman.

Historian John Gascoigne has recently pointed out that the situation on Cook’s expeditions was not one where Irish sailors were simply added to the company by chance or circumstance. Cook’s ships, like the late eighteenth-century Royal Navy in general, were communities where the presence of an amalgam of identities, cultures, and languages was at the heart of the very enterprise: “Cook’s ships were themselves microcosms of a state that had become Great Britain rather than simply England. On the *Resolution*, for example, the crew consisted of sixty-one English, eight Scottish, seven Irish and five Welsh (along with five Americans and one German). . . . War, then, brought together and imparted a national identity to these far-flung residents of the British Isles and even strengthened the use of English—especially for those from the Celtic lands whose first language may have been Welsh or Scottish or Irish Gaelic.”⁵² While there is little doubt as to the correctness of this trajectory, it was a work in progress. The rate of integration was variable. In fact, just as different languages, different measures of literacy, different religions, and different folk traditions and beliefs were present on Cook’s voyages, so they formed part of the colonial seed as Europeans moved from sea to land and from land to land in the Pacific Anglo-world.

ANTIPODEAN FOUNDATIONS

James Cook’s voyages marked the culmination of several centuries of European voyaging in the Pacific and prefaced a century of staggering transformation for its peoples and landscapes. In 1788, eighteen years after Cook set foot on the Australian east coast at Botany Bay, a penal colony was established at New South Wales. Strategic concerns, commercial motives, the desire to procure raw materials for the Royal Navy, and the necessity of finding a solution to criminal overcrowding in Britain all feature among historians’ explanations for the decision in 1787 to proceed with the new penal settlement. While the most obvious explanation, Britain’s inability to deal satisfactorily with its rising number of incarcerated

men and women, remains persuasive, the occupation of eastern Australia is more effectively understood when account is also taken of strategic considerations and the wider perspective of Britain's position in the Pacific.⁵³

The arrival of Captain Arthur Phillip's first fleet in the late eighteenth century occurred within the context of a newly charted, better understood, and soon-to-be more intensely connected Pacific Ocean. On its most western fringes, where the East India Company had long laid claim to control trading action in the Pacific, a sense of pessimism prevailed in the 1780s as politicians in London argued about and legislated for the company's future. John Stone, a council member at Madras and a longtime India hand of Irish connections, wrote to an acquaintance at home deeply disillusioned at the future prospects for the East India Company: "Although I formerly looked on the Company's service as one of the best provisions that could be made for a young man yet the present unsettled and fluctuating state of their affairs, the channel into which they have lately been thrown together with the little prospect there is again of their being established on a permanent and solid footing, has forced me to alter my opinion and to lay aside all thought of suffering my son to come to India."⁵⁴ Frustrated by company affairs and pained by the long and lonely separation from his children, Stone departed in 1777 to return to Britain. His pessimism proved premature, and East Indiamen would soon be engaged in vigorous trade with Britain's newest possession in the south.

Small numbers of Irish arrived in East Asia. In 1793 Antrim-born, Trinity College-educated George Macartney, a former governor of Madras, led the first British mission to establish an embassy in China. Though Macartney's mission did not succeed in securing trading privileges, it set the scene for developments during the nineteenth century as the European powers demanded expanded commercial opportunities. British sponsorship of the opium trade in China culminated in the Opium Wars of 1839–42. In their wake, Chinese concessions included the establishment of new "treaty ports" that facilitated the presence of British and other European merchants who operated with the protections of extraterritoriality. Following Western gains in China, Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in Japan in July 1853, which conveyed an ultimatum to Japan to open itself to world trade, precipitated a period of intense reform and economic modernization. For both China and Japan, conflict with European nations shaped in myriad ways the next century and a half of engagement with the Pacific and their neighbors in that oceanic space.⁵⁵ While in the coming century the Irish presence would be most strongly concentrated in a Pacific Anglo-world stretching from California to

Australia, East Asian states continued to host small numbers of mobile Irish men and women.

Half a world away, on South America's Pacific coast, the late eighteenth century saw a discernible increase in the size and economic influence of the Anglophone population. With the coming of the peace in Europe in 1815, contemporaries observed the expansion of the English merchant class in Valparaiso and a sharp boost in trade. John Miers, traveling in South America, thought accounts of Valparaiso's size and grandeur a little exaggerated. Like other port cities, it nurtured "much low life and debauchery," but its foreign trade "was almost exclusively in the hands of Englishmen."⁵⁶ Even if squalid and unattractive, Valparaiso was a port on the make, a place to do serious business. The value of direct trade between Britain and Valparaiso increased steeply at war's end, rising fivefold from £32,000 in 1818 to £162,000 in 1823.⁵⁷ However, the merchants of Valparaiso were well aware that an even more lucrative trade was available through trans-Pacific connections with India. It did not take long to realize that the presence of the newly established British colonies on the eastern Australian coast would enliven appreciably the opportunities for trans-Pacific commerce.

Even prior to the foundation of the Australian penal settlement, therefore, small numbers of Irish-born bureaucrats, military men, and merchants were resident around the perimeter of the Pacific Ocean. The establishment of the antipodean penal colony provided a major impetus for an increase in their numbers, in addition to the sizeable number of Irish-born men and women to be transported as felons to the far side of the world. From the perspective of Dublin Castle, the timing of the penal colony's establishment could not have been more fortuitous. Scarcely had Captain Arthur Phillip's first fleet arrived, and its convicts been put to work, than the first contingent of prisoners was dispatched directly from Ireland. While a few, convicted in English courts, had been sent out from Britain on the earliest ships, the initial prisoners transported directly from Ireland were dispatched from Cobh aboard the *Queen* in 1791. On that ship were some 133 male convicts, 22 females, and 4 children of convict women; the felons ranged in age from eleven to sixty-four. Subsequent shipments of convicts followed close on the heels of the United Irishmen's 1798 rising and the epidemic of agrarian violence that took hold across Ireland at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.⁵⁸

The port of Sydney quickly became the hub for the extensive Irish presence in the western Pacific. In all, nearly forty thousand convicts were sent direct from Ireland to eastern Australia, including the island colony of Van Diemen's Land

(Tasmania), in the period until 1853. Estimates suggest another twelve thousand were transported from Britain, having been convicted of crimes by English and Scottish courts. Together, these two strands, plus small numbers of political prisoners transported to Western Australia following the Fenian rising in 1867, saw the Irish-born comprise about one-quarter of all convicts transported to the Australian colonies.⁵⁹ In addition to the convict population, Irish men featured in military regiments and the colonial establishment, the more so after Catholic emancipation in 1829 opened a variety of legal and administrative posts to talented Irishmen previously excluded from those appointments. Smaller numbers of free settlers and assisted immigrants also ventured to eastern Australia, particularly as attempts were made to recruit greater numbers of women to redress the stark gender imbalance of the early colonial years. As a result of these measures, by 1846, on the eve of Ireland's Great Famine, the Irish-born comprised nearly one-quarter of the population along Australia's Pacific seaboard, this remarkable figure taking no account of the first and second generation of Australian-born descendants of Irish parents. By way of contrast, at the corresponding time, the Irish-born comprised approximately 5 percent of the U.S. population.⁶⁰

From mid-century an increasing number of Irish passed through Australia to New Zealand. In November 1840 Queen Victoria signed the royal charter to create the colony of New Zealand, formally severing the newest Crown acquisition from its connection to the convict-tainted Australian settlement at New South Wales. Six months later, on 3 May 1841, Waterford-born William Hobson took the oath as the first governor of New Zealand. Hobson received his instructions from the secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Normanby (Constantine Henry Phipps), who had returned only recently to London from his previous posting as lord lieutenant of Ireland. Normanby had won praise during his tenure at Dublin Castle, Daniel O'Connell writing that he was "an excellent man. . . . I tell you there cannot be a better."⁶¹ It seems likely Normanby played a significant role in drafting New Zealand's royal charter, which decreed that the infant colony should be divided into three provinces: New Ulster (the North Island), New Munster (the South Island); and New Leinster (Stewart Island) (see photo 2).⁶²

New Zealand's North Island, New Ulster, became a site of pronounced Irish presence, even before mid-century. British army regiments stationed in the colony drew heavily on Irish recruits, a sizeable number of whom remained in the colony when discharged. In fact, 54.4 percent of all discharged soldiers from regiments stationed in New Zealand in 1845–46 were Irishmen. A statistical study drawing



Seal of the province of New Ulster



Seal of the province of New Munster

Photo 2. Seals of the New Zealand provinces (A. H. McLintock, *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand* [Wellington, 1958])

on Auckland death registers from the 1840s yields a similar picture, suggesting an Irish population that was in excess of one-third of the provincial total. In religious terms, Roman Catholics constituted 55 percent of New Zealand's Irish immigrants in the period from 1840 to 1852, members of the Church of Ireland slightly over one quarter, with the remainder evenly split between Presbyterians and Irish of other Protestant denominations.⁶³ Despite the large component of military settlers, not all who took their place in New Zealand's nascent Pākeha (European) population were imperial footmen. By mid-century, signs were already evident of a prosperous Irish population comprising a relatively high proportion of Ulster-born. James Dilworth, born into a Church of Ireland family in Dunseark, County Tyrone, in 1815, arrived in the antipodes in 1838 "to look about and ascertain where his capital could most profitably be put into land."⁶⁴ Like so many of his compatriots who settled finally in New Zealand, James Dilworth went first to Sydney but did not remain there long. He journeyed on to New Zealand in 1841, arriving in Auckland in the midst of a frenzy of land speculation. Dilworth initially took a post as clerk to his recently appointed compatriot, Governor William Hobson, before taking a position with the fledgling New Zealand Banking Company. James Dilworth's enterprise soon demanded wider challenges, and a collapse in property prices heralded his energetic entry into the Auckland property market. By 1844 James had spent over £200 purchasing land on the Auckland isthmus. Shrewd seizure of opportunities in subsequent years ensured that by the time of his death in 1894 his estate was valued at the remarkable sum of £150,000.⁶⁵ In the years that followed, hundreds of compatriots followed in Dilworth's tracks and made their way to the Shaky Isles; as we will see, the discovery of gold in the 1860s would only add to New Zealand's appeal for Irish newcomers.

MANIFEST DESTINY

In the eighteenth century, Irishman George Berkeley foreshadowed the rise of a new golden age in America for humankind when he wrote, "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way." While Europe withered, Berkeley announced, a new civilization was on the verge of fulfillment, a society greater than all of those that had preceded it. "The four first Acts already past / A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day / Time's noblest Offspring is the last."⁶⁶ If European states, most notably Spain and Britain, first brought empire to the lands on the edge of the ocean, the nineteenth century saw the arrival of a new, formidable, and ambitious American empire reaching west to the Pacific. As with the preceding imperial enterprises

that touched the ocean, the Irish were participants in this era of conquest and expansion.

The Pacific coast of North America never figured large in Spanish colonial plans. Not until 1769, the year before James Cook set foot on the east coast of Australia, did Spain finally occupy the site of today's city of San Diego. The neglect did not end there. Spanish cartographers initially missed San Francisco Bay altogether. When Spain's strategic interest in the Pacific Northwest did finally arise, it was reactionary and defensive; expanding British and Russian interest in the northern Pacific necessitated a response and brought the coast into play as a strategic bulwark against the ambitions of the other European powers. Yet by this late stage, Spain was unable to stamp its Pacific presence with any authority. As one historian put it, "In effect, Alta California was an island throughout most of the colonial period, dependent solely on occasional ships from New Spain."⁶⁷ The independence movement that rocked the Spanish empire in the Americas in the first two decades of the nineteenth century sapped Spanish power and removed any further prospect for northern expansion.

Though the Spanish empire was diminished, other developments in European politics set the stage for America's westward expansion. The signing of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 enabled the United States to take ownership from France of a vast, vaguely defined territory extending from the line of the Mississippi River west to the mountains. No one quite knew the lay of the land or the wealth it contained. How was this land to be incorporated into the nation? Lewis and Clark's expedition from Illinois to the Pacific coast and back between 1804 and 1806 provided glimpses of the vast domain now in American hands and fueled favorable public sentiment toward the West. Expansion across the continent figured large in the national imagination.⁶⁸ However, the barriers to overland passage were formidable. While that conundrum remained to be solved, America announced itself throughout the Pacific by sea. The United States Exploring Expedition from 1838 to 1842, under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, circumnavigated the globe proclaiming the nation's arrival as an international force to be reckoned with. Charting parts of the Pacific Northwest and Antarctica, and sailing through Polynesia to Australia and New Zealand, the expeditionary fleet staked for the first time America's claims as a participant in the making of a new Pacific world.⁶⁹

Sustained settlement on the West Coast took longer. Rebellion in Texas in 1836 had raised pressing questions about the future of the United States, its western lands, states' rights, slavery, and the terms of any new territory's incorporation into

the national polity. In politics, the Democrat James K. Polk's narrow election as president in 1844 confirmed a policy of national expansion; conquest of the West was now proclaimed the nation's manifest destiny, and military force would be used to secure the nation's territorial ambitions on the West Coast. In tandem with the exhortation to expand westward, from the early 1840s adventurous souls began in significant numbers to travel the treacherous overland trails to Oregon, the prized agricultural land west of the great divide. Though individuals and individualism figure prominently in national mythology, as historians Robert Hine and John Mack Faragher demonstrated, this westering expansion and the planting of a population relied heavily on the federal government and its resources.⁷⁰ This passage westward established durable cultural filaments with the plains and mountains, even as the West Coast turned its curious eyes toward the Pacific Ocean.

Irish families soon joined this westward movement. Among the best remembered of the westward migrants was Martin Murphy, who was born in Wexford in 1785. Murphy and his family immigrated to North America in 1820, part of the heavy outflow from Ireland during the difficult economic years in the immediate wake of the Napoleonic Wars. The family settled first in Frampton, Quebec, which quickly became home to a large contingent of Irish families, Roman Catholic and Protestant. Deterred by the poor quality of the soil, in 1842 the family moved south via Kingston, Buffalo, and Cleveland to try again in Missouri, purchasing land near Saint Louis. Transience was common among immigrants seeking agricultural prosperity, and by 1844 the Murphy family was on the move again. Martin Murphy, then aged sixty, his five sons, and two daughters formed the nucleus of a party that set out overland for California. One year later, having made the arduous mountain crossing, the party arrived on the Pacific coast and secured an extensive landholding in what was still at that time Mexican territory. The subsequent discovery of gold saw the value of the family's property increase dramatically; at this time, too, numerous relatives and acquaintances from Frampton traveled via Panama to take up land near the Murphy family's holdings.⁷¹

While some Irish traveled west seeking land, a larger number came toward the Pacific in the middle decades of the nineteenth century in the service of the expanding American state. For newcomers arriving on the crowded Atlantic seaboard during the period of the Great Famine, service in the military offered a release from destitution in the cities and a regular wage. The result was a concentration of Irish-born in government service that persisted beyond the Civil War years. In fact, as late as 1870, fully one-third of the U.S. army stationed in California was

of Irish birth, a figure far in excess of their proportion of the total population.⁷² Work in other occupations also lured the Irish into the West, sometimes as far as the Pacific coast. Thousands of Irish laborers—many ex-military men—took work in crews constructing the railroads that linked the new territories with the nation's urban and industrial heartland. Others took to the backbreaking work of mining metals in the country's western third.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the territorial boundaries of the eastern Pacific coast were settled, closing the circle on an Irish presence that now extended right around the anterior of the Pacific Ocean. In February 1848 the United States and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, drawing to a close the Mexican-American War. In return for the modest financial consideration, Mexico ceded to the United States great tracts of country north of the Rio Grande, including present-day California. While Britain retained a stretch of Pacific coastline north of Vancouver Island, the United States now laid claim to the breadth of the continent from the Mexican border to the forty-ninth parallel. Yet even as Mexico ceded its former territory, the West Coast remained sparsely populated by Europeans. Despite the treks of brave overland parties, the population on the West Coast remained small.

The population would not remain small for much longer. Simultaneously with the catastrophe of Ireland's Great Famine, gold was discovered in the California territory in 1848. California's pre-gold-rush population of approximately fourteen thousand rose sixfold in the space of two years as fortune seekers rushed to the West Coast by land and sea.⁷³ Their hunger for gold would begin to transform not only California but also the wider Pacific world, contributing to an era of exponential population increase, rapid economic growth, and urbanization in which the lands that bordered the ocean drew more closely together and new webs of connection developed between the Irish populations that resided there.

Colonial Contacts and Island Encounters

In the two and a half centuries between Magellan's westward passage and Captain James Cook's sequence of remarkable voyages, the Irish-born experienced only sparse and intermittent contact with the lands and peoples of the Pacific's vast expanse. Some passed through on treacherous voyages of circumnavigation, never to return. Others, including those who served the great English and Dutch trading companies, put down sea anchors that slowed their momentum but did not halt their drift. Few sought or found secure and permanent moorings at the peninsulas, islands, and beaches far from the Irish homeland. The frequency and intensity of these Irish encounters with the Pacific Ocean then gradually increased, rising concurrently with Europeans' resurgent interest in oceanic exploration after the Seven Years' War. But before 1788 and the permanent establishment of a sizeable Irish-born population at the penal colony in New South Wales, it is premature to speak of the Irish presence anywhere in this oceanic space as constituting migration or settlement according to any conventional use of those words. Those who came before then were typically adventurous or ambitious individuals who seized on the opportunities that presented themselves as Europeans expanded their influence into the farthest corners of the world.

That limited and sporadic presence changed from the late eighteenth century as Europe's territorial aspirations and advances in shipping and navigational technology transformed the nature and pace of Western involvement. A new era of mobility, contact, and encounter commenced for Irish-born men and women and those of Irish descent. Some found permanent posts as cogs in the new bureaucracies that controlled the era of Western expansion; others were on board the cutters and dinghies that brought the first European landing parties ashore on the islands

across the ocean. However, just as the broadest picture of the encounter between Europe and the Pacific Ocean is marked by great variations and nuances, so the more intimate story of the Irish involvement in the years from initial contact to the middle of the nineteenth century is elusive and difficult to tell with confidence. Where do the Irish, legatees of their own long history of conquest and dispossession, fit into the story of the colonization of the Pacific? In what ways, if any, did their encounters on the shores of the Pacific transform the Irish? Is it possible to differentiate the experiences of the Irish from those of other westerners involved in the assertion of political and economic control because of their own history of conquest and resistance? Finally, in what ways, if at all, does the history of Irish men and women in this Pacific world affect our wider understandings of colonial relationships?

This chapter investigates these questions through an examination of the scattered, largely unsettled, and frequently intrepid Irish men and women who entered the Pacific world as participants in colonial encounters from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. It is a challenging task, as no previous study has even undertaken a reckoning of the numbers, locations, identities, or occupations of the Irish who gravitated to the Pacific Ocean in this period. Yet despite the lacunae, the historical record provides frequent glimpses of their presence. Pacific historians have written many outstanding accounts of colonial contact, and detailed histories exist of early trading in commodities, including the richly prized sandalwood, copra, and *bêche de mer*. The Irish-born appear frequently as intermittent actors in these accounts, just as they do in many biographical portraits of the nineteenth-century Pacific. Seminal texts on beachcombers, those early European arrivals who attached themselves to indigenous communities, make frequent reference to the presence of the Irish-born. Histories of Christian missions in the Pacific likewise testify to the presence of the Irish, even if not as prominently as they do to God's messengers of other European nationalities. Maritime histories and accounts of British military regiments provide additional indicators of the breadth of the Irish engagement in this Pacific world. Together, these historical and literary accounts provide abundant pointers to the diversity and extent of the Irish presence, whether as beachcombers or convicts on the run, ex-whaler crew members or old South Sea hands, enterprising traders or fervent missionaries, imperial functionaries or spirited adventurers. All of these, and more, form the cast for the Irish presence in the Pacific up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

PACIFIC PERIPHERIES

It will do as well as anywhere to start on the perimeter of the Pacific Ocean and work toward the center. By the late eighteenth century, Irish administrators, military men, and enterprising merchants were located in significant numbers right around the northern and western continental periphery of the Pacific. In India, where the English East India Company maintained its centuries-old claim to Pacific trading entitlements, the Wellesley brothers, Arthur, first Duke of Wellington, and Richard, stood at the forefront of Anglo-Irishmen charged with the administration of Britain's imperial jewel. The Wellesleys were descendants of a transplanted Old English family that had experienced its own bout of insecurity, stripped of its estates during the reign of Charles I only to fight and have them restored by Charles II. Described by one historian as possessing a happy combination of resourcefulness and luck, by the 1760s the family stood on the lower rungs of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and bore hallmarks sometimes seen as common of first-generation immigrant families: intense ambition and a determination to move higher on the social ladder. The brothers were initially educated in Ireland and then sent at considerable expense to Eton, securing connections that would serve them well in subsequent years. Yet Ireland remained important, and once in imperial service the brothers stood at the center of networks of Irish compatriots charged with the day-to-day functioning of empire.¹ In fact, throughout his career, which included an appointment as lord lieutenant in Ireland from December 1821, Richard Wellesley maintained ardent concern over the necessity to achieve political reform and religious equality in Ireland.²

The Wellesley brothers were standouts on the imperial stage. Outside the spotlight in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries stood numerous younger sons of Irish Protestant families, denied opportunities to inherit land in fast-changing and economically stressed Ireland, destined for service in the name of empire and the prospect of attaining wealth and independence abroad. For example, Arthur Henry Cole, fourth son of the Earl of Enniskillen, was sent with the blessing of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Cornwallis, to a posting in India in 1801. "I scarcely feel the least regret at leaving home and almost persuade myself that India is my native country," he wrote to his sister on the eve of his departure from London to take up his longed-for position as a writer for the East India Company at Madras.³ On arrival in India, he soon met Richard Wellesley, who "proved himself the same worthy fellow I always thought him." However, for Cole there were no shortcuts to wealth, promotion, or a quick return to Ireland; within weeks of

his disembarkation, he realized the attainment of independence would entail a lengthy and painful separation from family and friends. As he wrote to his sister, Lady Florence Balfour, "The idea is heartbreaking but I make the best of it, as I am sure I could never have done so well at home, or if I had staid there, have ever been considered in any other light than as a child at least by my brothers."⁴ In fact, Cole's Indian career lasted more than a quarter of a century, including a term as resident at Mysore, before his return to Ireland and a career in London in parliamentary politics. Yet Irish origins and distinguished imperial careers did not translate into synonymous political outlooks or religious sympathies. While Richard Wellesley was a consistent supporter of the cause of Catholic emancipation, Arthur Cole was an Orangeman, conservative, and a strenuous advocate of the Protestant cause in Ireland.



Map 3. India and the Western Pacific

At the end of the eighteenth century, India provided a crucial base for the extension of Britain's influence in the western Pacific. We have already seen the passage from India of George Macartney, charged in 1793 with leading the first British mission to establish an embassy in China. From Calcutta, ships traveled the routes to the trading ports of East and Southeast Asia. After the establishment of the penal settlement at New South Wales in January 1788, those trade networks expanded further south to encompass the newly occupied penal colony and the subsequent British settlement at Van Diemen's Land. Testifying to the Irish presence at sea, several Irish ship's captains sailed these western Pacific maritime routes and frequented the port in Sydney; other Irish served as crew on those ships. One such officer was Anthony Burnsides, who from 1799 to 1806 commanded the vessels *Phoenix* and *Clyde* on trading expeditions from India to Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. In 1808, following allegations that he had engaged in piracy, Burnsides sailed from Calcutta for the last time, bound for Australia on a ship of his own, the *Hibernia*. He remained in Sydney until November 1809, developing connections with local merchants while his ship worked the lucrative trading route to the Fiji islands. The Irish mariner Peter Dillon, reputedly a former member of Burnsides's crew and subsequently a close acquaintance, wrote that his former captain had accumulated a fortune approaching £30,000 and departed Sydney "to end his days among his friends on the banks of the Liffey, . . . an object poor Burnsides had always kept in view: it was the goal of his long and arduous exertions; a subject to which he constantly reverted." Unfortunately, Burnsides did not fulfill his dream to stand alongside the Liffey. His vessel for the voyage home, the five-hundred-ton *Boyd*, was involved in an infamous encounter with Māori in New Zealand's north island in which all but four of the European passengers were killed.⁵

While some Irish men, including Peter Dillon, moved irregularly between the eastern Australian settlements and India, a small number migrated permanently from southern Asia to gain land in the infant penal colony of New South Wales.⁶ Brothers Henry and Cornelius O'Brien were among the most prominent of these arrivals and benefited from the generous land grants and assignment of convict labor then available to respectable immigrants with capital. Their uncle, William Browne of County Galway, wrote to an acquaintance in Ireland that there were far greater opportunities for social advancement in this colony than his family could possibly have enjoyed in Ireland. He believed that his nephews were "comfortably situated, and satisfied with their situation, and [I] have only to regret that my poor old mother did not live to enjoy the satisfaction it would give her to see her family

so eligibly situated." Four years later, as the brothers began to build large landholdings in pastureland to the south of the Australian colony, he expressed delight at the "flattering prospects of certain prosperity which this new and fine country holds out to such of them as may not be able to establish themselves eligibly elsewhere."⁷

Despite different career choices and points of final destination, Arthur Cole and the O'Brien brothers shared strongly the frustration born of the constraints of Ireland's late eighteenth-century economy and society. Emigration to a post in the colonial service or the purchase of a landholding within the empire offered the prospect of escape from what seemed too often the restrictive and frivolous world of family and emasculating dependence on family benevolence. However, reality in the Raj or on the pastoral frontiers of the emerging white Anglo-world was often less romantic or liberating than these ambitious young men had first imagined. Sentimental ties to family and lifelong friends at home remained strong; partly for this reason, the harsh world of the colonial outpost is portrayed sometimes in morose and extremely moving terms in letters to loved ones. "I feel here, so compleat [*sic*] an outcast, and so likely to continue so all my life," Henry Cole wrote to his sister Florence in 1803, "that it requires an exertion (which I am not at all times capable of) to converse with my friends, particularly the one, the depreciation of whose society I feel so much greater a degree, than any other creature breathing. This kind of life gives me a sullen humor, of which I am so conscious, that I feel at times unworthy of the person I address."⁸ The material satisfaction that came often from acts of long-distance migration was not always equaled emotionally.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars contributed a new type of Irish figure to the mix, the pensioned military man looking for the opportunity to acquire land and maintain status. The decades after 1815 proved extraordinarily difficult in Ireland. With the population fast approaching a peak of eight million, and much land locked into near-subsistence production of the potato crop, prospects for profitable agricultural investments and significant improvement in wealth seemed slight. The reverse was true on Ireland's farthest shores, where even modest sums of capital and a solid record of imperial service invariably opened doors. Some ex-military men came from Europe directly with a capital sum to invest in speculative opportunities; others, including hundreds of noncommissioned soldiers, gladly took pensions when their terms of enlistment were up and took to farming in eastern Australia and New Zealand. For example, George Allman, born in County Clare in 1780, saw service with the Queen's Royal Regiment in Holland and Egypt and

was wounded in the Peninsular Wars. The recipient of a life pension, Allman arrived in Sydney in 1818 with his wife and three children. Until his death in 1860, he served in a variety of magistrates' posts and dabbled unsuccessfully in farming. When financial hardship descended, Allman found an advocate in the colony's Anglo-Irish governor, Richard Bourke, who wrote to the Colonial Office in support of his compatriot. Though his colonial career was one of modest achievement, there seems no doubt that Allman's life in Australia offered him and his children superior prospects to those that would have been available in the ruinous decades of mid-nineteenth century Ireland.⁹

Irish involvement in colonial affairs strengthened after 1829 and the achievement of Catholic emancipation. The passage through the House of Commons of the bill to lift restrictions on Roman Catholics' right to vote and hold civil office heralded the arrival throughout the empire of an increasing number of Irish Catholic lawyers and civil servants to serve as magistrates and colonial officials. In India the number of Roman Catholics recruited to the civil service rose three-fold between the middle of the century and 1894, though even then Protestants constituted fully three-quarters of the university-trained recruits.¹⁰ In Australia the governorship of Richard Bourke from 1831 to 1837 provided fertile ground for the advancement of Roman Catholic interests. A prime example was the appointment of a Roscommon-born, Trinity College-trained lawyer named John Hubert Plunkett, who arrived in New South Wales in 1832 and served as solicitor general, attorney general, and later as president of the Legislative Council. For a time, even the small-scale advancement of Roman Catholic Irishmen raised the ire of colonial conservatives and advocates of Anglican religious exclusivity. In the end, those voices proved too weak to have much effect. Pragmatism and necessity had a powerful way of turning down the volume on, though not entirely silencing, religious bigotry.¹¹

Less affluent Irish also gravitated to the Pacific in the service of Britain's empire. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, fueled by recruitment shortages during the Seven Years' War, increasing numbers of Irish Catholic soldiers enlisted in the East India Company's military forces. Between 1757 and 1763, the number of Irish recruits shipped to "John Company" rose tenfold, until one in five of all recruits were Irish-born. That proportion increased further still in the early nineteenth century as the company concentrated its recruitment effort in the principal Irish centers, including Dublin, Limerick, and Belfast. Overall, in the period from the Napoleonic Wars until the termination of the East India Company in the wake

of the 1857 Indian uprising, Irish-born soldiers constituted close to 50 percent of the total number of recruits shipped to India. Drawn principally from southern counties, these men were not only literate and motivated but also taller and physically superior to their British comrades.¹²

By the eve of Ireland's Great Famine, British colonial administrations along the northern and western reaches of the Pacific Ocean, more successfully than the Union at home, had come to incorporate Ireland and the Irish. Though not all flourished in these environments, barriers to economic, social, and political mobility were decidedly less steep than those that confronted their compatriots in Britain, the eastern United States, or Ireland itself. Yet if Britain's empire was ascendant from India to New Zealand, and its informal influence in East Asia on the rise, across the ocean a very different scenario was unfolding where the Spanish Empire in the Americas was in its death throes. South America's wars of independence, led principally by young men who were born on American soil to families of Spanish descent, led to the creation of new states and the installation of new forms of governance. Bernardo O'Higgins, illegitimate son of the former Chilean colonial governor Ambrose O'Higgins, returned to South America from his education in Europe inspired by ideals of nationalism. O'Higgins subsequently became a foundational figure in Chile until his overthrow in 1823. He was not a lone figure with Irish connections. Tyrone-born John Mackenna, born in 1771, served in the Spanish army and accepted a post in South America in 1796. A protégé of Ambrose O'Higgins, he received an appointment as governor of Osorno. Later, Mackenna's allegiances shifted toward the cause of independence, and he became an important military leader in the Republic of Chile, appointed eventually by Bernardo O'Higgins to the post of commandant general.¹³ Other Irishmen arrived on the South American continent as recruits in John Devereux's mercenary legion, recruited in Ireland from repatriated soldiers after the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars. Several of these Irishmen arrived in Chile with the revolutionary forces that crossed the Andes and settled down on the Pacific coast.¹⁴

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Pacific Ocean's eastern and western shores experienced widely divergent paths of political development. As Britain's global power expanded to encompass new colonies of settlement, Spanish influence in the eastern Pacific went into retreat. The new force of nationalism, unleashed in an unprecedented way by the revolution in France, found fertile soil in the Americas. Its effects were also felt in Ireland, where the United Irish rising of 1798 ignited a national quest that for many Irish people would persist

for over a century until the creation of the Irish Free State. Yet what seems clear from considering these different paths of development on the perimeter of the Pacific Ocean is that individuals of Irish birth or Irish descent were driven principally by the specific local contexts in which their lives played out. Pragmatism and an ability to carve a niche in the particular social and economic milieu in which they found themselves proved more dominant motives than any overt sense of Irish identity. Irish birth and connections were important, worth remembering, and could open doors or promote patronage, but they did so within a broader context of new social relationships forged throughout this oceanic setting.

INDIGENOUS-IRISH ENCOUNTERS

In neither mainland Asia nor South America were the small Irish-born populations a significant part of the European charter population. New arrivals from Ireland entered societies where relationships between westerners and local populations, and among Europeans themselves, were typically well established. In other parts of the Pacific, this was not the case. On the islands of the interior of the Pacific Ocean, in the Australasian colonies, and in parts of the North American West, newcomers from Ireland engaged with indigenous populations from the outset. In what ways did the Irish experience these colonial encounters?

Historians have offered widely different interpretations of the nature of Irish meetings with indigenous populations on the Pacific's eastern and western shores. On the one hand, a range of contemporary evidence and resilient collective memory lends weight to the view that some Irish newcomers empathized with the plight of Australia's indigenous peoples, Māori, or First Nations peoples who were subject to dispossession and discrimination in the wake of European occupation.¹⁵ During the New Zealand Wars, for example, small numbers of Irish soldiers in the British army refused stubbornly to engage in punitive actions against Māori and suffered courts martial and incarceration with hard labor for their failure to obey orders. Roads cut painstakingly through lava flows bear witness to the determination of some of those soldiers not to advance the cause of empire at the expense of indigenous communities. Some Irishmen with Fenian sympathies seem to have gone even further and supplied arms to Māori.¹⁶ Similar experiences of sympathy and resistance, repeated on a small scale around the Anglophone Pacific world's frontiers (including Australia), no doubt provided the foundation for the historian Patrick O'Farrell's assertion that "in contrast to Protestant paternalist or exploitative whites, Irish Catholics treated the [Australian] Aborigines as human beings."¹⁷

Yet, as counterpoint to that conclusion, it is easy to identify Irish-born people in all the nineteenth-century white settler societies who were determined to ruthlessly subordinate the indigenous populations they encountered. The famous exclamation “The only good Indian is a dead Indian” is popularly attributed to the Irish-American General Philip Sheridan, and Irish recruits were predominant in the ranks of the U.S. Army that brought destruction upon the First Nations of the American West. No matter their conceptual intent, modern academic distinctions that the Irish were “instruments of conquest” rather than outright conquerors would almost certainly have been lost on people deprived of land and livelihoods by the U.S. Cavalry.¹⁸ On the Australian frontier, Irishmen, ranging across the social spectrum from convicts to wealthy pastoralists, Northern Protestants, and Southern Catholics, similarly undertook outrages against indigenous peoples. New Zealand, despite its recalcitrant Irish military resisters, conformed to this pattern where the behavior of Irish migrants toward those subject to colonial conquest seems to have been largely indistinguishable from that of their English or Scottish counterparts. As a rule, Irish Catholic soldiers stationed in New Zealand showed no visible qualms in fighting for the empire.¹⁹

How should we address these competing legacies? Australian historian Ann McGrath has sensibly pointed out the difficulties inherent in attempts to measure Irish behavior in colonial encounters. “How does one assess benevolence or malevolence on the frontier?” she asks. Neither quantitative nor qualitative measures offer any solution to the conundrum, notwithstanding some unfortunate attempts to measure the comparative harshness of colonial encounters through body counts. Moreover, as McGrath points out, historians’ present-centered concerns inevitably mean our histories are fashioned by diverse influences, including the desire to achieve “agreeable narratives” in our own political and cultural context.²⁰ Any attempts to ameliorate Irish culpability for past colonial violence, on the ground that as victims of brutality themselves such mimicking behavior was natural or inevitable, for example, ignores human capacity to judge right and wrong and does a notable disservice to the victims of Western colonization. At the same time, it is understandable that many nineteenth-century Irish immigrants, who confronted the substantial challenges of resettlement after long-distance migration, experienced assimilatory pressures and willingly shared in the dominant white colonizers’ disdain for indigenous populations’ cultures and livelihoods. Rather than attempting to exculpate the Irish from their share of responsibility for the destruction of indigenous communities on the Pacific’s colonial frontiers, historians need to better

understand the mental world and precepts that then and now cast a resilient shadow over colonization in this oceanic setting.

BEACHCOMBERS

While the extensive frontiers of the Pacific's edge witnessed a wide range of intercultural encounters, it was on the islands of the Pacific that newcomers and indigenous populations were cast together most often in close proximity. Beachcombers, together with missionaries and traders, arrived in increasing numbers from the late eighteenth century to transform the lives of communities they encountered.

Long before official attempts to control land or resources, beachcombers made their way ashore and settled among island communities. Their arrival on the islands of the Pacific was largely unorganized and took place in conjunction with the near exponential growth in Western shipping that occurred in the half century after the Seven Years' War. The establishment of the British penal colony at Sydney, and the subsequent development of regional trading networks in commodities, including pork, sandalwood, and bêche de mer, provided most of the impetus for the increased maritime activity. A little later, once the fallout from the War of 1812 had subsided, an upsurge in the number of New England whalers traversing the seas caused further escalation in the frequency of ships' contacts with island communities.²¹ Excluding the Australian penal settlements, the greatest number of ship arrivals before 1820 occurred in the Hawaiian Islands and on the North Island of New Zealand. Smaller island groups with lesser populations felt the impact of the ships and the newcomers more strongly. For example, Tahiti, which as we have seen was charted by Captain Samuel Wallis's HMS *Dolphin* in 1767, and with an estimated population of only fifty thousand, experienced 119 ship visits by 1821. The Marquesas Islands received 75 vessels during the same period.²²

In these circumstances, interludes on the Pacific's shores quickly became a common feature of the maritime trades, with ships' crews estimated to account for three-quarters of the beachcombers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²³ Those who took to the islands and lived alongside indigenous communities were often involuntary island dwellers. Shipwreck was one common explanation for early beachcombers' time ashore, though its incidence diminished as the island world became better known and more frequently traversed by mariners. In other cases, ships' captains simply deposited restless seamen on isolated beaches to be rid of them, or deliberately left potential troublemakers behind to smooth their passage ahead. The sandalwood trader William Lockerby, stranded in Fiji in

1808, firmly believed the skipper of the ship *Jenny* intentionally abandoned him when it sailed to deliver its cargo in China. Unwilling to take a passage to the notorious penal colony at Sydney, Lockerby settled down in Fiji to wait for a more favorable way out, determined to survive by forging good relations with the island population.²⁴ Other sailors made different choices, their decisions determined by the immediate circumstances of their shipboard lives. As one historian explained, typically “even among those who did it voluntarily, premeditation was not a factor.”²⁵

Irish sailors feature prominently among the ranks of early beachcombers. Among the earliest mentioned in the historical record is John Mackey, who went ashore in the frigid Pacific Northwest. Like a good many other of his eighteenth-century compatriots, Mackey had traveled to India in the service of the East India Company, seeking employment, wealth, or social standing unavailable at home. Eventually Mackey, described in some accounts as a surgeon, or a medically trained soldier, threw his lot in with the group of former East India employees who initiated the fur trade between Asia and the northern Pacific coastlands. In 1785 he signed on to serve as the surgeon on the ship *Captain Cook* that, together with its sister ship *The Experiment*, sailed to Nootka Sound in what is today British Columbia hoping to make a fortune procuring pelts for the Chinese market (see photo 3). Unfortunately, on the voyage east across the Pacific to Nootka Sound, which commenced on 28 November, the ships were stricken with a severe outbreak of fever. Mackey, who had suffered severely from illness during the voyage, was left behind in Nootka Sound when his ship departed with instructions to learn the local languages, develop trade with local tribes, assemble an inventory of furs, and allow his health to mend in the months until his shipmates returned to restock their holds with the highly sought after pelts.²⁶

The historical record contains several observations of Mackey’s time at Nootka Sound. In the late 1780s, England and Russia in particular competed for strategic control of the sound and its lucrative fur trade, that rivalry bringing about unprecedented levels of naval activity. Contemporary mariners reported that John Mackey had “joined with the natives” after the departure of his crewmates. When an Irish-born sea captain, James Hanna, arrived in the sound on his second voyage in mid-1786, Mackey declined to return across the Pacific to China with him: “He refused, alleging, that he began to relish dried fish and whale oil, was satisfied with his way of life, and perfectly contented to stay till next year.” John Etches, a ship’s agent aboard the *Prince of Wales*, reported with some bitterness his ship’s inability

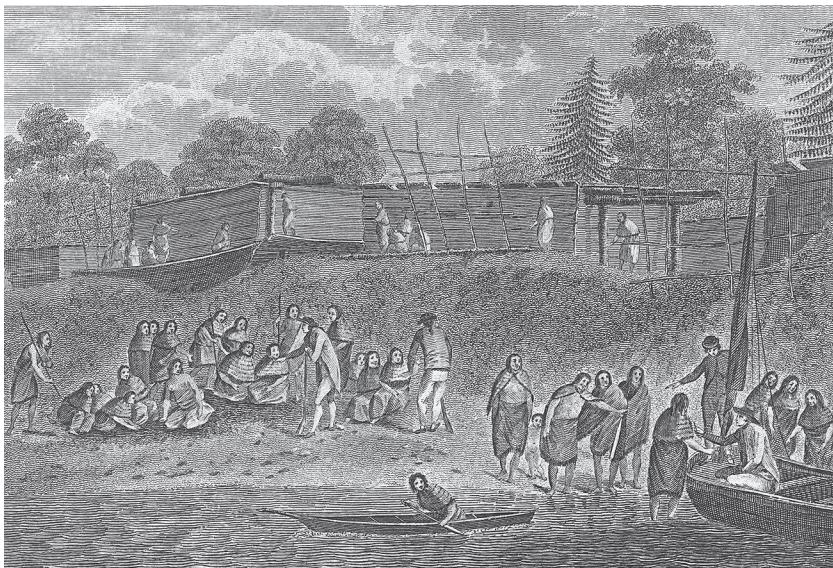


Photo 3. John Webber, *A View of the Habitations in Nootka Sound, 1784-85* (Chronicle / Alamy Stock Photo, DR2Y51)

to obtain a good supply of furs because of Mackey's exclusive arrangement to procure supplies for Captain Berkley of the ship *Imperial Eagle*: "The natives had stripped him of his cloaths, and obliged him to adopt their manner of dress and filthiest of manners; and that he was now a perfect master of their language, and well acquainted with their temper and disposition. He had made frequent incursions into the interior country around King George's Sound and did not think any part of it was the continent of America, but a chain of detached islands."²⁷ This exclusive relationship resulted in a berth on the *Imperial Eagle* when Berkley set sail for his return voyage to Asia in 1787. The following year, Mackey was interviewed in India about his experiences, but he disappeared, presumed dead, shortly afterward.²⁸

Mackey's remarkable story has other, less reliable, variations. One historical account published in Hawaii early in the twentieth century held that John Mackey (or M'Key) was the first European to land in those islands as a beachcomber. It contended that Mackey went ashore in Hawaii in June 1787 from the *Imperial Eagle* during the vessel's short stopover on the return passage to China. While Mackey voluntarily disembarked in Hawaii to become the first European resident there,

the *Imperial Eagle* added an additional passenger, a local woman taken aboard as a servant for the wife of the ship's master.²⁹ While this account is inconsistent with Mackey's recorded presence in India in 1788, his obscure trans-Pacific trail reminds us that the identity of beachcombers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was often an elusive one, in part because of their liminal position between written and oral worlds and also because many were people who had something to hide. Few left accounts. As the eminent Pacific historian Greg Dening reminded us of the beachcombers in the Marquesas Islands, "For the most part, the stories of these beachcombers cannot be told; there are only the names of the ships they left, perhaps a moment of notoriety when they died, or a moment of usefulness when they organized a trade."³⁰

Despite deep silences in the historical record, Irish men (and some women) linger prominently in this cast of Pacific shadows. In 1800 preachers from the Missionary Society (known from 1818 as the London Missionary Society) arriving to establish their first outpost in Tahiti reported two of the six European beachcombers they encountered to be Irish. Another two Irishmen, Morgan Bryan and John Connelly, were identified by the society's first contingent of missionaries in Tonga. The first, Morgan Bryan, was described by one historian as "the prototype of the low-cultured beachcomber, skilled in the use of iron tools and weapons but otherwise deficient in communicating the advantages of Western civilization." The society members who encountered Bryan were appalled by the character and appearance of this escapee from the penal colony at Sydney: "He came and staid for some time, but during our interview gave such specimens of depravity as excited a wish for him never more to come under our roof." However, come again he did, to demand iron tools with which he could please the island's leaders and to berate the missionaries for their refusal to meet his request. "To our grief we are likely to have much of his company," the missionaries' journal lamented. His near nakedness and heavily tattooed body in particular offended their Christian sensibilities.³¹

The other beachcomber the missionaries encountered in Tonga was John Connelly from Cork. He explained to the missionaries that he had arrived in the Pacific Islands from the United States, having taken a position on the crew of a fur trader. A cooper by trade, he disembarked from his ship in the Friendly Islands with Londoner Benjamin Ambler because of the conditions of shipboard life: "Their provisions were so bad as to be scarcely eatable, and so scanty as forced them upon a short allowance; therefore, dreading their case might soon be worse, they requested the captain to discharge them."³² Both young men under the age of thirty,

the beachcombers possessed linguistic skills that assisted the London Missionary Society men in establishing themselves on the island of Tongatapu. Connelly was young, a soul to be redeemed. Unlike his rough compatriot, he won the missionaries' respect when he warned them of dangers posed by their discordant attitudes toward personal property. The newcomers' sense of exclusivity, he informed them, was at odds with the mores of the island people. However, Connelly's cordial relations with the missionaries soured over time following their refusal to furnish him with a clock he had promised to the chief, Fatafehi. With the beachcomber and missionaries eager to secure the friendship and patronage of the local leader, both sides stoutly contested the possession of any rare and tradable goods. At heart, perhaps, was a deeper tension born of competing ambitions for power and influence. As one historian commented, "In class background [the missionaries] had much in common with their beachcombing rivals. . . . They were lower class aspiring to the next rung on the social ladder." Ultimately, most of the first Tongan missionaries became victims to a violent local conflict, although one, Englishman George Vason, broke the missionaries' taboo and took on Tongan dress, wives, and lifestyle.³³ Following the failure of their first attempt to win the Tongans' hearts and minds, the missionaries would not return to Tonga until the 1820s.

The Hawaiian, Tahitian, and Tongan Islands exemplify a wider trend. Irishmen seemed to be everywhere in the in-between world of the Pacific beachcomber. In the late 1830s, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, reported meeting in Fiji a Clare-born man named Paddy Connell, who claimed to have deserted from the British army in 1798 and switched his allegiance to the French when they landed at Kinsale. Connell's life was spared following the French surrender, and he was transported to Sydney. Though Paddy Connell told Wilkes he had been freed from servitude immediately upon arrival in the colony, it seems much more likely he absconded by ship—an explanation in line with his circumspect assurance to Wilkes that "the main part of [his story] was true." Nearly four decades after his transportation from Ireland, Connell, who Wilkes at first mistook for a Fijian, took pride in having fathered forty-eight children in liaisons with Fijian women and told Wilkes he hoped to double that figure in his remaining years.³⁴

Elsewhere, the Irish ship's surgeon John Coulter reported going ashore at "Pat's Landing," on Charles Island in the Galapagos group, the beach named after an Irishman who took to sea after Latin America's early nineteenth-century wars of independence. Locals told Coulter that the Irishman, having been involved in

conflicts in Chile and Peru, joined a whaler but was abandoned in the Galapagos Islands by his captain as a suspected mutineer. Dressed in seal-skin moccasins, the newcomer lived a largely isolated existence, joined from time to time by other sailors put ashore.³⁵ Coulter also visited the Marquesas Islands, where Irishmen figured among the first to cross the beaches to live among the island communities. Coulter found the beachcombers there “residing with the natives, and living with them, and after their fashion, in every respect—dress, tattoo, and all.” In fact, he joined them for a time, and as a man of standing was required by the local chiefs to be tattooed (see photo 4).³⁶

The presence of the penal colony at Sydney and the notoriety of its convict population contributed significantly to the number of men who sought obscurity on the beaches. Another Irish beachcomber Coulter encountered on his travels was Terry Connell, the “King of the Horrifories.” His account, undoubtedly embellished for a curious European audience, is nonetheless suggestive of the breadth of the convicts’ dispersal from the penal colony. While sailors undertook repairs to Coulter’s vessel, the American-owned *Hound*, on the east coast of New Guinea, the surgeon and a small party of crew members trekked inland to explore the remote and unfamiliar terrain. After several hours of walking, the expedition



Photo 4. William Hodges, *Resolution Bay in the Marquesas*, engraved by B. T. Pouncey, 1768–80 (©The British Library Board 07/12/2020, Add.23921 f.60)

hunted down a wild pig, and as the hungry men roasted their game over the fire, they noticed walking toward them through a clearing “a man of wild and strange appearance, with a hog-spear in his hand, and a large dog at each side of him.” The man came closer, Coulter wrote, “and to our amazement [we] discovered that he was a white man! Only well browned by exposure to the sun; he was tall, very athletic; his long brown hair hung low on his shoulders.” Wearing nothing but a tiny garment around his waist, the newcomer introduced himself as the “King of the Horrifories.” “But tear-an-agers, gintlemen, di yees think I was always here? No, be me sowl, I wasn’t; I was born in the ould country, I mane ould Ireland, and that’s all about it now. Have yees any of the dead pig left?”³⁷

When the roasted pig was eaten and introductions had been made, Terry Connell told his story. Born in County Kerry, he had enlisted in the army years ago when times at home were hard and his favorite girl had run off with a spaldeen. Three years later, deserting from the army, he took to the mountains and remained there alone for three months until he was found one night by a group of agrarian protesters, their faces blackened as they went about their nighttime business. Recognized by some members of the group, Terry Connell quickly took the oath and joined the Whiteboys. Tried subsequently for his participation in agrarian protest, he was sent to penal servitude in Australia. Life on a convict road gang in the distant penal settlement proved harsh, and Connell decided to risk escape from the colony. He joined ten other escapees who together stole a boat and provisions and sailed north from Sydney Cove. Two months later, having avoided the colonial authorities, Connell and the other escapees sailed beyond the Torres Strait and landed in New Guinea. The circumstances of their landfall proved unfortunate. Local tribesmen killed all but two of the fleeing convicts immediately. Terry Connell and another man, Jim Hutton, were taken prisoner. Connell told Coulter that once Hutton died in captivity, he received kind treatment and went on to win respect as the king of the tribe.³⁸

A small number of convict women also fled authority, including Irishwoman Catherine Hegarty, whose story was almost as remarkable. She and an English convict, Charlotte Badger, were aboard the ship *Venus* in April 1806 when male prisoners mutinied and set course for New Zealand. The *Venus*’s first mate, Benjamin Kelly, allegedly aided the convicts. Kelly was an American, formerly a crew member on a whaler that had stopped in Van Diemen’s Land during its long voyage at sea. Hegarty and Kelly, said to have been common-law man and wife, and Badger and her partner went ashore in New Zealand’s Bay of Islands and lived for a

time among local Māori. Though little is known of their lives in New Zealand after the mutiny, Hegarty is believed to have died around 1807, while Badger survived longer and is claimed in some accounts to have settled in the United States or Tonga.³⁹

Though we seldom hear directly from the beachcombers, there are some notable exceptions to the prevailing silence and unsatisfying fragments of past lives. A small number of personal memoirs exist of beachcombers' lives, including an Irishman's. "James F. O'Connell," if that was truly his name, provided a rich, if once more embellished and at times unverifiable, account of his experience as an Irish beachcomber in the Pacific. Born in 1808, O'Connell "first saw light in the chamber over one Jones' book-bindery, Thomas Street, Dublin, directly opposite a warehouse where brogues are or were sold by the hamper." O'Connell explained that he was raised in a family steeped in circus and entertainment. This unusual background provided an opportunity for the youthful James to travel and spend time with an uncle in England. Ships and the maritime world figured in his imagination from an early age. Balance and unusual bodily dexterity meant that as a young boy he was "an acceptable visitor to John [Jack] Tar, who is ever fond of physical precocity. . . . I practiced climbing about the shrouds and rigging, and learned to fancy that, next to the life of an equestrian, the life of a sailor was the most wonderful and noble in the world." A ship's master, Captain Salmon, signed on the promising young lad to serve as a cabin boy when his ship undertook the voyage halfway around the globe to transport convict women to Sydney.⁴⁰

Life in the maritime trade continued for O'Connell until 1826 when his vessel at that time, the whaler *John Bull*, struck a reef while sailing northward toward the Sea of Japan. Having managed to board a lifeboat, O'Connell and a party of crewmates made landfall on the island of Ponape in the Caroline Islands group. Stranded and vulnerable, O'Connell used his wits to make the best of the situation. Fearful of the intention of his hosts when large fires were struck, he jumped to his feet and danced an Irish jig that went some way to disarm his incredulous hosts. In fact, the group was well received: "For three or four days it was with us a continual feast, islanders coming from all directions to see the white strangers." From that point, things continued to improve. O'Connell claimed to be adopted by a chief, and to have married the chief's daughter and fathered two children. Raised to chiefly rank, his body was extensively tattooed during his years on the island. In 1833 the arrival of a Massachusetts trading ship provided the opportunity for O'Connell to leave Ponape and make his way to the United

States, where he achieved national recognition in circuses and sideshows as “the tattooed Irishman.”⁴¹

These scattered shards of the past reveal an extensive Irish presence among the Pacific’s early beachcombers. What, if any, significance can be attributed to their experiences? Historians of beachcombing emphasize that those who took to the islands and lived alongside indigenous communities were invariably involuntary island dwellers.⁴² As the case of the two Tongatapu beachcombers highlights, the abysmal conditions aboard some trading ships and whalers drove sailors to seek relief and recuperation ashore. However, this was typically a temporary measure and most signed on as crew on passing ships after a period of rest, recuperation, or adventure ashore. Others landed purely on a whim, tempted by the vista or stories of sexual pleasure, but few seem to have conceived of the sojourn as part of a long-term strategy.⁴³ In these circumstances, it is difficult to attribute any special significance or characteristics to the Irish who landed on the Pacific’s beaches. At best, a certain restlessness and disdain for old authority may have been present among them, but these qualities existed in many other Europeans who resided throughout the Pacific from the 1780s to the 1840s. A sense of adventure or perpetual restlessness stands out, but these likely distinguished the Pacific Irish more from their compatriots at home than from their fellow beachcombers.

Histories of beachcombing tend to reinforce the proposition that national origin was of only limited importance. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the European outliers who spent time on the shores were not typically seen as the heroic or adventurous characters that some literature would later portray them. As one historian commented, “Respectable contemporaries were of the opinion that anyone who went to live among the savages must be degraded.”⁴⁴ “Strangers in their new society and scandals to their old,” another judged.⁴⁵ Given these sentiments, it is noteworthy that few contemporary observers seem explicitly to have linked their judgments of beachcombers’ characters and behavior to national origins. Nationality was secondary to the beach-generated homogeneity as Pākeha, or Haole, or Papāalagi. At a time when English writers in Europe and the United States frequently were prone to cast aspersions against the Irish character and temperament, Irish beachcomber Morgan Bryan seems to have been judged to be of poor character principally on account of his appearance and behavior. Class, faithlessness, and suspect criminality all contributed to this adverse assessment. Pejorative judgments based on Irish nationality do not feature significantly in the surviving record.

GOD

In the period after the Seven Years' War, firm religious divisions emerged in the Pacific. On the western coast of the Americas, the Spanish Empire continued as it had always done to foster the spread of Roman Catholicism. In Mexico and along the California coast, the Franciscan and Dominican orders were active in establishing missions. Franciscan friars founded a mission at San Diego in 1769, and their influence spread gradually northward to San Francisco in 1776, culminating in the establishment of the Sonoma mission in 1823.⁴⁶ Small numbers of Irish friars, most trained in European seminaries, likely trod the path north along the coast. Across the ocean, Westerners contemplated the spread of Christianity in South and East Asia. For example, small Catholic missions in India commenced in the early nineteenth century, with the Irish component that staffed them rising in the 1830s following the appointment of an Augustinian, Dr. Daniel O'Connor, as vicar apostolic at Madras. Irish priests and Loreto sisters staffed institutions in Calcutta and Madras that ministered to the needs of Catholics, mostly Irish expatriates serving in India or Indians of mixed Portuguese descent. These missions proved short lived, with Irish religious houses preferring from the 1840s to prioritize sending religious men and women to support the large Irish immigrant communities in North America and Australasia.⁴⁷

In contrast, the oceanic interior and western fringes of the Pacific were, with few exceptions, areas of Protestant missionary endeavor. Late eighteenth-century exploration in the Pacific coincided with the blossoming of Protestant evangelicism in Great Britain. As one historian commented, “In the decades surrounding Cook’s voyages, evangelicism—dissenting, Methodist and Anglican—worked to discover, and endow with great urgency, the national mission to save the debased savages from themselves, a project which cultural and imperial rivalries with France accelerated.”⁴⁸ Ireland was enmeshed in this project in multiple ways. First, it was a place identified by English evangelicals as inhabited by ignorant and superstitious people, lowly and Roman Catholic, in need of missionary exertions. Political events at the turn of the century, particularly the United Irish rising of 1798 supported by Catholic Defenders, and the passage of the Act of Union added urgency to the task of civilizing Ireland through evangelical Protestantism. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, an array of organizations was formed to undertake this work, including the London Hibernian Society (1806), the Irish Evangelical Association (1814), and the Baptist Society for Ireland (1814).⁴⁹

Yet if Ireland was fertile territory for Protestant evangelicals, it differed in important respects from other beckoning vineyards. Ireland was also home to a sizeable religious minority for whom Protestantism defined their connection to Britain. As one writer explained, “The spread of pure Christianity was inextricably linked to the progress of civility, and for Irish Protestants civility signified the language, learning, customs and common law of their mother country.”⁵⁰ In line with developments across the Irish Sea, the late eighteenth century saw strong growth in the number of Irish men and women espousing evangelical doctrines. For example, the population of Methodists in Ireland rose from 3,124 in 1770 to nearly 27,000 by 1830. The number of Methodist ministers rose tenfold at this time. While itinerant preachers took to the pathways of rural Ireland, evangelical fervor also took root in urban Ireland. Dublin boasted its own evangelical hub, its proponents principally graduates of Trinity College. Unsurprisingly, the northern province, Ulster, proved to be the most fertile of grounds, with Methodist and Calvinist evangelism enjoying strong growth, especially in the wake of the disturbances of 1798.⁵¹

Given the fervor of the evangelical movement during the turn of the century years, it did not take long for its leaders in Britain and Ireland to identify the newly encountered islands of the Pacific as an area of high priority. The *Evangelical Magazine*, published from 1793, provided its readers with up-to-date information about missionary activity across the globe and impressed on them the need for concerted action to address the ignorance of those to whom the name of God was unknown. For example, in 1794 an account of missionary activity in Sierra Leone commented on the need for lessons learned in Africa to be applied in the South Sea Islands.⁵² The magazine’s 1795 issue opened with a letter from a leading evangelical, the Reverend Thomas Haweis, titled “The Very Probable Success of a Proper Mission to the South Seas.” Described by the magazine’s editors to be “a subject of the greatest magnitude [that] occupies at present the attention of a considerable part of the religious world,” Haweis’s prospectus identified the religious deficiencies of the inhabitants of the islands as offering evangelicals the prospect of major achievements. “No other part of the heathen world affords so promising a field for a Christian mission: where the temper of the people, the climate, the abundance of food, and the easy collection of a number together for instruction, bespeak the field ripe for harvest.”⁵³ Haweis considered the people of Tahiti particularly appropriate for such activity: “They appear intelligent, and capable of instruction; mild, and easy of access; with abundant leisure for information,

and each apparently at liberty to pay attention to whatever a missionary may have to communicate.”⁵⁴

Thomas Haweis’s proposal for the charter of a ship and the establishment of a Pacific mission was advanced a step further with the founding of the Missionary Society in London in 1795. It applied its funds to purchase a ship, the *Duff*, and selected thirty missionaries to set sail and establish missions in Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas Islands. Only a small minority of the *Duff*’s missionaries were ordained. Most were practical men, skilled or semi-skilled workers. Haweis believed this selection the appropriate one—given the island populations’ knowledge of the superiority of Europeans, practical skills were likely to be more influential than outstanding intellect: “A carpenter, a blacksmith, or a gardener, seems the properst person to unite missionary talents with manual labor.”⁵⁵

With the evangelical awakening then under way in Ireland, a number of skilled and committed Christians were ready to answer the Missionary Society’s call for volunteers to work in the Pacific. The first to go was William Henry, who sailed on the *Duff*’s first voyage in 1796. Henry had been born at Sligo on 21 June 1770 and trained as a carpenter and joiner. Raised in a Church of Ireland household, the young William Henry seems initially to have opposed Methodist teaching and may have engaged in the persecution of its evangelists. Later, influenced by the arguments of itinerant preachers, he converted to its beliefs. Henry married a Dublin woman, Sarah Maben, and a period of work in that city brought him into the orbit of the city’s evangelicals. He came to the attention of the Reverend John Walker at Trinity College Dublin, who provided theological training and connections to the missionary movement.⁵⁶ Walker was then a leading light of Irish Methodism and an advocate for the interests of the Missionary Society in Ireland. In July 1796, at the age of twenty-six, Henry and his wife traveled to London, where he was accepted as a missionary and the couple were assigned places on the *Duff*.⁵⁷

Despite his youth, Henry was staunch in his convictions and outspoken on religious matters. He played a significant role when a doctrinal disagreement broke out among the missionaries, a schism that threatened to see two of the thirty excluded from going ashore to undertake missionary work. It was unsurprising, then, that when on 27 February 1797 the missionaries divided themselves into three parties, with eighteen missionaries, five women, and two children destined for Tahiti, Henry received appointment to the five-man committee that governed the mission’s affairs. A further ten missionaries were assigned to Tonga and two to Santa Cristina (Tahuata), the smallest inhabited island of the Marquesas group (see photo 5).⁵⁸



Photo 5. Francesco Bartolozzi, *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the Use of the Missionaries Sent Thither by That Society in the Ship Duff, 1801* (De Agostini Photo Library / Getty Images, 901595142)

As we have already seen, the Missionary Society's Tongan operation proved to be a short-lived one. Its Tahitian mission also faced tremendous early challenges. In 1798, soon after the birth of their first child, Sarah, the Henrys and two other families, accompanied by a contingent of single men, left the island for Sydney citing the dangers the mission faced. The Henrys returned to the Tahitian mission in 1801, their family enlarged with the birth of a son, Samuel, and the adoption of a girl, Nancy Connor, the daughter of an Irish seaman and an island woman. A second daughter, Eleanor, was born in Tahiti in 1803 before the family returned to Sydney for a second time in 1808. A second son, William, was born in the penal colony prior to the family's next return to Tahiti in 1813. William Henry's wife, Sarah, died the same year, and he returned to Sydney, this time to find and wed a new bride, Ann Shepherd, then aged fifteen.⁵⁹

Despite William Henry's unyielding conviction in the righteousness of the mission, his family's saga shows how—as with the beachcombers that the missionaries so often loathed—island life blurred boundaries. Accounts of the family's Tahitian experience highlight the extent to which the elder Henry children were immersed from the outset in Tahitian culture and language. Local nurses and

childhood games transgressed boundaries and altered identities. The children's conduct from the time of adolescence aroused even greater indignation from other missionaries. The eldest daughter, Sarah, was sent away to Sydney after being seduced by a young Tahitian man and rejecting the missionaries' beliefs. Her removal to the Australian colony did not obviate the scandal:

Sarah Henry has been a drunk and is a horrid blasphemer as if she had been used to it for fifty years. She wishes the bibbel in the fire and all of us in hell and her father too and herself and Jesus Christ. . . . She has told a great many natives that we deceived them that Jehovah was not the true God but that Oro and Tane was the true God and much more. It is said that she hath don more harm then ever her father did good in this mission. She also played the whore in her father's house.⁶⁰

Settlement in Sydney did nothing to enhance her reputation. Assisted to make a new life in the colony by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, she eloped with an ex-convict surgeon, William Bland, whom she subsequently married. Their marriage did not survive one year before it ended, by some accounts following her commission of adultery with a visiting officer from the East India Company. Marsden now regretted that "her habits were bad, she was not industrious, nor had she those modest Ideas which adorn the female character."⁶¹ More liaisons followed, in New South Wales and Tahiti, before Sarah left the Pacific entirely to start anew in London.

Sarah's eldest brother, Samuel, likewise caused affront to missionary norms. Sent to Sydney to learn a practical trade, he preferred life at sea and became a ship's master and prominent figure in the early western Pacific trading circuits. While family and missionary connections remained important, Samuel's knowledge of Polynesian ways, the esteem with which he seems to have been held by the people of the islands, and his infringement of missionaries' behavioral standards all provoked misunderstanding and criticism. Trading in alcohol, traveling with an island woman as companion outside of wedlock, and the prioritization of trade over the observance of the Sabbath—no doubt regarded as everyday behavior among his fellow mariners in the early decades of the nineteenth century—were each sufficient to arouse missionaries' antagonism toward the entire Henry family.

The Henrys, though perhaps the largest, most colorful, and most controversial of Irish missionary families, were not alone in venturing from Ireland to the Pacific to impart the gospel. Several other London Missionary Society men in the period

before 1850 were of Irish birth, and Irishmen served other missionary orders. A small number joined the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and it seems probable a very small number of people of Irish birth or descent also served in other Protestant missionary groups. Unsurprisingly, given Ireland's religious demography, fewer Irish appear among their ranks than the English or Scots.⁶²

While Protestantism dominated Britain's Pacific territories, Roman Catholicism was actively promoted in areas of French control. Irish priests, including men trained on the continent, arrived to undertake missionary work. Father Patrick Short, who sailed from Bordeaux on the ship *Cornet* to Honolulu on 17 November 1826, trained for the priesthood in France and went to the Pacific following Pope Leo XII's appointment of an apostolic prefect for those islands.⁶³ Another French-trained priest, Robert Walsh, arrived in the same islands by ship from Valparaiso in September 1836, prompting tensions between the British consul and French naval officers.⁶⁴ Catholic missions were established later in Melanesia and Micronesia.

In his study of the Marquesas Islands, historian Greg Dening intimated that the Irish brought a healthy skepticism toward the endeavors of English missionaries in the Pacific. "With an Irishman's prejudices but also his sense of history," he wrote, "one Irishman warned the people that the Englishmen did not practice what they preached." Others, too, have identified an irreverent streak as a widespread characteristic of people attracted to Ireland's farthest shores. "Being Irish in Australia and New Zealand meant having a mild anti-British edge and not accepting Pommy bullshit," was how historian Patrick O'Farrell colorfully put it.⁶⁵ No doubt that was sometimes true, although the wide range of backgrounds and experiences of the Irish engaged in missionary work mostly disqualifies meaningful generalization. Protestant or Catholic, Ulsterman or Dubliner, all who came to the Pacific as early missionaries entered a world in motion, where beliefs were deeply questioned and certainty dissolved once God's messengers encountered those considered heathens. The environment also challenged rigidity of belief—the deepest doctrinal divisions could seem trite on the beachhead. Not only that, the line in the sand between God and mammon that had once seemed clear was prone to be washed away by waves lapping on the shore.⁶⁶

MAMMON

Missionaries and beachcombers fought for the hearts and minds of people on the shores of the Pacific islands. Frequently, the circumstances of life caused the newcomers' identity to drift. Boundaries between the spiritual and profane were blurred.

As we have seen, a few early missionaries succumbed to the new world they entered and crossed the line to live among the indigenous peoples. The temporal world captured others. As one historian commented, "In the final analysis, there was no clear line between missionaries and other whites in the Pacific."⁶⁷

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the development of trade within and across the Pacific Ocean and to distant ports brought about the rapid increase in the traffic of people, goods, and ideas. Europeans first made landfall in the Marquesas Islands in 1595 during Spaniard Alvaro de Mendaña's voyage in search of the great south land. Cook's second voyage, in 1774, brought the next Europeans nearly two centuries later. Thereafter, the numbers of vessels visiting these islands increased exponentially: more than 170 ships, mainly whalers and trading craft, arrived between Cook's departure and 1815.⁶⁸ Not all island groups were equally affected. In Tonga, the Friendly Islands, navigators showed greater reticence about making landfall and welcomed the intervention of beachcombers or missionaries to mediate relationships and enable the smooth conduct of trade and exchange.⁶⁹

As was the case with beachcombers and missionaries, the Irish-born and those of Irish descent figure prominently among the ranks of those who participated in the initiation and development of new commodity trades throughout the Pacific Ocean. Few were direct arrivals from Ireland. Most had cut their teeth traversing the globe in the service of the European powers or their trading corporations. We have already encountered the mariner Anthony Burnsides, who traveled from Madras to participate in the fledgling trades. His friend Peter Dillon was born in Martinique on 15 June 1788, the son of an Irish-born military officer from County Meath who served in the French Army on the Caribbean island.⁷⁰ The young Peter Dillon was educated in Ireland and reputedly joined the Royal Navy, serving at the Battle of Trafalgar. In 1806 he resurfaced in Calcutta, serving on Burnsides's ship, as it traded its way along the line of lands and islands from India to Sumatra. Dillon's biographer captures well the fragmentary nature of his subject's story in these early decades, his movement from shore to sea, sea to shore, trader to navigator, beachcomber to anthropologist, always in motion, never stationary. In 1808 he was aboard a ship arriving in Fiji in search of the precious commodity sandalwood, the quest for which destabilized island communities. From the civil strife of Fiji, Dillon then sailed to Sydney, gaining a berth out of that port with another Irish-India hand, Thomas Reibey, owner of the ship *Mercury*. He was aboard the *Mercury* as a seaman when it sailed on 17 October 1809 for New Zealand's Bay of Islands, victualing station for ships en route to Tahiti and the lucrative pork trade.

Dillon's path took him to Van Diemen's Land, then back to Sydney where he married, before a return to India.⁷¹

Peter Dillon's movements are far too complex to chart in their entirety. Key movements are indicative. In 1819 he purchased a first ship of his own, the 170-ton *Saint Michael*. It was sold the following year in favor of a larger ship, the 259-ton *Calder*, with the intention of opening trade with South America. Eventually, in January 1824, Dillon and his new purchase reached Chile loaded, in part, with a cargo of New Zealand kauri masts and spars. Dillon also purchased a second ship, the *Saint Patrick*, in Valparaiso, in partnership with a local merchant. Registered in Chile to "Don Pedro Dillon," the *Saint Patrick* proudly boasted "an enormous green flag with yellow Irish harp in it" as it traded as a merchantman in the South Pacific.⁷²

Peter Dillon was subsequently instrumental in the development of the sandal-wood trade in the wider western Pacific region. He identified its presence in the New Hebrides in 1825, and there is a good probability that owing to his friendship with the Irish missionary's son, Captain Samuel Henry, a large cargo was shipped to Sydney in 1826. In fact, Samuel Henry developed his own scheme to transport Tongan laborers to "Dillon's Bay" in the New Hebrides in 1828, initiating a vibrant trade in labor and commodities that stretched as far as Honolulu.⁷³ During his lifetime, Dillon also landed the first Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji; was awarded an annuity and medal by the French government for solving the mystery of the disappearance of the navigator Jean-François de Galaup (La Perouse); offered his services to Belgium to found a colony in the Pacific; and wrote letters to Westminster urging British colonization of New Zealand. According to his biographer, "He corresponded voluminously with British politicians and permanent officials and with the headquarters of the Marist [Catholic] mission, offering advice on Pacific matters."⁷⁴ Peter Dillon, South Sea navigator, merchant, historian, and ethnographer died in Paris in February 1847.

Well into the second half of the nineteenth century, traders of Irish birth or descent continued to negotiate their way in the Pacific island trading world. Best known in this later period is David Dean O'Keefe, born in 1823 at Middletown, County Cork, and immortalized by Hollywood in the 1954 film *His Majesty O'Keefe*. O'Keefe emigrated from Ireland to the United States in 1848 and settled in Savannah, Georgia. He quickly eschewed backbreaking laboring work and took to sea, working his way up through the ranks before eventually becoming master of a coastal steamer and in some accounts a blockade runner during the Civil War.

O'Keefe fled the United States in 1871, apparently under the misapprehension that he had killed another seaman in a brawl, leaving behind a wife and child. In his haste to flee, he took a position on the crew of the ship *Belvedere*, only to be washed ashore on the island of Yap in the Caroline Islands four months later when it went down in a storm. The people of Yap nursed him back to health.

China loomed large in O'Keefe's plans to develop a Pacific trading enterprise. A historian of the island records that he left Yap for Hong Kong on a Godeffroy steamer in early 1872, returning several months later on a newly purchased Chinese junk loaded with tradable goods. In the following years, O'Keefe became the lynchpin of trade in this part of Micronesia: "His headquarters was a showpiece of tropical elegance, with a nicely furnished house, a spacious warehouse, and a long stone wharf. O'Keefe's own ensign now replaced the Union Jack that he had once flown from his flagstaff; it flew as well from the masts of the five vessels that he had accumulated in his first few years."⁷⁵ As the years passed, O'Keefe's interests expanded further: he became a copra plantation owner and importer of indentured labor. In time, the arrival of other European traders and the intensification of trade heralded controversy and recrimination. O'Keefe faced court action from other merchants and investigation by the British and U.S. authorities into his commercial affairs. These he seems to have weathered successfully, so that by the time of his death in 1903 his estate was valued at half a million dollars.⁷⁶

European contact irrevocably transformed life in this Pacific world. Westerners came to island communities experiencing unprecedented cultural, economic, and political challenges. The indigenous communities were not powerless or easily won over. Historian Nicholas Thomas reminds us that "the character of early contact was often such that foreigners were in no position to enforce their demands; consequently, local terms of trade often had to be acceded to."⁷⁷ Once on land, the early beachcomber, missionary, or trader was heavily dependent on the host community for his very survival. Island communities supplied food and resources and shared these with new arrivals on their own terms. Yet the European visitor also had power. Knowledge of the outside world, the capacity to lubricate the wheels of trade and secure favorable terms of exchange, and privileged access to Western goods and resources made beachcombers and traders a valuable and prestigious commodity. Island communities also benefited from the newcomers' language skills, counsel, and familiarity with technical skills and modern weaponry.

Pacific historians have long recognized that during the decades of early contact, strong bonds emerged between some indigenous peoples and European newcomers.

Yet despite that understanding, their histories seem mostly to have been inattentive to the diverse national backgrounds of those outsiders who crossed the beach lines and negotiated the terms of exchange. More commonly, Anglophone newcomers have been cast as modern Britons, notwithstanding the presence of numbers of Irish-born at all these sites of colonial encounter. The experiences Irish beachcombers, missionaries, and traders encountered on the beaches of the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Pacific suggest the need for recalibration. Even if life on Ireland's farthest shores went some way to erase national distinctiveness and engender a measure of heterogeneity, those outsiders brought to the Pacific distinctive experiences of the world and a diverse set of aspirations. We need to continue to excavate the equivocal encounters that took place on the Pacific's shorelines involving those who experienced subordination in their homeland and entered the Pacific in the vanguard of Britain and its expanding global empire.

Populating the Irish Pacific

Despite the colorful cast of convicts, beachcombers, traders, and missionaries that formed the vanguard of Irish settlement, the Pacific world was a backwater for emigrants who left Ireland in the century after 1750. Escalating rates of departure for Great Britain and North America far exceeded the smaller outflows to more distant destinations around the globe. Yet the Irish were not alone among Europe's peoples in migrating in greatest numbers through the adjacent Atlantic world and eschewing more distant destinations. By 1850, more than three centuries after Magellan's westward passage into the Pacific and nearly a century after Wallis's landing in Tahiti, few people of European descent had ever visited the Pacific let alone contemplated permanently migrating there.

Mid-nineteenth-century population data, although fragmentary and incomplete, is indicative of the small size of the European presence around the periphery of the Pacific Ocean and on the islands of its interior. Most of its Irish component was concentrated in an Anglo-world comprising the settler societies of North America, Australia, and New Zealand. In 1850 the U.S. census recorded the total "White" and "Free Colored" population of California and the Oregon Territory at nearly 106,000. Irish-born men and women constituted 2.5 percent of this population, although they comprised 11 percent of the West Coast's foreign-born. In 1858, on the other side of the ocean, Europeans and the indigenous Māori each contributed approximately one-half of the total estimated New Zealand population of 115,461. Best estimates are that the Irish-born population of 4,554 constituted 7.66 percent of the total Pākehā (non-Māori) population. A notable contributor to the Irish population was the British army: soldiers born in Ireland constituted 54.4 percent of those who took discharges in New Zealand through the period 1840–52 and 56.8 percent of military discharges between 1853 and 1870.¹

Numbers were considerably greater across the Tasman Sea. In 1851 the non-indigenous population of the principal mainland eastern Australian colonies, New South Wales and Victoria, was 345,689. Here, on the Pacific Ocean's western shore, the Irish-born population totaled 53,277, or 15 percent of the total colonial population. That figure takes no account of the sizeable population of second-generation Irish, children born to men and women who arrived from Ireland in the preceding sixty years. Critical in building this population density was forced migration of the convict era, which from 1788 until the mid-nineteenth century saw felons convicted in British and Irish courts transported to penal servitude. Smaller numbers of Irish free settlers and a stream of discharged military veterans supplemented the convicts and their descendants. Additionally, a small Irish-born population of up to 10,000 resided on the southerly island of Van Diemen's Land, made famous in Irish circles as the place of exile of William Smith O'Brien and his fellow Young Irelanders.²

South America and mainland Asia were exceptions to these low population totals. Chile reached a total population of nearly 2 million by 1875, although first-generation European immigrants accounted for only 25,000 of that number. To the north, Peru also hosted a small immigrant population. Recent scholarship has begun to investigate the Irish presence in these and other South American societies in the nineteenth century, each with its own small but vibrant immigrant communities.³ Diminutive expatriate European communities were also scattered in Asian societies adjacent to the Pacific Ocean, invariably with some Irish among them. We have already seen the importance of Irish recruits in the administration of Great Britain's imperial jewel and how the extension of Western trade with East Asia from the middle of the nineteenth century ensured a limited presence of Irish professionals, merchants, administrators, and maritime workers. Tiny populations of missionaries, planters, and traders resided throughout the islands of the Pacific. In 1881, for example, Fiji's European-born population was 2,307, with males accounting for two-thirds of the expatriate population.⁴ Overall, at mid-century, the geographic reach of Europeans was wide, and Western political and economic influence was increasingly powerful, but their numerical presence was remarkably thin. At best estimate, those of Irish birth constituted somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000 of the European population present within the oceanic space, its densest concentration present in the British colonies in Australasia.

This situation changed dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century. The European population, and with it the Irish component, rose exponentially

from the late 1840s. Historians have long attributed this rapid population growth, and the related processes of urbanization and industrialization, to the series of extensive gold discoveries that occurred on the Pacific Ocean's eastern and western rims, commencing in California in 1848. Conventional explanations have seen gold as the irresistible treasure that lured tens of thousands of migrants, mainly men, to commence new lives in undeveloped settlements that grew quickly into metropolises. The wealth extracted from the goldfields provided the immense sums of capital that built the cities, enabled industrialization, and sustained an economic boom that lasted for decades.⁵

In recent times, the prominent New Zealand historian James Belich has proposed a more complex explanation of the demographic and economic transformations that occurred across the Pacific at this time. Belich argues that the importance of gold has been overstated, pointing out that the cities of Chicago and Toronto, both sites of explosive urbanization and industrial expansion in the decades after 1850, were not beneficiaries of gold-rush-driven prosperity. Instead, he argues, the critical factor for the emergence of the Pacific Anglo-world's new urban frontier was a global economic phenomenon—the nineteenth-century growth of two vast western hinterlands, the antipodean British colonies of settlement and the American West, tied, respectively, to “two Anglo-metropolises, the British Isles and the Atlantic United States.”⁶ Subject to successive booms and busts, the enlargement of these resource-rich hinterlands was accompanied by an astonishing tidal wave of urbanization and industrialization that powered its way westward across the North American continent to San Francisco, and eventually across the Pacific Ocean, after 1850. Energized by advances in shipping technology and communications, this giant wave transformed the scale of human mobility. On either side of the Pacific Ocean, Belich maintains, the widely conceived economic boom was more the driver of these revolutionary developments than gold: “The gold rushes need to be put back in their places as a part, ultimately a subordinate part, of the wider Anglo-explosion.”⁷ Yet despite its macroeconomic appeal, Belich's explanation risks understating the importance of gold in motivating thousands of individual immigrants' decisions to venture to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. People on the move dreamt of escape from want by acquiring wealth and liberty more than they contemplated industrial development and the benefits of long-distance trade.

These unprecedented economic developments coincided with the gravest of times for Ireland's economy. The immediate crisis produced by the potato famine in Ireland, and the longer term restructuring of its postfamine rural economy,

resulted in more than five million women and men emigrating during the seven decades prior to the outbreak of World War I. Frenzied flight from starvation in the late 1840s and early 1850s gave way to decades of sustained, intractable emigration toward the world's old established and newly emerging industrial economies. As a result of surging immigration and fast-paced economic transformation, the Pacific challenged the Atlantic world during the second half of the nineteenth century for the proportion of Irish-born in its total population, if not for absolute numbers.

This chapter examines the circumstances of the Irish emigration to this fast-changing oceanic setting in the second half of the nineteenth century and the pattern of settlement of those who ventured to Ireland's farthest shores. It emphasizes the extent to which the Irish who traveled so far from home were mobile migrants, frequently prone to movement within and around the Pacific Ocean in search of economic opportunity and improved social standing. Their presence, consolidated in these years, proved crucial in ensuring that the Pacific would not grow as a clone of European society, nor as a smaller and younger replica of the European fragment transplanted to the Atlantic Seaboard of the Americas. The arrival of Irish immigrants on a large scale, bearing distinctive historical experiences, beliefs, and aspirations, shaped in the second half of the nineteenth century a unique oceanic space through historical processes marked by creative conflict with their neighbors and a struggle to achieve consensus.

THE ORIGINS OF MASS MIGRATION

The making of modern Britain and British identity is sometimes attributed to the experience of war with France. If that is so, the coming of peace with France may be nearly as decisive in the constitution of modern Ireland and its identity. The end of the Napoleonic Wars unleashed far-reaching political and economic forces on both sides of the Atlantic world that left indelible marks on Ireland and its people. The origins of large-scale Irish emigration toward the Pacific Anglo-world, principally a phenomenon of the period from 1850 to 1880, lay in the transformations that commenced after the defeat of Napoleon's armies.

After a half century of robust economic growth, peace in Europe brought into immediate and stark relief the fundamental weaknesses and extreme vulnerability of Ireland's economy. The collapse in British demand for Irish exports after the cessation of war proved a heavy blow, terminating a half century of economic growth and social transformation. Declining prices for key agricultural exports,

diminished demand for locally produced manufactures, worsening unemployment as repatriated soldiers returned to their homes, and a series of disappointing harvests terminated Ireland's run of good fortune. Levels of poverty and distress deteriorated to a degree not seen for a generation as the rate of Irish population growth, already high by European standards, approached its peak.⁸ With national income in decline, no cushion existed to support the phenomenal increase in the number of mouths to feed.

The severe stress on Ireland's resource base produced a range of responses. First, pressure began to mount for reform in the countryside. In 1826 one landowner from Castle Connell on the Shannon in Limerick reported to a parliamentary inquiry that "every gentleman of landed property in Ireland is getting his land as much as possible into pasture, particularly from the encouraging price that butter has offered in late years, and the prospect of the Corn Laws being done away." Though talk of large-scale conversion to pasture was premature, the period after 1815 prompted Irish landlords to pay closer attention to commercial imperatives.⁹ Second, deteriorating living standards in the wake of the French defeat at Waterloo contributed to an escalation of violent agrarian unrest. In Munster, in particular, the revival of rural protest from 1815 provided an indication of the intense pressures then squeezing the local population. Incidents that included attacks on landlords' property and livestock, intimidation of tithe collectors, and internecine disputes among factions were in part a response to the immediate distress that afflicted rural communities whose standard of living was under threat; longer term they represented an attempt to hold at bay wider modernizing trends evident across the Irish countryside and to resist encroaching capitalism.¹⁰ Finally, Ireland's demography was also in flux. The rate of Irish population growth that had gathered steam through the latter decades of the eighteenth century began inexorably to slow in the early nineteenth century, even though the absolute size of Ireland's population continued to increase until the onset of the Great Famine.

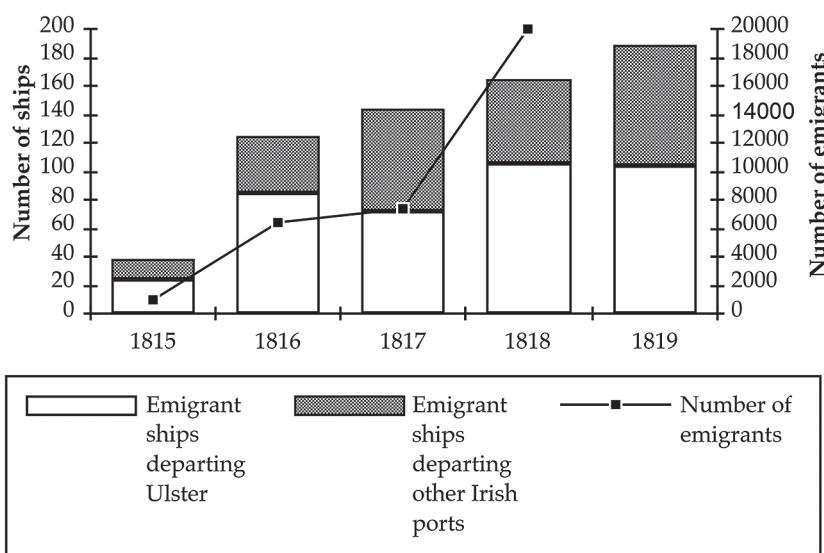
One important factor retarding the rate of population growth was a striking escalation in the scale of emigration after 1815. As we have already seen, departure abroad was nothing new to Ireland and its peoples. Up to and including the seventeenth century, emigration to continental Europe was a feature of life for Catholic Ireland. The eighteenth century witnessed a deepening of the propensity for emigration, with several significant waves of migrants embarking on the longer and more treacherous voyage to North America. Protestants from Ulster figured most prominently among the eighteenth-century emigrants. The onset of the

early nineteenth-century crisis then transformed fundamentally the organization of transatlantic migration and greatly loosened the shackles that previously tied Irish workers and their families to home. Thirty-five thousand emigrants sailed from Ireland to North America in the years 1815–18 alone.

Just as importantly, attitudinal changes at this time encouraged more Irish men and women to contemplate the possibility of departure for the New World and to do so optimistically. Hopeful accounts of better opportunities abroad contrasted sharply with the uneasy prospects facing those at home. As historian William Forbes Adams wrote, there were now “in many districts discontented groups who looked to America for the ultimate solution of their difficulties.”¹¹

In excess of one million emigrants departed from Ireland for North America in the three decades after 1815. The majority settled finally in the United States, although Canada and Britain also received many of those who departed. Ulster was initially the source of the greatest number to depart, with well-to-do farmers, artisans, and other skilled workers to the fore. That northern-dominated emigration base broadened over time, so that by the 1830s greater numbers of semiskilled

Figure 1. Departure for North American ports, 1815–1819



Source: William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1932), Appendix, Table O, 423–27.

and unskilled workers sought out passages to America. Increased numbers of men and women from Leinster and Munster also made for the principal port towns, ready to commence the voyage across the Briny Ocean. With this regional spread, the proportion of Roman Catholics in the emigrant stream also began to increase, until by the mid-1830s the number of Roman Catholic emigrants outnumbered Protestants.¹²

The escalation of emigration from Ireland between 1815 and 1845 coincided with increasingly challenging conditions for new immigrants who landed in North America. The U.S. economy experienced rapid economic growth during the first half of the nineteenth century. The onset of the market revolution heralded a period of intense urbanization and industrial expansion in New England and the mid-Atlantic states.¹³ With the domestic labor market unable to satisfy the insatiable demand for labor, Irish emigrants were attracted to the United States in search of stable employment, better opportunities, and superior political and religious freedom. For the most part, their aspirations were only partly fulfilled. Initial optimism for the apparently boundless opportunities in the eastern United States was doused by the harsh reality of the antebellum labor market. While some newcomers prospered materially, many more Irish arrivals found themselves mired in poorly paid, low-skilled work and subject to unremitting nativist bigotry on account of their Roman Catholicism.¹⁴

Before the 1840s these sweeping developments on either side of the Atlantic Ocean touched only lightly on Ireland's farthest shores. As we have seen, from the 1790s Irish convicts were sent directly to Australia, and the penal colonies received a sizeable number of transported agrarian protestors. However, Ireland's distress in the prefamine decades did not lead to large-scale emigration to the antipodes or any other destinations around the Pacific. Australia was too distant, its reputation too disagreeable, and most importantly, in the absence of government subsidies, passages to its ports were far too costly for most post-1815 emigrants. New Zealand was even less well known and more expensive to reach, although as it continues to remind its trans-Tasman neighbors, spared at least the ignominy of convict foundations. While the real cost of passages to American ports trended downward consistently from the 1830s to the early 1850s, the longer voyage to the Australian East Coast or New Zealand was typically five times or more as expensive as the transatlantic crossing. The North American East Coast, closer to home, and with a reputation for liberty and opportunity, held all the aces in the pre-1845 international labor market.¹⁵

In contrast to the unbridled capitalism of the early nineteenth-century Atlantic world, escalation in the size of the Irish migrant stream to the western Pacific came about as a result of government intervention in that labor market. Scarred by the notoriety of the convict years, colonial authorities decided that no significant improvement in the British colonies of settlement was possible without first improving their moral tone, a measure that required urgently redressing the wide gender imbalance in the European population. Henry Cosby, the first Crown commissioner for the Lachlan Pastoral District, told the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1839 that the European population of his inland jurisdiction was somewhere between fifteen hundred and two thousand, "half of whom I should say are prisoners, and a large proportion of the remainder expirees or emancipists. Of this population I think there are not more than fifty or sixty women."¹⁶ Evangelical churchmen anxiously seized on such accounts, condemning the sexual deviance they attributed to the absence of women and families. With no prospect of obtaining a sizeable number of females from England, recruitment schemes targeted Irish women to fulfill the role of God's frontier police force. In Australia's case, as a first step, ninety-nine women from Cork's Foundling Hospital were shipped to New South Wales at the expense of the British government. A broader scheme of female-assisted immigration followed in the wake of that first and very limited exercise. Influenced by the doctrines of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and concerned at the burden assistance schemes placed on the imperial treasury, the Colonial Office determined that the proceeds of the sale of land would fund future endeavors. Consequently, nearly three thousand women were shipped from the United Kingdom to Australia in the period 1832–36, many of them Irish. That scheme ended in the face of mounting criticisms over the moral character of the women selected and the fear that their presence would breed unfortunate numbers of Roman Catholics loyal to the pope rather than the British Crown.¹⁷ In 1851 a population circuit breaker came, not from any government policy or administrative measure, but from extensive discoveries of alluvial gold.

A similar situation prevailed in neighboring New Zealand. As we have seen, the actual number of arrivals from Ireland was very small indeed—fewer than five thousand Irish-born were resident in that Crown colony before the end of the 1850s, when they constituted nearly 12 percent of the foreign-born population. Remote-ness, inaccessibility, and the high cost of passages all played a part in restricting the rate of growth of the Pākeha (non-Māori) population. Those Irish who did arrive were most likely to be step migrants, former Australia hands who crossed

the Tasman Sea on the basis of information obtained there about New Zealand, rather than direct migrants from Ireland. Others came on the coattails of empire, administrators and soldiers charged with extending the Crown's authority over its newest and most distant acquisition.¹⁸

THE GOLD REVOLUTION

The gleam of gold has long attracted the eye of historians on either side of the Pacific Ocean, even if its centrality to mid-nineteenth-century growth rates is now in dispute. Previous generations of scholars had the first call on figurative language to describe the remarkable wave of gold finds that swept across the Pacific from 1848. The renowned Australian historian Manning Clark's description of popular reaction to the onset of the frenetic rush in Victoria in July 1851 remains one of the most original: "Gentlemen foamed at the mouth; women fainted; children somersaulted. Another great madness had begun."¹⁹ The mesmerizing Victorian discoveries Clark described followed hard on the heels of earlier gold finds in California and New South Wales, and it preceded by a decade the discovery of gold in southern New Zealand in May 1861. Other finds followed in dozens of hitherto unknown and sometimes forgotten places, scattered on either side of the Pacific Ocean, over the next three decades. These included the West Coast of New Zealand's South Island and the east coast of its North Island, near the town of Thames, in the 1860s; at Gulgong and the tellingly named hamlet of Home Rule in Central West New South Wales in the early 1870s; near Charters Towers and Palmer River in Queensland later in the same decade; and at the Canadian Yukon's Klondike in 1896. In these cases, and countless others, gold discoveries initiated spasms of highly localized activity that became signal points in their respective local history and wider national historiographies. They also proved critical in creating a more coherent and interconnected Pacific Anglo-world in European minds, a spatial zone in which the Irish quickly became central participants.

California was first to experience the tremor of gold. It can be difficult for us today to appreciate the hopes, and anxieties, that gold aroused when it was unearthed around the Pacific. Most people understood that the precious metal had the potential to unleash a social revolution, transform society irrevocably, and establish a new class of property owners and decision makers, men made powerful by neither claims to superior birthright nor demonstrable merit.²⁰ Initially, no one was sure quite what the consequences of such a scramble for wealth would be. The embryonic size of the European populations in each of the locations where gold rushes



Map 4. The Pacific gold rushes

occurred intensified the uncertainty and insecurity. For as it happened, in none of the Pacific gold regions were the established state authorities sufficiently strong to turn back the crowds or commandeer the wealth for the state as the Spanish had done in their earlier American empire.²¹ A new regime of private property held sway. The state might regulate and attempt to impose order on the goldfields, but it lacked the will or the way to control fully what was unleashed. Similarly, in none of the gold locations situated around the Pacific was there the ability to dampen down the mid-nineteenth-century spirit of liberalism and reform in the manner that the European states temporarily managed to do when revolutions broke out in 1848. The common denominator where gold was found was weak and uncertain state control over new and heterogeneous populations. The best that could be attempted by governments anywhere along the Pacific's golden fault lines was

to try and impose a framework for managing conflict and in alignment with racial thinking of the time to privilege the entitlements of some groups over others.²²

All these tendencies were evident in California, which at the time of gold's discovery at Sutter's Mill in 1848 was a territory of scarcely fourteen thousand people ruled over by the U.S. Army. Its population rose rapidly as word of gold's presence spread, rising more than fivefold in the space of only two years to ninety-three thousand. Most of that growth was concentrated in the San Francisco Bay area. The discovery of gold transformed San Francisco, a trading hamlet formerly known as Yerba Buena with a population of approximately one thousand in 1848, into a bustling settlement of fifty-six thousand by 1856.²³ Newcomers came from all parts, invariably optimistic and frequently ill prepared, in search of immediate fortunes. From the outset the new city attracted a sizeable Irish inflow, a presence that was maintained even when the initial gold frenzy had diminished. In fact, the Irish influx into California during the gold rush and the years immediately afterward was so pronounced that by 1870 the Irish-born were the largest overseas-born group in the state, accounting for a quarter of all foreign-born residents in California and almost 10 percent of its total population.²⁴

The Irish-born in mid-nineteenth-century California were a diverse group, drawn from three major sources. The first and smallest component came directly from Ireland. In 1852 only 7 percent of San Francisco's Irish-born immigrants nominated the British Isles as their previous place of residence.²⁵ Though these newcomers' migration occurred at the height of the Great Famine, it would be a mistake not to distinguish sharply between them and the famine refugees who escaped Ireland for America's Atlantic Seaboard cities. Those arriving directly from Ireland on the California goldfields had the means to undertake the lengthy voyage to California. They were also a heterogeneous group in terms of regional and religious backgrounds. Thomas Kerr embarked from Derry for Liverpool on 4 October 1849 aboard the steamboat *Maiden City*, the crossing to England a short first step toward his ultimate destination of San Francisco, California. Kerr, a Protestant and native of Dundalk, County Louth, was twenty-four years old, recently married, and the father of an infant son when he began his journey. He traveled with his brother-in-law, an indication of his family connections. Kerr purchased a cabin berth for the long voyage rather than a cheaper place in steerage class, and his description of the voyage is brimming with observations reflecting the social standing this accommodation represented. Yet despite his class and religious background, Kerr's identification with Ireland was clear. On day 149 of the

161-day voyage from Liverpool to San Francisco, the passengers and crew celebrated Saint Patrick's Day: "Most of us on board commemorate this anniversary of this festival. Otho' we had not the real shamrock to drown; yet we imagined ourselves to have it; I cracked 2 bottles of wine at dinner to drink to our absent friends & the honour of the day—the captain cracked us two bottles of champaign [*sic*] at night so we kept up the spirits of the day and drank the health three times of our friends in Old Ireland, knowing they will be doing same to our memory."²⁶

Despite his relative affluence, Kerr's introduction to life in the California gold-fields was a punishing one. Unable to find work and remorseful at leaving his family behind, he sold his personal effects in a vain attempt to strike it rich on the gold-fields. Status concerns soon gave way to the anxiety of finding shelter and food. "I may say necessity has driven all shame out of our heads. Would we ever make such an affront at home as to raise money its not likely but a man need not care what he does in honesty to make a living people may talk as they will about the gold of Calafornia but there is certainly gold in the country, but its very difficult to obtain it I never knew what it was to want money till I came into this miserable country." Though cheered by the arrival of his family in November 1851, Kerr's prospects remained bleak. His wife became ill, his general store did not succeed, and regular wage work was scarce. His last journal entry, dated Tuesday 9 March 1852, reads despairingly, "Nothing new—still walking about doing nothing." Although Kerr's journal goes silent at this point, we know he remained in San Francisco and passed away in 1888, five years after the death of his wife, Margaret. His two sons remained in the San Francisco area; one became a music teacher, the other an employee of the chemical company E. I. du Pont de Nemours.²⁷ Kerr's California story confirms two key aspects of the typical Irish migrant's story: social mobility was more likely to be bestowed on the second generation than the first, and no matter the arduous conditions they encountered, return home to Ireland was rarely an option.

Travel direct from Ireland to California was rare. The largest group of Irish-born in mid-nineteenth-century California were those who had previously resided elsewhere in the United States. In 1852, 45 percent of San Francisco's Irish-born population had previously resided to the east, most in either New England or the mid-Atlantic states, but with smaller numbers following the advancing western frontier. At mid-century, two main routes existed for these migrants to travel to the Pacific coast. The most difficult was the overland route, and Irish settlers were participants in the early parties that crossed the continental United States to arrive in the far West.²⁸ However, in the years before the completion of the

transcontinental railway, most new settlers arrived by sea. Between 1855 and 1869, approximately three-quarters of intending Californians chose to sail south and cross the isthmus at Panama before sailing northward to California, a journey made simpler following the opening of the Panama railway in 1855.²⁹

Samuel Sinclair, an Irish Protestant who was born at Sixtowns, County Londonderry, in November 1830, was one immigrant who followed this path. Sinclair's story provides a showcase of the remarkable mobility of those Irish who ventured west and the connections that drew them across the continent. The son of a freeholder farmer, Sinclair sailed to New York in 1848 and quickly moved to Pittsburgh, where he took work in the general store owned by another northern Irishman, Henry McCullough. He subsequently went to seek out blood relatives in Detroit, the first stage on a three-year journey that took him from Michigan to Chicago and then to Saint Louis. In 1851 Sinclair received a letter from the Reverend Samuel Smyth of Draperstown, Londonderry, close to the place of his birth. Rev. Smyth's brother, James, had recently left Texas and was now living on a ranch of 1,280 acres near Stockton, California. Advised by his Irish correspondent that it was "a good healthy country, the land of gold," Samuel Sinclair sold his assets and headed west. By the time he landed in San Francisco, Sinclair had spent his entire savings of \$200 and was \$40 in debt but optimistic about the future. In California, he encountered many Irish acquaintances, some familiar faces from the homeland, others from his time in America. In 1854 he purchased a grocery store; his retail inventory was testimony to the rapidly developing Pacific trading world he had entered: "Our potatoes came from Sydney; our flour, bran, short beans, walnuts, raisins and green apples came from Valparaiso; our meat, sugar and preserved eggs, live pigs and live poultry came from China; oranges and coconuts from Tahiti; a few ripe mission grapes from Los Angeles wine."³⁰ Sinclair did well in California and praised the improving tone of life there. "The moral tone of the people was improving rapidly, families were coming from the older states, and from Europe to settle in California; young men were getting married and building homes for their families in San Francisco."³¹

News of the California gold finds spread quickly, seizing imaginations from China to Australia, and precipitating new circuits of mobility and exchange. Just as the rapid increase in population in San Francisco created a new market for imported commodities and foodstuffs, the West Coast gold rush initiated for the first time substantial eastward migration across the Pacific Ocean. Reaction in the British colonies of settlement was swift. James Esmond, born at Enniscorthy

in County Wexford on 11 April 1822, was one who made the long oceanic crossing from Australia, and his life exemplifies the mobility that characterized so many of the early fortune seekers. Having migrated to Port Phillip (Victoria) in 1840, Esmond took a variety of rural jobs around eastern Australia before setting sail across the Pacific to the U.S. West Coast in 1849. As was true for so many others, Esmond's California odyssey may have fulfilled a desire for adventure, but his dream of material success was not realized. He did not remain in San Francisco and returned to seek gold in southern Australia the following year. Esmond's departure for the Australian fields coincided with the arrival of the Chinese, twenty thousand of whom landed in California in 1852. By 1860, 9 percent of the population of California was Chinese-born, their arrival setting the scene for conflict between European and Asian gold seekers that would be repeated around the Pacific Ocean rim in the second half of the nineteenth century.³²

James Esmond was part of a sizeable group from the Australasian colonies to take to the ocean at mid-century. By the time of the 1852 California census, 2,228 previous residents of Australia were resident in San Francisco, a group that included a large component of Irish-born and their descendants. In fact, the number of trans-Pacific, Irish-born residents that year was almost identical to the number who had relocated to the West Coast from elsewhere in the United States.³³ These early arrivals became known to Californians as the "Sydney Ducks," gold seekers who met an angry reception from the American-born upon arrival in San Francisco because of their purported criminality (some were indeed ex-convicts), their alleged culpability for fires that plagued the city, and their reputation for gambling and excessive drinking. On account of their negative image, the Sydney Ducks became a target of the famous Committee of Vigilance in 1851. As a leading historian of the Vigilance campaign pointed out, the unfortunate combination of Australian background and Irish ancestry made the group an easy target for their opponents, their heritage tapping into deep-seated nativist hostility toward Roman Catholics and mounting concerns over the lawlessness of the gold frontier.³⁴

Despite their colorful reputation, the historical record demonstrates that immigrants from Australia were not primarily young, single, reckless men. Most arrived in family units, their average age was significantly above that of California as a whole, and the sex ratio of the group (152 males to 100 females) more closely approximated that of the entire United States (105 to 100 in 1850) than male-dominated California (1,214 to 100 in 1852). Irish immigrants arriving from Sydney in 1852 were represented across all major occupational categories, though like

their English-born counterparts, the majority were concentrated in laboring work.³⁵ Yet their statistical normality seemed to matter little in those early days of vigilantism until the arrival of the Chinese on the goldfields incited a new and enduring racial scare.

Gold rushes were transient affairs, but the settlement at San Francisco endured and prospered when the initial exhilaration had passed. Spared the destructive effects of the American Civil War, the city experienced economic growth through the 1860s, its industrial expansion matched by significant population growth. Agriculture also experienced consolidation and reform in the two decades after the gold rush, with the increased production from California farms bound for markets in the populous eastern states and overseas.³⁶ The 1870 U.S. census reveals the Irish-born to have been major participants in this period of economic, industrial, and urban growth. That year the state's Irish-born population of 54,421 constituted 9.35 percent of the total population of California and slightly over one in four of all foreign-born residents. San Francisco itself was by far the most populous Irish county, in both absolute and proportional terms: 48 percent of California's Irish lived there. Indeed, one in every six of the city's residents was Irish-born. Elsewhere, strong concentrations of Irish immigrants existed in the five neighboring counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Mateo, and Solano and along an axis running northeast from San Francisco to the Nevada border. Relatively few Irish then lived in Southern California: Los Angeles County was home to only 471 Irish, or 3.1 percent of that county's population.³⁷

Gold fever did not infect all of the West Coast. It was a place of astonishing diversity, measured in terms of population, regional identity, political sentiment, and economic activity. Further north, in Oregon, away from the frenetic activity of the goldfields, the development of the rural economy was the principal objective. Newcomers here, one historian explained, were different from their southern neighbors. Oregon hosted "a self-selected fragment society of family farmers who, if not eager to escape the emerging world of commerce, finance, and manufacturing, saw in Oregon a chance to engage (and control) the world on their own terms."³⁸ Even that cool-headed ambition posed challenges and controversies. When residents in Oregon met in 1857 to chart the territory's future constitutional path, the question that bedeviled the nation raised its head—would slavery be permitted? To the forefront of proslavery advocates was Judge Matthew Deady, born in Baltimore to an Irish immigrant father from County Cork and a second-generation Irish mother. Raised in a family that moved incessantly as his itinerant school-teacher

father sought work, Deady represented a very different strain of Irishman than that often associated with the West Coast Irish. Exhibiting what a biographer called “half amused contempt for the Irish race and deep distrust of the Roman Catholic Church,” Judge Deady became an advocate of eighteenth-century plantation life and its introduction to the new territory, a vocal opponent of gold and undue personal wealth, and a convert to Anglicanism. Judge Matthew Deady’s life is a salient reminder of the diversity of Irish social and political life and the range of opinions that took root along the Pacific’s eastern shore.³⁹

While many Irish newcomers remained in California, a smaller number of gold rush arrivals retraced their steps. Samuel Sinclair recrossed America, making his way to New York and then to his father’s home in the north of Ireland to visit his mother’s grave. Others went westward across the Pacific. When Irishman James Esmond sailed back to Australia from California, he was joined on board ship by Englishman Edward Hargraves, born in Hampshire in 1816, who had worked his way to Australia as a seaman, spent time as a beachcomber in Melanesia, and crossed the Pacific to join the California rush in July 1849. Like Esmond, Hargraves’s stay in California had been a brief and unhappy one. Confronted with the American gold miners’ increasing antagonism toward foreigners and short of money, he decided to return to Australia. Armed with knowledge acquired at the California diggings, Hargraves set sail to New South Wales, where he found fame as the initiator of the Australian gold rushes.⁴⁰

GOLD IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC

On 8 May 1851 Edward Hargraves announced to a public meeting in the town of Bathurst, one hundred miles west of Sydney, the discovery of gold on a field he named Ophir after the biblical port of gold and riches. Two days later, the town’s newspaper, the *Bathurst Free Press*, prophesied “a complete social revolution for Australia.” Hargraves’s announcement came only after he had attempted to convince the colonial government to buy his silence.⁴¹ Unsatisfied with its failure to respond to his ultimatum and concerned that others might beat him to the punch, Hargraves unleashed the administration’s worst fears. Hundreds of men fled immediately westward from Sydney over the Blue Mountains to the goldfields as the colonial government hastily developed a strategy to maintain law and order.

Fewer than two months later came the announcement of the discovery of gold in the neighboring colony of Victoria. Its fields, richer than those to the north, quickly became the focus of international attention and attracted new arrivals from

around the world in search of their fortunes. The demographic transformation brought about by the eastern Australian gold finds was remarkable. Where the Australian colonies had for decades struggled to overcome the twin disadvantages of distance and unsavory convict origins, the discovery of gold and the economic surge that ensued guaranteed these territories were viewed in a more favorable light. In Victoria, the settler population rose by 450 percent, from 77,345 in 1851 to slightly over 540,000 one decade later. Its principal center, Melbourne, grew from a town of 29,000 in the first year of the gold rush to reach 126,000 by 1861.⁴²

Like the California population boom, immigration to the Australian goldfields in the 1850s was notable for its diversity as much as its scale. In addition to large numbers of newcomers from the United Kingdom, passengers from continental Europe arrived in the Australian colonies in significant numbers for the first time (see photo 6). Immigrants spoke French, German, and Italian on the polyglot gold-fields. Chinese diggers also came, especially from 1854, their presence resulting in sharply increased xenophobia and sporadic outbursts of violence from the native-born white and European immigrant population. The sense of cosmopolitanism



Photo 6. Frederick Grosse, *Emigrants Landing at the Queen's Wharf, Melbourne, from a Sketch by N. Chevalier, Esq.*, ca. 1864 (National Library of Australia, 422154)

that was a feature of San Francisco's gold rush days was also present in the rapidly expanding Australian urban settlements. At the dock in Melbourne, one historian commented, "stood hundreds of vessels flying the flags of all nations—whalers, steamers, American clippers, emigrant ships, Fine East Indiamen, all stalled for the want of seamen."⁴³

New in all this chaos was the arrival of frequent passenger ships from the United States. There had been many North American vessels in Australian ports before, ranging from early nineteenth-century whalers taking on provisions to the majestic arrival in Sydney in 1839 of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition. However, the volume of people and goods moving throughout the Pacific increased considerably at mid-century, a development aided both by a dramatic increase in the size of the U.S. merchant fleet and the arrival of new steamships capable of venturing far from coastal waters. American shipbuilders launched 125 new ocean clippers in 1853 alone, enabling an exponential increase in the number of trans-Pacific crossings. For example, where only 3 New England-based trading ships made port in Melbourne in 1851, two years later that number had risen to 134. Lumber, prefabricated houses, and consumer items from American mills and factories flooded into Melbourne to meet the needs of the eager newcomers who stepped onto the city's docks each day.⁴⁴

New technology revolutionized the speed and reliability of travel. State-of-the-art sailing vessels took weeks off the length of the journey, and the replacement of sail power with steam engines promised even further reductions in time and greater regularity in service. Steamers had been a feature of coastal navigation in both the eastern and western Pacific since the 1830s, and by the 1840s operated across the Atlantic Ocean. The vast distances of the Pacific proved a formidable obstacle to the new technology, necessitating detailed planning for refueling and the taking on of fresh supplies. Eventually, on 23 April 1853, the 1,000-ton American screw steamer *Monumental City* arrived in Sydney from San Francisco via Tahiti carrying 124 steerage-class passengers, becoming the first steamship to cross the Pacific Ocean. The steamer's voyage time from California was sixty-five days. It was followed soon after by the 761-ton wooden paddle boat *New Orleans*. These steamers formed part of the steep rise in ships and tonnage connecting the United States and Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

The principal study of trans-Pacific migration in the gold rush years indicates that 9 percent of the first hundred thousand newcomers to arrive in Victoria came from the United States. Many of these immigrants were American-born; others, as

we have seen, were disillusioned Australians returning after the luster of California had worn off.⁴⁶ Still others were multistep migrants who had been born in Europe and resided temporarily in the United States before moving west across the ocean. Irish men and women formed part of this third group, though their exact numbers are impossible now to ascertain. Like those who had arrived in California, the trans-Pacific Irish of the 1850s stand in sharp contrast to the profile of trans-Atlantic migrants in the famine years. Mobility, vitality, and opportunism were their hallmarks. James Forester Sullivan, who was born in Waterford in 1817 to a merchant family, exemplified those characteristics. Sullivan, a Methodist, left Ireland for Liverpool shortly after the death of his father but did not remain there for long. After crossing the Atlantic to the United States in the 1830s, Sullivan worked as a merchant, fought in the Mexican-American War, and was commissioned in the Louisiana Guards. He then sought his fortune on the freshly discovered California goldfields. Word of the Australian gold finds soon excited Sullivan's spirit of entrepreneurship—he purchased a ship, loaded it with passengers and trade goods, and set sail for Sydney. After landing in Australia, Sullivan sold the ship and commodities and moved to the Victorian goldfields, where he established a retail business. If his deepening involvement in the colony's civic affairs was any indication, this time Sullivan was finally ready to settle down. He became heavily involved in the Bendigo Mechanic's Institute as well as the town's Agricultural and Horticultural Society, its hospital, Benevolent Society, and the branch of the Land League. He stood for election to the colonial parliament, was appointed a minister in several Victorian governments in the 1860s, and represented Victoria at the Dublin International Exhibition in 1865. Sullivan married in 1857 but had no children. He died in 1876.⁴⁷

While some Irish immigrants like James Sullivan put down permanent roots, others remained transient. The discovery of gold near Otago, on New Zealand's South Island, set up the next stage of the circuitous Pacific gold migration. Inspired by news reports of minor gold finds, Gabriel Read, an Australian-born prospector who had spent time on the California and Australian fields, crossed the Tasman Sea to New Zealand early in 1861. Initial sightings proved disappointing, but on 23 May 1861 Read made a substantial discovery at the place known as Gabriel's Gully. The aftermath was no surprise. "Gold, gold, gold, is the universal subject of conversation," wrote the editor of the *Otago Witness* on 6 July 1861. "The fever is running to such a height that, if it continue, there will scarcely be a man left in town."⁴⁸ Hundreds descended on the province to seek their fortunes. One

study using death registers and passenger lists calculated that almost one-third (31.6 percent) of those who arrived from the United Kingdom to work the Otago gold-fields were Irish, a figure slightly below that of the English (36.6) but well above the Scots. As in California and Australia, the hunt for gold was never static, and in 1864 another major find was made at Greenstone Creek on the island's West Coast. There the proportion of Irish was even greater: 47.9 percent of the United Kingdom immigrants to Westland during the period of the gold rush were of Irish nativity.⁴⁹

The South Island gold discoveries had major demographic consequences for New Zealand. Immigration increased significantly, boosting the Pākeha population. The Irish were at the forefront of this expansion: in 1867, 32.6 percent of the West Coast's foreign-born female population was of Irish birth, a proportion that remained relatively constant until the end of the nineteenth century. Irish males constituted the same proportion of the foreign-born population in 1867, although their share of that population declined more rapidly to 23.8 percent of the total in 1896. Moreover, these proportions take no account of New Zealand—or Australian-born men or women of Irish descent, some the children of migrants who had come earlier in the 1840s or 1850s and who had migrated between these colonies of settlement.⁵⁰

A second consequence of the gold finds was to draw the South Island, its peoples, and its economy into a close relationship with the Australian colonies—one writer has gone so far as to describe the West Coast at this time as approximating “a trans-Tasman suburb of Melbourne.”⁵¹ The effects went further than that. The circuitous nature of the nineteenth-century gold trail drew the regions affected into a broader Pacific-wide network. In New Zealand, as in North America and Australia, the statistics provide telling evidence of the depth of the Irish participation. In each of these locations, where gold triggered rapid demographic and social transformation, the Irish established themselves as early arrivals, migrants whose presence would be integral to subsequent political and economic developments. The measure of their influence through the Pacific Anglo-world during the remainder of the century would in part be determined by the level of reinforcement from home.

THE HEMORRHAGING OF IRELAND

The end of the Great Famine failed to stem the flow of emigration. Ireland's population, 8.2 million in 1841, fell to 5.8 million in 1861, and continued to decline to 4.4 million by 1911. This rate of annual emigration from Ireland in the second

half of the nineteenth century, historian Kevin Kenny has pointed out, was almost twice that of any other European country.⁵² To nationalists, the perpetual departure of Irish people was a wound, slowly draining the lifeblood of the country. No measures seemed able to cauterize it. However, with the benefit of hindsight, we can better understand the unrelenting global economic forces that contributed to the sustained level of departure. The exit of in excess of four million women and men in the second half of the nineteenth century was principally the result of deep-seated changes occurring within Ireland's rural economy and concurrent rapid growth in industrial production in the lands across the seas. In the agricultural sector, conversion from tillage to pasture and the consolidation of Irish farm-lands occurred at pace, sharply reducing the number of small, labor-intensive farms. One-third of small farms of between one and five acres were lost in the restructuring between 1861 and 1911; one-quarter of those five to fifteen acres in size also ceased to exist. As a result, opportunities for employment in the countryside diminished, the number of agricultural laborers declining by two-thirds.⁵³

Hand-in-hand with these changes in the countryside, the level of urbanization in Ireland increased as rural communities shrank in size, large-scale emigration continued, and other men and women moved in from the countryside in search of a living. Whereas in 1851, 17 percent of Ireland's population resided in towns of in excess of 2,000 people, by 1911 the proportion in towns of that size had nearly doubled to 33.5 percent. Many of the trappings of a modern urban society emerged in those places, including transport improvements and the development of financial institutions. The spread of urban development was uneven. Dublin City's population grew modestly from 246,679 to 304,802 between 1851 and 1911. In contrast, Cork's population declined by 6,000 in this period to 76,673. The noteworthy city was Belfast, which grew from 97,784 in 1851 to 208,122 in 1881, and then to 386,947 by 1911.⁵⁴ Yet, even allowing for Belfast's long period of sustained expansion, urbanization rates in Ireland remained modest by the standards of its European neighbors. By 1911, when one in three people were resident in towns of 2,000 or more, the Irish urbanization rate had only come to mirror the proportion of England's urban population at the very beginning of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵

With notable exceptions such as Belfast's ship-building industry, no large-scale expansion of manufacturing accompanied the rise in Ireland's level of urbanization. Not, at least, in cities and towns in Ireland itself. As historians Lyn Hollen Lees and John Modell long ago postulated, Irish employment in manufacturing was sharply on the rise in the second half of the nineteenth century, but not in

Ireland. Industrialized Ireland, they argued, was predominantly an extra-national phenomenon that took place in the factories of Britain, the eastern United States, and, to a lesser extent, the Pacific's new urban frontier.⁵⁶

Unsurprisingly, historians have devoted a great deal of attention to Irish involvement in industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. Considered in terms of absolute numbers, this makes perfect sense. In 1870 the Irish population in the state of New York alone surpassed that of the West Coast states and Australia in total. Across New England and the mid-Atlantic states, and in the new urban frontier of the Midwest, tens of thousands of Irish men and women fulfilled critical roles as industrial workers, constructors, and domestic servants. Their communities in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago became emblematic of Ireland's vast diaspora and retain that status today. Still, to focus only on these most heavily studied sites ignores the rate at which the Pacific Ocean's northeastern and western coasts underwent the twin transformations of urbanization and industrialization.

California experienced strong economic growth during the Civil War and continued its development when peace came. The opening in 1869 of the first transcontinental railway, constructed largely by Irish and Chinese laborers, offered unparalleled opportunities for expanding commerce across the nation. New people came too, both temporary residents and those drawn by longer-term opportunities for employment in the Golden State. During the era of reconstruction, the California economy grew and diversified. Mining and timber production remained critical while extensive expansion occurred in the banking, manufacturing, and transport industries. Foremost among the West Coast cities affected by these economic changes was San Francisco. The value of its manufactures far exceeded that of all other West Coast centers.⁵⁷

By 1870 the Irish-born were well established in the maturing California economy, and the census of that year revealed an occupational profile consistent with their predominantly urban distribution in the state. While the proportion employed in agriculture was lower than that of most other immigrant groups, the most notable feature, as was the case with the Chinese in California, is the strong concentration of Irish immigrants employed in the provision of personal and professional services. The large number of Irish in this category reflected strong Irish concentrations in the categories of laborer (7,630 of the state's total of 14,778 Irish employed in personal and professional services) and domestic service (4,434), both consistent with the group's strong presence in urban San Francisco. Elsewhere,

the Irish were strongly overrepresented in the ranks of the military in California, constituting 33 percent of the state's total number employed in the U.S. Army at a time when they comprised 9.7 percent of the state's population, 29 percent of California's stable keepers and hostlers, and a quarter of its boardinghouse keepers.

This profile, which points to significant numbers of Irish in unskilled employment, puts to rest any notion of California as a land of unbridled opportunity for the Irish. At the same time, full analysis of Irish occupational mobility refutes the notion that the group was especially disadvantaged. And if California failed to meet expectations, for the mobile West Coast Irish other destinations in the vibrant Pacific world beckoned. In 1883 John Sinclair of Healdsburg, California, wrote to Margaret Graham of Draperstown, County Derry, rejecting her appeal to return to Ireland and expressing general satisfaction with his new life in California: "From the first day I landed in California my pocket never wanted money; when I was in Ireland I cood not say that." Sinclair was neither complacent nor irrevocably committed to life in the United States, writing, "If I dont settle down on a ranch I will go to astrulea. I left Ireland to make money and intend to make it."⁵⁸

While San Francisco was the focus, the Irish-born dispersed right along the Pacific Seaboard. We have already seen glimpses of their presence in the distinctive settlement that developed in Oregon. Further north, Irish migrants participated in Seattle's fledgling logging industry as it provided timber for the California gold rush boom. Small numbers of Irish women also came to the Pacific Northwest in the early years, including single women encouraged to migrate to Seattle to help redress the gender imbalance in the settlement. From these beginnings, Irish involvement in the state's community and economic life expanded. First- and second-generation Irish featured in fields as diverse as farming, mining, railroad speculation, retail, newspaper publishing, and local government. Later, the gold discovery at the Klondike brought fast population growth, with Seattle's population doubling to in excess of eighty thousand between 1890 and 1900.⁵⁹

The West Coast's economic growth had consequences beyond American shores. In the 1870s the expansion and integration of the Pacific island economies into wider regional and global trading networks continued. New steam packets instituted faster and more frequent mail connection between San Francisco, Auckland, and Sydney, with the duration of the passage across the great ocean now reduced to as little as three weeks. Ships took on fresh fuel and provisions in the principal ports, including Honolulu, Levuka, and Apia, where the impact of the Pacific islands incorporation into the nineteenth-century capitalist economy was evident

in multiple ways.⁶⁰ In Hawaii the second half of the nineteenth century saw the expansion of the sugar industry, built on the importation of large numbers of indentured laborers from China and Japan. In Fiji the 1870s saw the arrival of new European settlers determined to profit from small-scale cotton production. Though declining world cotton prices and natural disasters decimated the fledgling industry, financial institutions were established and new economic activities developed. The Fiji Banking and Commercial Company opened its doors in 1873, with New Zealand entrepreneurs taking a keen interest in opportunities there. From 1880 the arrival of the powerful Colonial Sugar Refining Company transformed sugar production in Fiji. There, as in all the islands, Irish were present across the social spectrum and in a range of occupations, sometimes as long-term residents, at other times sojourners.⁶¹

That diversity was on show when the renowned nationalist Michael Davitt crossed the Pacific Ocean following his 1895 speaking tour of Australia and New Zealand. The arrival of his ship *Alameda* in Samoa on 4 December 1895 provided the founder of the Land League with the opportunity to play the tourist and pursue his hobby of photography. Samoans, Davitt wrote, were “the finest built men I have yet seen among ‘savage’ people. Bodies giant like, and in fine proportion. Limbs all splendidly developed. Males nearly all tattooed on thighs down to the knee.” Girls “mature at ten and are old at twenty-five.” People, he believed, were cheerful and happy, and unassuming. “Kodaked several groups of men, women and children.”⁶² Like other visitors, he sought out the prized semi-nudes of young Samoan women: “Great fun while taking pictures of a few young girls who were induced to take off their make believe corsage. The old women urged them to put all their charms in the picture. Nothing in ‘civilized life’ could compare with the modest demeanor of the young girls in question.” Food was plentiful, nutritious and cheap: “One is tempted to wish that we had such food for the laboring poor at home as a substitute for the waterful potato and the everlasting tea.” He met local Irishmen, including Pat O’Ryan, the harbor pilot at Apia. “He has been there for a long time. Had a roving career. Was a dozen years in China. Staunch Home Ruler.” There was also the young son of a Dublin university professor, “on a voyage for his health among these islands.” “Says he likes Samoa very much,” Davitt wrote. “Told me a chief had given him a daughter to marry a la Samoan, I suppose, and waxed eloquent over her charms.” Although encounters with Irish across the Pacific Ocean were ubiquitous, the numbers involved were slight. For example, the 1900 census recorded only 225 Irish-born residents in Hawaii, or 0.2 percent

of the total population. In the following year, Fiji's European population was 2,447 and comprised principally of Fijian-born (846) and Australasian-born (688) residents. Its 1901 census recorded 382 natives of England, 187 Scots, and a population of 101 Irish-born men and women.⁶³

While the Irish consolidated their standing in the American West, Australasia proved increasingly attractive as a destination for Irish emigrants in the 1860s and 1870s. In fact, at this time, more than 10 percent of people departing Ireland traveled to its shores (see table 1). The immigrants came, frequently supported by government assistance, with the encouragement of friends and relatives already there. As one historian noted, in Australia's case "chain migration appears to have been responsible for the overwhelming gravitational pull, rather than pulsating economic cycles, or even gold rush fever."⁶⁴

The origins of postfamine Irish emigrants are now well established (see figure 2). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of those departing from all Irish provinces chose the United States as their destination. Notwithstanding this fact, historian David Fitzpatrick convincingly argued that for the period from 1870 there existed three distinct streams within Ireland's emigration, each reflecting a different segment of the country's population affected by the economic restructuring of the time. To the United States went displaced cottiers and laborers, drawn heavily from the west, who were predominantly Catholic and often

Table 1. Irish emigration to Australasia, 1850–1921

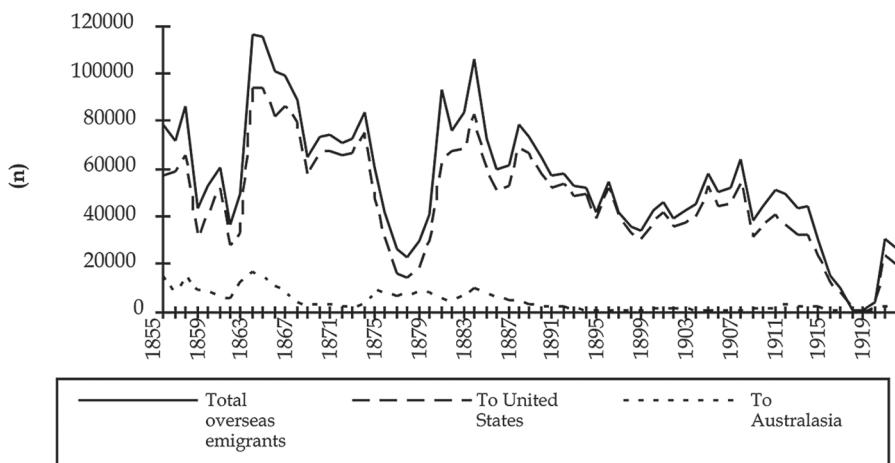
	Emigration to Australasia (n)	Australasia-bound emigrants as a percentage of total Irish emigration
1851–1860	101,541	8.35
1861–1870	82,917	12.40
1871–1880	61,946	11.41
1881–1890	55,476	7.55
1891–1900	11,448	2.48
1901–1910	11,885	2.45
1911–1921	17,629	6.91

Source: *Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948–1954* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1954), Statistical Index, table 26, 314–16.

Irish speaking. Emigrants in this stream managed the crossing with the support of remittances from relatives already abroad. Emigrants to Britain, in contrast, were more likely to hail from Ulster and the east, drawn from the more anglicized regions of Ireland into the industrial work force of their island neighbor. Australasia, attracting newcomers from Munster and the Ulster borderlands, received immigrants who had formerly been in “regular, high-status employment,” their position now eroded by the conversion of land to pasture.⁶⁵ In Australia and New Zealand, as in the United States, a geographical nexus existed between the late nineteenth-century immigrants and earlier arrivals, patterns suggestive of the extent to which familial and kinship ties extending across oceans shaped emigrants’ decisions.

In the western Pacific, Irish immigrants entered societies experiencing extraordinary transition. Riding on the back of extensive agricultural exports and heavy government investment in infrastructure, the Australian colonies and New Zealand experienced rapid population and economic growth until crisis struck in the 1890s. Australia’s population rose more than sevenfold between 1851 and 1891, from 437,665 to 3,240,985, while New Zealand’s population rose twenty-two-fold between 1851 and 1886, from 26,000 to 580,000. As James Belich put it, these

Figure 2. Irish emigration, 1851–1921



Source: *Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948–1954* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1954), Statistical Index, table 26, 314–16.

Tasman colonies “could reasonably look forward to an American-sized future.”⁶⁶ Manufacturing became an increasingly important segment of the economy in these decades, and urbanization in eastern Australia reached levels that attracted international attention. If the continent’s convict origins marked an inauspicious start, by the 1880s its inhabitants and their New Zealand neighbors enjoyed perhaps the highest average standard of living anywhere in the world.⁶⁷

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Ireland and the white settler societies of the Pacific took dramatically different historical paths. For Ireland, the period after the Great Famine was one of unceasing population decline, diminished confidence, and economic pain. Restructuring of the rural economy brought about a slow increase in real incomes relative to Britain and North America but at an unquantifiable psychological and emotional cost to the Irish people.⁶⁸ During the same decades of dislocation, indigenous populations in the Pacific experienced immeasurable loss of life, autonomy, and resources at the hands of Western newcomers. In contrast, the Irish who entered the Pacific in the decades after the California gold rush rode a roller coaster of extraordinary change. Within the first generation, most could point to superior opportunities and higher standards of living than their compatriots anywhere around the world. In the chapters that follow, I will demonstrate how the new Irish arrivals gave this oceanic space a distinctive hue and what impact the Pacific experiment had on Ireland’s future.

Radicalism, Protest, and Dissent

On 30 November 1854, gold diggers on the Eureka field near Ballarat, Victoria, burned their miners' licenses and barricaded themselves in a stockade to protest against the supervision of the colony's goldfields. The mass burning of licenses that occurred at the end of November was not the first sign of popular unrest. Tensions had simmered on the Victorian goldfields for several months over the diggers' concerns about corrupt administration of the colonial justice system and the harsh licensing regime imposed on gold seekers by the governor, Sir Charles Hotham. Confronted with this act of open defiance at Eureka, the government's response came quickly and forcefully. In the early hours of Sunday, 3 December, while many of the diggers were absent from the protest, a force of more than 250 police and troopers fired on the stockade, killing 30 men.¹

The protesters at the Eureka stockade were a heterogeneous group, reflecting the diversity of the nineteenth-century Australian goldfields. Some were recent immigrants from Europe who had come in search of a rapid fortune and a better life. Others were veterans of the California goldfields. The newcomers arrived in Australia bearing a wide range of political ideas and aspirations that had flourished in the turbulent years of the 1840s, including English Chartism, continental liberalism, Irish nationalism, and American republicanism. On 11 November, some had banded together to form the Ballarat Reform League, an organization that, among its claims, had advocated for the introduction of universal male suffrage in the colony and the abolition of the despised licensing system. Other immigrants focused on the question of land reform to break down the largest pastoral landholdings and enable small-scale rural settlement by men of modest means. In spite of the diversity of the Victorian protestors' backgrounds and the breadth

of their demands, Ireland and its tradition of protest hung heavy in the air at the Eureka diggings. “It is very clear that the government [understands nothing] but Irish hints,” commented Melbourne’s *Argus* newspaper, referring to the goldfield protests.²

Historians have considered long and hard the question of the extent to which the Eureka Rebellion, sometimes claimed to be the birthplace of Australian democracy, was an Irish mutiny. Advocates for that position highlight several important connections. The diggers’ leader, Peter Lalor, brother of the renowned Irish nationalist James Fintan Lalor, was born in Ireland; half the casualties were Irish; Irish pikes were wielded; and the password to the stockade was the United Irishmen’s famous rallying call, “Death or Liberty.” Others balk at so simple a categorization, pointing to the diversity of political thought present at Eureka, even among the Irish themselves. Peter Lalor, in particular, was decidedly not some colonial version of a truculent Catholic Defender but a Trinity College graduate from a privileged background. His long career in colonial politics after the Eureka affair exhibited few, if any, radical tendencies.³ This debate over the meaning of 1854 also serves as a microcosm of a wider historical argument about whether Australia’s Irish have displayed a consistently belligerent tradition or if they have been unfairly promoted as the dynamo of Australian national life.⁴ Whatever the merits of these different positions, a key point in the Reform League’s campaign and the bloody aftermath at Eureka is that Ireland became integral to the story of progressive politics in Australia.

That association of Ireland and reform is not an exclusively Australian phenomenon, though it is perhaps more pronounced there than elsewhere around the Anglophone Pacific world. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed mass mobilization and popular protest in support of a wide range of political and social causes. The establishment of new states, constitutions, and parliamentary institutions; demands for political representation, including suffrage for women; the struggle over land distribution; and campaigns for workers’ rights all arose as key issues as rapid economic and social changes transformed societies around the Pacific. From Seattle to Sydney, and at many places in between, radicalism and dissent became nearly synonymous with the activism of Irish immigrants and their descendants. The cause of protest and reform was one that reverberated not only in each national context but also across the expanse of this Pacific Anglo-world.

This chapter examines the tradition of dissent, protest, and radicalism on Ireland’s farthest shores, focusing on the period of a little over a century from the

commencement of European occupation at the Australian penal colonies until the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921. In an era of rapid social and economic transformation that included the annexation and redistribution of vast tracts of indigenous land, the introduction of innovative political systems, and urban development and industrialization, Irish men and women were identified everywhere and often to be at the vanguard of those agitating for reform of people's living conditions. Irish men and women's individual reasons for political involvement and social activism varied. Personal experiences of deprivation and discrimination coalesced with a more general concern with oppression and disempowerment. Yet, as will be clear by now, the Irish story in this Pacific setting is always complex and marked by contradiction. Irish voices sounded among the loudest in support of radical opinions, whether the breathless antiauthoritarian diatribe of the Australian outlaw Ned Kelly or the crusading of the Massachusetts-born son of a Fenian immigrant and American Communist Party president Bill Foster. However, a strong countertradition also existed of Irish men who were authoritarian in temperament and aggressively resistant to change.

FREEDOMS NOT ENJOYED AT HOME

Rarely have Irish men and women who arrived in the Pacific been described as silent or lacking in opinions. The Irish convict poet Francis MacNamara, transported to Sydney in 1832 and known colloquially as Frank the Poet, wrote the following epigram:

My name is Frank MacNamara
A native of Cashel, County Tipperary,
Sworn to be a tyrant's foe
And while I live I'll crow.⁵

From the commencement of the forced Irish migration to the Australian penal colonies at the end of the eighteenth century, the English authorities anticipated obstruction, radicalism, and dissent, and the new arrivals from Ireland did not disappoint those expectations. MacNamara, a confirmed recidivist who experienced multiple floggings and periods of solitary confinement in New South Wales, knew very well how to antagonize his colonial masters.

We can best understand both the convict state's expectations and the defiant behavior of the newcomers against the backdrop of popular mobilization that

occurred in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland. Irish historians have examined in detail the confluence of social, economic, and class tensions that culminated in the upsurge of agrarian violence that took place in the Irish countryside from the 1760s. In Tipperary, for example, site of some of the most pronounced disturbances, bands of Whiteboys mobilized to resist the twin threats posed by the pace of modernization and declining standard of living in the face of a dramatic increase in population growth. White-smocked protestors undertook their infamous nocturnal raids, destroying the property of landowners who were viewed as rapacious, resistant to making land available for tillage, or infringing traditional community understandings about common lands. Tithe collectors for the Church of Ireland also bore the brunt of community outrage, their lives most at risk when annual charges exceeded the community's judgment of what could be fairly paid from the current harvest.⁶ The exemption from the tithe of pasturelands held by many of the community's wealthiest families, Protestant adherents of the established church, proved particularly contentious. The inequities of this regressive system, which demanded most from the community's poor and spared the better off, were stark and universally understood. W. E. H. Lecky's famous assessment of the Irish tithe system as "one of the most absurd that can be conceived" captured the folly of the arrangement but not the depths of popular resentment it aroused.⁷ In the early nineteenth century, there was advocacy for the tithe's total discontinuation given its unfortunate effect on public sentiment. According to one report of the time, "The total abolition of the Tithe system would be a singular benefit, for it may with truth be said, that its oppression has almost goaded the people to madness."⁸

The sustained campaign of agrarian protest generated fear and anxiety on several counts. First, the violence unleashed on the Whiteboys' opponents and their property appeared pitiless and brutal. The nocturnal nature of much of this activity added to its menace. Second, the movement's structures, inner working, and long-term goals seemed incomprehensible to most outsiders, adding gravity to the threat. Finally, the strong sense of group solidarity the Whiteboys displayed—a characteristic brought into question by some modern scholarship—gave the faction an appearance of omnipotence across the countryside. The contemporary observer George Cornewall Lewis captured that sense of inviolable collective identity when he described the Whiteboys as "a vast trades union for the protection of the Irish peasantry," though contemporaries clearly understood its remit was broad and the movement difficult to hold to account.⁹

These ideas, building on longer-held anxieties of Irish belligerence and unruliness, programmed the worldview of Britain's imperial cadres. As Ireland had for centuries proved nearly impossible for England to pacify, from the first dispatch of Irish convicts to the western Pacific there existed an expectation of rebelliousness. Importantly, the colonial administrators' words and actions make clear that their conceptions preceded by a significant margin the onset of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland, showing the depth to which Ireland's sustained experience of agrarian violence affected the prejudices of those charged with governing convict settlements half a world away. For example, Governor John Hunter wrote to the Duke of Portland in November 1796: "I have at this moment an information upon oath before me of a very serious nature, and in which those turbulent and worthless characters call'd Irish Defenders are concern'd; they have threatened resistance to all orders, but they have not yet carried far their threats; a few of them have been punish'd."¹⁰ Again, in January 1798, still months before the outbreak of open rebellion in Ireland, Hunter expressed his alarm at the Irish convicts' ability to corrupt the behavior of English prisoners and involve them in their all-pervasive criminal syndicate. "Those that we have received from [Ireland] within the last year have completely ruined those who we had formerly received from England, who, although extremely bad, were by no means equal in infamy and turbulence to the others until mixed with them, which is impossible to avoid."¹¹

Concern over Irish dissent rose markedly following the United Irishmen's campaign in 1798. The new arrivals transported to Australia in the wake of the Year of Liberty were a mixture that ranged from genteel, well-accomplished men influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution to impoverished laborers. Initially, the colonial governor saw some signs of quality among the better-placed newcomers, but his enthusiasm for them did not last very long. Hunter's successor, Philip Gidley King, reported to his masters in London that "artful and designing wretches" were at work to undermine authority and stability in the colony. It should have come as no surprise to recipients of these governors' dispatches when King declared martial law in 1804 to deal with aggrieved convicts who assembled west of Sydney with the intention of seizing the settlement.¹²

There is no doubt that the refractory behavior of early Irish convicts was in part a statement about Ireland itself—a display of anger and despair over its subordination and of the convicts' acute sense of separation from that home. However, it was much more than an act of mourning for the distant and the past; it was a remonstration about the conditions of the present, a protest against powerlessness

and disadvantage in which the Irish were well schooled. The convict protest of 1804, like lesser acts of convict defiance, posed some fundamental questions of early colonial Australia that would recur on the west coast of the Americas and in New Zealand in the decades that followed. What sorts of societies would emerge around the Pacific as Europeans asserted their authority over these lands and their peoples? How would they be governed, and in whose interest? What power would ordinary men and women have in determining their future?

Australian historians have debated the nature of early colonial society and the extension of liberty within it. Transformation was gradual, with the emergence of institutions and practices that made the colony more closely resemble a free society than a prison.¹³ Following the appointment of the Anglo-Irishman Richard Bourke, a relative of Edmund Burke, to the governorship of New South Wales in 1831, both the scale of demands for reform and the pace of new initiatives increased. The extension of trial by jury, the introduction of laws that ensured the state remained disinterested in religious questions, and proposals for educational reform modeled on the Irish system were key features of his period of liberal rule. Other aspirations, such as the introduction of elected government, remained frustrated by Bourke's conservative opponents.

Although Bourke brought to the colony a reformist agenda, a great deal of pressure for change rose up from below. The Irish-born were often to the fore in early public campaigns to affirm convicts' claims to full participation in the evolving society, and their colonial-born children would join in their parents' advocacy. Some campaigners were ex-convicts, but by no means all. Among the most prominent campaigner for the removal of civil distinctions based on convict pasts was an Anglo-Irish radical, later Sydney Lord Mayor Henry MacDermott. Born in 1798 to a minor gentry family in County Roscommon, MacDermott arrived in New South Wales in 1827 as a sergeant in the 39th Regiment. Leaving the army in 1831, he settled in Sydney as a wine and spirit merchant and developed interests in pastoralism in the colony's southern districts. Identified tellingly by some of his critics as "a leveler, a chartist, a Robespierre, a rebel," MacDermott was stridently committed to the promotion of the skilled working class and the defeat of those measures that sought to restrict the civil rights of its ex-convict (or emancipist) class. In 1840 he campaigned successfully to enable emancipists to sit on the newly formed district councils and led the fight to defeat a proposal that would have included recording a civil distinction between free settlers and former convicts in the 1841 census. W. A. Duncan, the Scottish editor of the Roman Catholic newspaper

the *Australasian Chronicle*, believed that “to Mr. Henry MacDermott, a merchant who usually acted with me on those occasions they [the emancipists] were altogether indebted for their triumphs of this year.”¹⁴

My intention is not to argue for Irish uniqueness or to engage in an exercise of identifying the rich array of Irish contributors to state creation and political reform across the Pacific. English, Scots, and other immigrants also engaged in protest and campaigned vigorously for social transformation. Nonetheless, it is true that Ireland and the sense of injustice that it symbolized often provided a stimulus for change. Ireland stood as an allegory for wrongs perpetrated and as a reminder of the need for reform in this new society to avoid similar mistakes in the future. Its people of all backgrounds and denominations knew the calumnies that attended civil society in their homeland. Ireland also provided an explanation of sorts for the enthusiasm of those who engaged in agitation against their opponents. For as successive English-born governors anticipated, protest and complaint were what the chronically discontented Irish were bound to do. It was expected of them. It was their duty, in a fashion, as society’s troublemakers and malcontents, to stir the pot and provoke reaction.

As I have stated, there was no one Pacific experience. Variations on this general theme of fear and hostility toward the Irish, and the corollary of Irish involvement in agitation to bring about reform of civil society, are evident elsewhere. Opponents quickly branded San Francisco’s Irish as troublemakers and a threat to stability and prosperity. When in the 1850s the city’s merchants and business leaders initiated two rounds of social cleansing, known as the Committees of Vigilance, Irish-born immigrants figured high among their targets. As in other parts of the United States, the immigrants’ Roman Catholicism, resistance to liquor control, political behavior, and alleged inability to conform to the nation’s values weighed heavily against them. Particular opprobrium attached to Irish who had Australian connections, especially in the first upsurge of public vigilantism. As one historian remarked of the Committee of Vigilance’s 1851 campaign, “Those Australians who were Irish were eligible for that which the East welcomed the Irish in the 1840s. As foreigners in California the Australians were regarded as poachers in the Garden of Eden.”¹⁵ An indication of the apprehension toward the Irish shows up in the sentences pronounced in the 1856 Vigilance campaign, where the committee executed five men and banished thirty from the city, almost all of whom were Irish. In the longer term, the discrimination directed at San Francisco’s Irish can have done little to diminish—and most likely incited—the extent

of their rich and enduring involvement in municipal and state politics and the reform of education.

Historian Keith Sinclair once described New Zealand as having been “settled in a hundred ways. Some towns were ‘military settlements,’ garrison towns. Some were laid out and sold by entrepreneurs. Others were established by a group of compatriots.”¹⁶ Compared with Australia’s convict colonies, this unorganized pattern of development produced pronounced variations in ethnic settlement. The proportion of Irish-born differed considerably throughout the country in its initial stages, reflecting these foundational variations. Auckland, which in 1851 was home to about one-third of the colony’s Pakeha population, was a town with strong military background and a large number of former British Army men and their families. Its population was one-third Irish-born, some new arrivals from Ireland and others from the Australian colonies across the Tasman Sea. In contrast, the South Island towns of Christchurch and Dunedin, more identifiably English and Scottish, respectively, hosted proportionally smaller Irish communities.

In New Zealand, Irish activism and dissent took a variety of forms. Immigrants emerged as notable participants on the political scene, sometimes espousing causes that were unpopular or found favor only on the fringes of mainstream opinion. Patrick Dignan, a Roman Catholic born in County Galway as the Napoleonic Wars concluded, migrated from Ireland to Sydney at the end of the 1830s. By the early 1840s, as economic depression set in and confidence plummeted in eastern Australia, Dignan was in Auckland trying his hand at small-scale farming and inn keeping while developing a profile in community affairs. Dignan’s interests, including the promotion of mechanics’ institutes and prison reform, imply a desire to ensure a civil society that placed a premium on protecting peoples’ liberties as well as enhanced opportunities for improvement and social mobility. In addition, as an elected colonial politician, he spoke forcefully in support of indigenous Māori representation and entitlement to land, “on the grounds that they were ‘natural owners’ of the soil” and had “a right to full share of the liberties which we claim for ourselves in this country.”¹⁷ That Irish concern with land and land reform proved telling throughout the settler societies in the Anglophone Pacific world, even where attention to the rights and aspirations of dispossessed indigenous populations did not.

Patrick Dignan’s journey from Ireland to New Zealand reminds us of the importance of eastward migration across the Tasman Sea. While New Zealanders’ migration to Australia in the last fifty years attracts frequent political and cultural

comment, it is easy to forget that 150 years ago newcomers moved the other way in sizeable numbers to seek wealth and opportunities in the newer of Great Britain's colonies. In fact, approximately 20 percent of New Zealand's early European population arrived by ship from the neighboring trans-Tasman colonies. Some took the voyage to New Zealand after lengthy stays in Australia, others after short sojourns stimulated the resumption of the search for a new and better land.¹⁸ While we can estimate migrant numbers, the cultural impact of the trans-Tasman connection is much more difficult to assess. Idioms, clothing styles, cultural norms, and expectations circulated within a world that was decidedly an intercolonial rather than an international one. So, too, did political news and the reputation of the Irish for agitation and disruption.¹⁹

In some instances, dissent in New Zealand was more instinctive, visible not in publicly articulated or necessarily coherent political platforms but in acts of individual defiance. For example, in the 1860s during the New Zealand Wars there were instances of desertion by Irish-born troops who switched sides to fight with Māori against their old British Army regiments. Other Irish soldiers suspected of sympathy toward Māori were press-ganged to cut through dense volcanic rock and undertake road construction in Auckland.²⁰

From mid-century, just as people and popular attitudes crisscrossed the Tasman Sea, exchange grew stronger across the Pacific Ocean to the Americas, though much more so to the coast of California than the southern continent. Connections between the antipodean colonies and South America, based mainly on agriculture and trade, continued, although the scale of interaction with Valparaiso and its surrounding hinterland diminished as soon as the California gold rush began. From 1848 the dynamic new West Coast American society loomed largest in the rapidly growing Pacific Anglo-world. Exchanges of peoples during the gold rush years initiated the rapid spread of ideas through what was then a remarkably porous oceanic space. Post and personal contact were the foremost means of circulating information until the completion of the first trans-Pacific telegraph cable at the beginning of the twentieth century.

DIVIDING THE LANDS

For the nineteenth-century Irish, whether at home or abroad, few issues aroused deeper emotions than land. Ireland's long historical experience of conquest and confiscation had seen its lands concentrated in the hands of a small number of Protestants loyal to the English Crown. Penal laws introduced from the end of

the seventeenth century compounded the formal discrimination that confronted its Roman Catholic majority.²¹ The rapid rise of Ireland's population in the second half of the eighteenth century magnified the anger and desperation of those excluded from access to adequate landholdings. While most of the rural population maintained a precarious toehold on the land, and while cultivation of potato crops remained a staple until the mid-nineteenth century, the Great Famine initiated waves of land consolidation that decimated the rural laboring population.²²

In contrast to the densely populated Irish countryside of the mid-nineteenth century, Europeans arriving on the Pacific's eastern and western shores observed vast areas of land that seemed sparsely occupied by indigenous populations. The newcomers' understandings of these colonial encounters were not uniform. A range of factors affected their perceptions, including contemporary Western thinking about race and racial hierarchies, the outsiders' judgments of the sophistication of the indigenous societies they encountered, and the pervasiveness of humanitarian thinking at the time of acts of colonization. In the background of these encounters in the Pacific (and, indeed, in earlier colonial encounters in North America in general) stood Ireland, held up as an exemplar of the inadequacies of native peoples and of the need for land to be used productively by the most worthy of humankind for the glory of God and the benefit of man. John Weaver's remarkable study of the European dispersal across these colonized lands makes Ireland's importance abundantly clear. "The newcomers," he wrote, "particularly the English, carried an ideology that insisted on making the land bountiful, even if that required the confiscation of land, which is what the English government practiced on several occasions in Ireland before and after the 1641 uprising. The idea of material improvement motivated and informed the legal and political processes that colonizers used to evaluate the colonized."²³

From the confiscation of Irish lands and their redistribution among loyal planters, it was an undeviating step to the wholesale dispossession of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific world settler societies. Yet not everything was similar about the experience of Ireland and these colonized lands. A striking feature on both the eastern and western shores of the Pacific Ocean was the frequency with which the conquerors deemed the territory they annexed to be *terra nullius*, or vacant land. Unlike other parts of the United States, the federal government regarded California as land unencumbered by a meaningful indigenous presence, its native population often described by contemporaries as the most lowly and uncivilized of all the peoples of North America.²⁴ This also proved to be the case

in British Columbia, where *terra nullius* provided the pretext for the transfer of land into settlers' hands without the payment of compensation.²⁵ Great Britain occupied Australia on this same principle, and the doctrine that the continent possessed no prior inhabitants with enforceable legal rights to land remained fundamental in Australian law for more than two centuries. Only in 1992, in the face of historical evidence that an indigenous population of approximately 750,000 inhabited the land in 1788, did the nation's highest court abandon the fallacy of *terra nullius* and allow for the possibility of indigenous title to land.²⁶

New Zealand differed from this bout of legal denial. Partly because of European perceptions of the superiority of Māori and their economic activity, and partly because of mounting imperial concerns about the pillage and destruction that had accompanied British settlement elsewhere, the Crown in 1840 entered into the Treaty of Waitangi with indigenous tribes.²⁷ Later in the nineteenth century, the colonial administration introduced anglicized systems of landholding to resemble European ownership models, detrimentally affecting Māori control of land. The 1887 U.S. Dawes Act, which parceled Native American lands and assigned families an allotment, bears similarities with developments in New Zealand in its facilitation of the large-scale transfer of land from indigenous owners to white settlers.²⁸

Across this Pacific Anglo-world, the effects on indigenous populations proved to be profound as newcomers sought rapidly to accumulate land. Irish immigrants vied with English, Scots, and other newcomers to maximize their landholdings. For example, in California, Martin Murphy Jr., son of an early overland migrant, began to quickly amass parcels of land. In 1845 Murphy purchased two square leagues (approximately thirty-six square miles) of farmland near Sacramento at a cost of \$250. Later, when land values in the Sacramento Valley increased, he bought and sold judiciously, purchasing several ranches as well as extensive urban real estate. In identical fashion, up and down the eastern Australian Seaboard, Irish Catholic and Protestant immigrants, ex-convicts and free settlers, emerged as substantial landholders. Among the best-known examples was Edward Ryan, a Tipperary Whiteboy turned Australian pastoralist, whose landholdings totaled nearly three hundred square miles at their peak, and the Durack family, whom writer Mary Durack's epic family history made famous.²⁹ Others with insatiable appetites for land acquisition hoarded property in New Zealand and among the islands, either as individual holders or as partners in larger landed enterprises.

The scale and pace of the land grab were unprecedented. In the century and a half from 1750 to 1900, up to two million acres of arable land, much of it the

world's premium pastureland, was appropriated from traditional owners and used for commercial agriculture.³⁰ The conquerors used a variety of methods to divide the spoils. Grateful governments granted land to those who surveyed the country or pacified indigenous resistance. In early colonial Australia, authorities bestowed land on former convicts as an inducement to reform their behavior and to raise levels of farm productivity. In New Zealand and Australia, as well as parts of the American West, land sales raised funds to assist in bringing out new immigrants from Europe. Governments marked out and sold off other parcels of land to raise the funds for the capital developments needed to meet their rapidly increasing populations.

Especially in its early stages, the frenzy was largely beyond the scope of governments to control. Land-hungry immigrants everywhere attempted to occupy sizeable tracts of land and secure them from all competitors, reasoning that possession was nine-tenths of the law. When the New South Wales colonial government attempted in October 1829 to constrain the land rush and prescribe limits of settlement, speculators greeted its edict with derision. As one leading historian of Australian land settlement wrote, "Soldiers could not have stopped them, and certainly not the feeble proclamations of a Sydney Government."³¹ Later, governments managed to regulate the alienation of land more effectively and provided firmer control of law and order. This pattern of frenetic activity was not confined to Australia. In New Zealand, for example, in the period 1853 to 1875, the Crown oversaw the transfer of seven million acres of land to settlers as freehold title and parceled a further seventeen million acres into leaseholds made available to pastoralists. New Zealand's bounty ended up in only a few hands. In the late 1870s, just 157 proprietors, or 0.6 percent of the colony's landholders, held 49.7 percent of the occupied land.³²

Everywhere, a fundamental tension existed between early landholders' demands for security of tenure and the claims of the less affluent majority who wished to secure a stake on the land. Moreover, everywhere, Ireland and the dispossession of the Irish people sat somewhere in the picture. Resolving the dilemma was a key challenge for governments and legislatures. The U.S. Congress passed more than three thousand laws between 1785 and 1880 to regulate land ownership across the nation.³³ In eastern Australia, Governor Richard Bourke's administration tried in 1836 to provide an interim solution with the establishment of a system of licenses that acknowledged the occupancy of landholders but fell short of security of tenure. Given the political power of the pastoral interest, this initiative did little to

assuage the situation. In 1847, in response to persistent political pressure, pastoralists succeeded in securing fourteen-year licenses.³⁴ Political tensions also arose in New Zealand, with fears of the creation of a new landed class whose power would prove disproportionate in a land that promised more than had been available in Europe.

Ireland's long history of rapacious proprietors and the recent reality of peasant evictions echoed around the globe from the 1840s. In the United States, the principal destination for the endless stream of famine escapees, the ideal of a prosperous yeomanry was widely cherished. It seemed in the eyes of many to have become a realized goal when in May 1862 President Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act into law, which held out the prospect that all citizens aged over twenty-one could own public land as long as they were willing to move westward. Historians now hold mixed views about the Homestead Act's success. Without doubt, many smallholders across the United States successfully settled on the land. However, despite the ambitions of reformers, pastoralists remained dominant across large parts of the West, while wealthy landholders frequently proved adept at frustrating the ambitions of newcomers and securing tenure over their existing landholdings. In the longer term, too, agricultural consolidation occurred on the West Coast as smallholders struggled to maintain their dreams of life on the land in the face of large-scale agricultural businesses.³⁵

On the other side of the Pacific, the land issue remained contentious for decades. In Australia, those Irish who had secured significant landholdings in the great land grab were, like their English or Scots neighbors, eager to maintain control over their domains. Some acknowledged a sense of responsibility to the landless and agreed on the need to make concessions to recently arrived immigrants. Tipperary-born colonial politician John Nagle Ryan, the son of an Irish convict who became a wealthy landholder, wanted it both ways:

I desire to see a bold yeomanry springing up who would make our land support the people without asking the old World to send us breadstuffs. I shall, therefore, advocate any measure that will most facilitate cultivation, and the settling down of an industrious class of farmers. But in doing this I shall not consent to the destruction of a great and important interest for the probable chance of raising another equally good—I shall not invade vested rights to create new rights. A nation, like an individual, must have honor and good faith, or be despised by the world. There are some millions of acres of land in the settled districts—these are able to meet

the wants of every man who now cries out for free selection, without breaking faith with the old pioneer of the country.³⁶

While long-established Irish families who had secured their stake through dispossessing the original inhabitants viewed themselves rightful occupiers of large landholdings, those who arrived from Ireland in the 1840s took a decidedly different view of the land issue. Many immigrants, some of whom drew parallels between the colonial situation and the concentration of wealth in the Old World, felt a sense of grave injustice. For example, one correspondent, who signed himself "An Irish Laborer and Republican," warned his fellow colonists: "You have been compelled to fly from your native lands to escape the galling yoke of a merciless despotism in the shape of *monarchy*, and its blasphemous attendant an *Aristocracy*. And when you expected to find a new home in this new land, capable of supporting millions of your fellow men, you can no more secure an acre of land unless at fifty to one hundred times its value."³⁷

Democracy offered one solution. The introduction of universal male suffrage in the eastern Australian colonies in the 1850s prefaced legislative attempts to redistribute the lands. The Robertson Land Acts in New South Wales introduced a system of free selection that enabled smallholders to purchase lands. In Victoria the recently arrived Young Irishman, now colonial politician, Charles Gavan Duffy, proved a driving force behind that colony's land reform legislation. Given charge of the colony's Lands Department, Duffy introduced major land reform legislation in 1862 intended to weaken the pastoral interest and establish a prosperous yeomanry on Australian soil. His efforts received attention on both sides of the Pacific, with California's *Sacramento Daily Union* carrying a report the same year speculating that the former Young Irishman would now likely be the first president of a new and prosperous Australian republic, his cabinet dominated by Irishmen.³⁸ Notwithstanding positive publicity and Duffy's undoubted enthusiasm for reform, weaknesses in the new laws and the challenges of farming on marginal lands frustrated his hopes for the creation of sustainable small-scale agriculture.

In Victoria reaction to the failure of land reform legislation carried a decidedly Irish tone. Most famously, the frustration of failed land selectors boiled over in the outbreak of banditry associated with the bushranger Edward (Ned) Kelly. The grandson of immigrants from Antrim who arrived in Port Phillip in 1841, Kelly grew up in a family that for more than a generation experienced the antagonism of wealthy landholders toward the rural poor. Attempts to create a prosperous

yeomanry failed in northeastern Victoria, where the Quinn/Kelly family settled. Historian John McQuilton showed in his study of social banditry in that region how stories of agrarian outrages in Ireland passed among the local Irish Catholic population in the 1870s, fueling popular agitation that included the stoning of police stations, the destruction of farmers' fences, and the freeing of wealthy landholders' cattle.³⁹ Commencing in October 1878 with a gun battle in which three policemen died, Ned Kelly, his brother Dan, and two associates engaged in a concerted campaign of rural violence and robbery that ended with Ned's execution in November 1878. A Cork-born, Trinity College-educated, Anglo-Irish judge, Sir Redmond Barry, pronounced Kelly's death sentence following his capture and trial.

Ned Kelly had never set foot in Ireland. Moreover, although the region in which his campaign occurred had a significant Irish Catholic population, sympathy for the outlaw and his violent campaign crossed both ethnic and religious lines. In reviewing older writing on the Kelly outbreak, the historian McQuilton concluded that support among the working poor was sufficiently wide that "the Irish peasant element could not have been as significant as has been suggested." That pronouncement did not end the matter, and recent scholarship has continued to debate the meaning and importance of Ireland and Irishness in the history of the Kelly gang. Ned Kelly provided his own insights in the rambling eight-thousand-word "Jerilderie Letter," in which he provided an explanation and justification for the two-year campaign of theft and violence against authority. He wrote, in part:

I have been wronged and my mother and four or five men lagged innocent and is my brothers and sisters and my mother not to be pitied also who has no alternative only to put up with the brutal and cowardly conduct of a parcel of big ugly fat-necked wombat headed big bellied magpie legged narrow hipped splaw-footed sons of Irish Bailiffs or english landlords which is better known as Officers of Justice or Victorian Police who some calls honest gentlemen but I would like to know what business an honest man would have in the Police as it is an old saying It takes a rogue to catch a rogue.⁴⁰

Poorly written and bereft of grammar, Kelly's statement was fueled by an awareness of Anglo-Irish antagonism and of the long historical grievances of the Irish against English rule. Though the Kelly outbreak was not at its heart an Irish

rebellion, Ireland was a metaphor for domination and dispossession that the rural poor of all backgrounds recognized in their own struggle to survive on the land.⁴¹

Even more directly than in Australia, developments in Ireland influenced late nineteenth-century land reform in New Zealand. The foundation of the Irish Land League in October 1879, with its goals of rent reduction and ensuring security of tenure, struck a chord with New Zealand's Irish immigrants and the colony's reformers. Press reports provided extensive coverage of developments in Ireland and the worldwide campaign of Charles Stewart Parnell and his followers, along with appeals for financial support from Irish men and women abroad. Public meetings in support of the Land League's campaign were held in the major cities, with the Wellington assemblage attended by notable public figures, including the former premier Sir George Grey, of Irish descent and well versed in Irish affairs, and the future New Zealand premier, Antrim-born John Ballance. Sympathizers created a local branch of the League to raise funds for the Irish cause.⁴²

The *New Zealand Tablet*, reproducing a story from Boston's Catholic newspaper, the *Pilot*, drew attention to the scarcity of land in postfamine Ireland and the competition this created among those desperate to secure a stake on the soil: "The landlords took advantage of the emigration to effect immense clearances of land, which have never since been put under cultivation. Those of the peasantry who did not emigrate were driven to the bogs and the barren hillsides. In course of time, the population naturally increased; with this increase came greater competition for land but the fertile lands of the country were no longer open to competitors."⁴³ Though New Zealand's economy and society differed greatly from that of Ireland, extensive immigration during the Vogel era of the 1870s, named after the leading colonial politician Sir Julius Vogel, had created a large pool of newcomers seeking a stake in the land.⁴⁴ Irish and non-Irish New Zealanders were quick to recognize parallels.

In April 1881 Vincent Pyke, a member of the House of Representatives from the South Island constituency of Dunstan, convened a meeting to establish a New Zealand Land League. Pyke's path to radical land reformer was a circuitous one. Born in Somerset, England, he immigrated to Australia at mid-century and went to work on the Victorian goldfields. Pyke emerged from the goldfield controversies of the early 1850s as a strong advocate of miners' interests. Elected to the Victorian Legislative Assembly in 1856, he became president of the Board of Land and Works in 1862. He visited New Zealand with a parliamentary delegation in 1862 and later took up an appointment as secretary of the Otago Gold Fields Department.

Although he worked as a draper in early life, Pyke made his mark principally as a journalist and in early 1874 commenced publishing the *Otago Guardian* newspaper.⁴⁵

Vincent Pyke's journalistic associations proved influential. At the *Guardian*, he worked with two prominent Irish writers. The first, Derry-born Robert Creighton, arrived in New Zealand in 1861 and worked as a newspaper editor and provincial politician in Auckland before moving to Dunedin to take up editorship of the *Guardian*. One of the truly restless Irish people of the Anglophone Pacific world, Creighton left New Zealand in the late 1870s and served in the Hawaiian government, before accepting appointment as editor of San Francisco's *Post* newspaper and New Zealand's agent in California. Creighton maintained a lifelong interest in Irish affairs, securing election as president of the San Francisco Scotch-Irish Historical Society prior to his death in 1893.⁴⁶ Another writer at the *Guardian* was Thomas Bracken, who was born at Clonee, County Meath, on 30 December 1841 and emigrated from Ireland during the Great Famine. Initially sent to join family in Australia, Bracken arrived in New Zealand in 1869 and soon found work as a journalist at the *Guardian*. In 1875 he established his own newspaper and set out on a path of community service that culminated in his election to the New Zealand parliament. Bracken's political interests included public education and social reform legislation. An enthusiastic supporter of Irish independence, he achieved lasting recognition for his poem "God Defend New Zealand," which provides the English lyrics for the New Zealand national anthem.⁴⁷

It was little wonder, given this journalistic circle, that Irish land issues proved hugely influential to Vincent Pike's initiative. According to Pike, in his province a mere twenty persons held control over one and a half million acres of land, while the small man struggled to claw fifty acres from an estate of eighty thousand acres. The operations of the new movement, he told the audience, "should be on almost as extensive a scale as those of its noted Irish brother; and this League should strike terror into the hearts of the squatters."⁴⁸

THE RISE OF LABOR

We have seen how rapid population increases after 1850 triggered sustained controversies over the distribution of land. From the American West Coast to the colonies of Australasia, Irish-born politicians, journalists, and reformers figured among the most prominent advocates of measures to ensure men of modest means had access to land on fair terms with secure tenure. Some had personal experience of the Great Famine; many more bore the scars of its ravages in their memories. Other

reformers knew of Ireland through family connections or acquaintances. For example, the American political economist Henry George, whose radical proposals for tax reform and wealth distribution were widely read and influential across the American West and Australasia, was acutely aware of the Irish situation. Married to a Sydney-born woman of Irish descent, George had traveled through the Pacific, spending time in Melbourne and visiting South Asia before taking up the position of managing editor of San Francisco's *Times* in 1866. From the 1870s, renewed fears of food shortages, rent increases, and evictions in Ireland stood large in the background of New World debates about land redistribution and the concentration of wealth. George embraced this issue, writing newspaper articles and publishing a widely circulated treatise on the Irish land question.⁴⁹

If land reform was a critical issue, the biggest news story in the latter decades of the nineteenth century was the phenomenal rate of urbanization and industrialization evident across this Pacific Anglo-world. For the Pacific was to be no mirror image of late nineteenth-century Ireland but a new urban frontier of fast-paced economic growth, high ambition, and bitter class conflict. In the Pacific Northwest, Oregon, still resolutely rural compared with its brash southern neighbor, experienced a 350 percent increase in manufacturing investment in the two decades from 1860 to 1880.⁵⁰ In California the Civil War contributed to a decade of fast-paced economic growth. The optimism of the wartime years then gave way to disillusionment in the 1870s, as a series of financial failures and bankruptcies visited the state, bringing unemployment and uncertainty. Yet temporary setbacks did not alter the trajectory of the Golden State. By 1880 its population numbered nearly one million, with one-quarter of that population concentrated in six principal cities. The largest urban center was San Francisco, home to in excess of a quarter of the California population and location of the largest and most influential Irish population on the West Coast. In fact, in 1880 Irish-born voters constituted 27 percent of the city's electoral roll.⁵¹

Rates of urban growth and industrial investment in Australasia were similarly impressive. Melbourne was the standout city, its population increasing at a phenomenal rate in the decades following the gold rushes of the 1850s. By 1891 it was the world's twenty-second largest city, and its population of 473,000 represented 41 percent of the Victorian population. Both Melbourne and its chief rival Sydney, then a city of 358,000 people, ranked among the ten largest cities in the British Empire.⁵² The size and scale of these cities made an impact on Irish visitors. When Michael Davitt visited Melbourne in 1895, the expansiveness of the city, at an area

of over 256 square miles, was the feature that struck him most forcefully: “It extends almost everywhere,” he wrote.⁵³ New Zealand’s Vogel era was likewise transformative, with large-scale assisted immigration and an ambitious capital works programs fueling economic growth and the expansion of the new urban frontier. Throughout New Zealand, Davitt encountered cities and towns that displayed enterprise and a high level of prosperity.⁵⁴

With these changes came renewed agitation about the presence of nonwhite labor. The spread of plantation agriculture in the last three decades of the nineteenth century added an additional focus for working-class activism. In 1876 the United States, eager to secure strategic advantages in the Pacific, including the right to use Pearl Harbor as a naval facility, entered into a treaty that removed the tariff on Hawaiian sugar imports. The result, described in the Hawaiian press at the time as a “veritable mania,” was a threefold increase in the number of sugar plantations in the space of five years, the laying of the islands’ first railroad, and sharply increased demand for imported labor. As one historian described the situation, “Plantations had become something more than agricultural establishments. . . . They were becoming large-scale financial organizations.”⁵⁵ In Fiji, plans for small-scale cultivation by European landholders gave way to plantation agriculture using indentured labor from South Asia, while in tropical Australia, sugar production spread in conjunction with the importation of workers from neighboring islands in the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁶

Rapid urbanization, industrialization, the volatility of the economic cycle, and the increasing use of indentured labor created conditions that were ripe for the growth of labor agitation. Within specific national historical contexts, historians have investigated the important role of the Irish in the late nineteenth-century labor movement and its emergence on this new oceanic frontier. Historian David Doyle once wrote, “The inner story of Irish America is a story of workplaces; the inner history of Irish America, a chronicle of integrity, endurance, and weariness of Irish American working folk at their benches and tools.”⁵⁷ To this, we could add in mines, on docks, and on construction sites. Studies have documented very effectively Irish leadership in labor radicalism in states including Montana and Colorado in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while David Emmons’s recent history of the Irish argues more broadly the proposition that the American West, site of brutal economic competition and of disillusionment, constituted the true heartland of American labor.⁵⁸ In the transition zone between that western laboring landscape and the Pacific coast lay a dynamic estuary where labor leaders,

reformist organizations, and progressive ideas washed into each other, shaping the lives and experiences of the immigrant Irish population.

The prominence of the Irish in the leadership of America's West Coast labor movement is not in dispute. Among the best-known figures was Frank Roney, who was born in Belfast on 13 August 1841, the eldest of six children. Roney's memoir, written later in his life, records that as a young man he harbored a strong commitment to unionism, a political allegiance matched by his strong belief in Irish republicanism. Sworn into the Fenian Brotherhood, Roney soon became a leading figure of the movement in Ulster and acquired the rank of colonel before being convicted and imprisoned for his activities. Upon release, he emigrated "with a heart loaded with misery" to the United States, purportedly "the land of Liberty where all were equal and poverty was unknown."⁵⁹ Frank Roney's early experiences shattered this illusion. Working in a foundry in Jersey City quickly persuaded him that "to work under a republican form of government was no more advantageous than it was under an aristocratic form. Its commercialism and competitive methods being allowed free reign made it decidedly disadvantageous to the worker, and unlike monarchical countries there was no restraining influence." Disillusionment prompted Roney to move westward, first to Illinois, then to Nebraska, Utah, and finally California.⁶⁰ Arriving in San Francisco in 1875, Roney aligned himself with the Workingman's Party, led by another Irishman, Denis Kearney, who went to sea at the age of eleven and settled in San Francisco in 1868. Motivated by his experiences in the city, Roney founded the Seaman's Protective Association, organized workers in the San Francisco metal trades, and was first president of the Representative Council of Trades and Labor Federation of the Pacific Coast.⁶¹

While some historians have questioned Roney's typicality—and stark differences certainly did exist between him and compatriots like Kearney on the issue of anti-Chinese activism—he was not exceptional in supporting the aims of organized labor or promoting social reform. Studies of the California labor movement demonstrate the depth of the Irish engagement in progressive activism.⁶² Irish women also shared that commitment to social change. Kate Kennedy, born in County Meath in 1827, was a powerful advocate for the advancement of women in the California education system, for promotion and fair pay for female teachers, and for a range of other industrial campaigns in San Francisco.⁶³ A smaller number of Irish immigrants went further and became active socialists. Men and women of Irish birth and descent made their mark in the revolutionary International Workers of the World, which was particularly active along the West Coast

before World War I. Most famously, the extraordinary Cork-born agitator Mary Harris (Mother) Jones, who attended the first IWW convention, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn both traveled as far as British Columbia during speaking tours on the Pacific coast.⁶⁴

Likewise, Australia and New Zealand have traditions of labor activism indelibly marked with the fingerprints of the Irish-born and their descendants. In both societies, the political Labor parties exhibit strong Irish Catholic roots. The extent of the connection between the labor movements, as well as the mobility of Irish workers within the Anglophone Pacific world, is less well studied. While in recent years labor history has shown greater receptivity to comparative and transnational approaches, a fully developed study of trans-Pacific labor activism, including its Irish component, awaits a future author.⁶⁵ Notwithstanding that lacunae, even a limited study of memoirs and biographical accounts of leading Irish labor activists of this Pacific world shows the extent to which their ideology was formulated in that wider transnational context. A high-profile but unusual example is the career of Patrick Joseph Lynch, who was born at Moynalty, Kells, County Meath, on 24 May 1867. Raised on a seventeen-acre farm, he attended the local primary school followed by the nondenominational Bailieboro Model School, one of the last Roman Catholics to do so. According to his biographer, Lynch's attendance at Bailieboro, nine miles from his family farm, offered what was then an excellent and unusually broad-based education, with students from diverse religious backgrounds. By the time Patrick Lynch finished school, three of his four brothers had emigrated to the United States, with the youngest, Michael, resident in Los Angeles. Like tens of thousands of other Irishmen and women of his generation, he packed his bag and joined siblings across the Atlantic.⁶⁶

Lynch did not remain in the United States for long. He joined the Knights of Labor, perhaps in San Francisco, for it was from there that he embarked by steamer for Queensland in late 1885 or early 1886. His introduction to Australia was arduous, and he worked first in railroad construction near remote Charleville and then tried his hand on the northern goldfields. Next Lynch went to Darwin, the diverse port city on the edge of Asia, where he signed on as a ship's stoker, becoming part of the understudied population of Irish seafarers who traversed the largest ocean. Lynch spent seven years at sea, which included work for companies with extensive connections to the Pacific islands, although his travels also included return voyages to Ireland and the United States. He then spent time as an employee of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) on a plantation in Fiji before returning

to Australia and crossing the continent to the goldfields of Western Australia. A controversial career in politics followed, during which Lynch metamorphosed from left-wing labor politician to unflinching pro-conscription campaigner during the Great War and conservative nationalist member of the Australian Senate. For his biographer, Danny Cusack, Ireland is the key to understanding this gradual transformation, as Lynch's characteristic rural conservatism set down long-term roots in Australian soil.⁶⁷

Just as Ireland and the Irish transformed the worlds of work and politics across these societies, developments in the western United States, Australasia, and the Pacific entered into debates about Ireland's future. From the 1880s until the early twentieth century, a succession of Irish politicians and political delegations visited this fast-changing oceanic world. Almost all took their mandate broadly, promoting the cause of Irish nationalism and raising funds for the Irish Parliamentary Party while observing new experiments in social democracy and welfare. William Redmond, writing of his tour of the Australian Commonwealth in 1906, addressed issues including the public debt and the nation's declining birth rate as well as the specter of socialism in a nation where the power of the laboring classes in politics was strong. He dismissed "gloomy talk" and exaggerated accounts of the political climate. However, no observer studied developments in Australia and New Zealand more closely than Michael Davitt during his speaking tour of 1895. Land taxation, workers' communes, social welfare reform, the franchise, mining and labor laws, workforce bargaining and arbitration, prison reform, and the regulation of indentured labor were but some of the topics that fell within his purview.⁶⁸ In his written account of the tour, and later in parliamentary speeches and public addresses, Davitt widened the frame of reference for debates about Ireland and its future to include evidence of the progressivism that characterized the late nineteenth-century Pacific world.

"MR. NEAL IS ENTITLED TO BE AN AGITATOR"

In 1982 the High Court of Australia allowed the appeal of an Indigenous Australian, Mr. Percy Neal, who had been sentenced to two months imprisonment for spitting in the face of the white storekeeper on the Yarrabah Aboriginal Community Reserve in Far North Queensland. The magistrate who initially heard the case had described Mr. Neal as "an aggressive agitator." In sentencing Mr. Neal for assault, the magistrate stated that the population on the Reserve "live a happy life, and it is only the likes of yourself who push this attitude of the hatred of white

authority, that upset the harmonious running of these communities.” Mr. Neal appealed the severity of his sentence to the Queensland Court of Criminal Appeal, only to have the court of its own volition increase his sentence to six months’ imprisonment with hard labor. In a final appeal to Australia’s highest court, all four judges who heard the case allowed Mr. Neal’s appeal. Two of the justices were of Irish descent: Gerard Brennan, later appointed as chief justice of the High Court, and Lionel Murphy, a former attorney general in the reformist Whitlam Labor government of the early 1970s. In his judgment, Lionel Murphy, while not condoning the appellant’s behavior, addressed directly the racism that infected the state’s legal system. He went on to say in his judgment:

That Mr. Neal was an “agitator” or stirrer in the magistrate’s view obviously contributed to the severe penalty. If he is an agitator, he is in good company. Many of the great religious and political figures of history have been agitators, and human progress owes much to the efforts of these and the many who are unknown. As Wilde aptly pointed out in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, “Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people, who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seeds of discontent amongst them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance towards civilization.” Mr. Neal is entitled to be an agitator.⁶⁹

Lionel Murphy was born in Sydney in 1922. His father, William, a native of Tipperary, emigrated from Ireland and arrived in Tasmania in 1898. Unable to settle down, William Murphy had moved briefly to California before returning across the Pacific Ocean to Sydney, where he married Lionel’s mother, Lily, in January 1910. The couple ran a hotel, the Cricketer’s Arms, in the inner-city suburb of Paddington. Lionel Murphy was the fifth of seven children in a family that prized its Irish heritage, though not its attendant Roman Catholicism. As Murphy’s biographer Jenny Hocking explains, a parish priest’s admonition to Lily that the loss of an infant daughter to the post–World War I influenza epidemic was attributable to her irregular attendance at Sunday Mass ensured a severance of family ties with the church. Later, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, Lionel’s father, shattered by the indignities of the Great Depression, undertook a journey to Dublin and Moscow that ended in disillusionment with the alternatives he encountered.⁷⁰

Lionel Murphy, in his unapologetic affirmation of the rights of the agitator, captured a key dimension of the Irish experience in the white settler societies of the Pacific world. From the very outset, the Irish in this oceanic space acquired reputations as slightly off-center, sometimes as a sinister threat, or as different temperamentally. To others, they were heroic fools bound to fail. There was of course no one Irish response to these diverse characterizations, just as the Irish held no monopoly as agitators. In fact, some Irish immigrants strove for acceptance and sought above all to conform, while others used the freedom of their position as marginal men and women to agitate for change. Others changed across the course of their lives as they became more secure and their responsibilities mounted.

It is a truism that the Irish were at the forefront of social and political reform throughout the nineteenth-century English-speaking world. Their efforts to bring about change frequently encountered fierce opposition from opponents imbued with religious and racial bigotry. Nonetheless, the political and cultural evolution that occurred in the Pacific during the nineteenth century gave the Irish a license to express dissent that arguably was more sweeping and malleable than that found either in Ireland or in the Atlantic world, where strongly established elites consistently and strenuously resisted measures to empower Irish men and women. The Irish used this greater fluidity of life widely and effectively. In articulating the case for change—whether in the design of political structures, or entitlement to land or other resources, or the recognition of the rights of working men and women—they helped make this oceanic space different from other places where the Irish settled.

Keeping Faith

On the afternoon of Saint Patrick's Day, 1880, nearly six hundred Roman Catholic men, women, and children marched proudly through the streets of the eastern Australian township of Bathurst to celebrate Ireland's national day. That evening, at the culmination of the festivities, Catholic townsfolk gathered at the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. John for a ceremony to mark the conclusion of a week of missionary devotion conducted by a visiting priest from the United States, Father Patrick Henneberry. Irish-born Father Henneberry was an internationally recognized temperance campaigner, and his final remarks to the congregation expressed the earnest hope that the faithful would remain loyal to the temperance pledges they had made during the mission. The parishioners attending worship, who were overwhelmingly men and women of Irish birth or descent, then held lighted candles aloft in the brilliantly lit church and together renewed their baptismal vows as the mission came to its end.¹

This scene of devotional renewal and public commitment to temperance was far from an isolated one. In fact, the Bathurst mission in mid-March 1880 was one of 129 similar parish-based events conducted across Australia and New Zealand between 1877 and 1882 by San Francisco-based Father Henneberry. Born in 1830, Patrick Henneberry had taken flight to the United States as a seventeen-year-old during the Great Famine. Eschewing the dire conditions that awaited new arrivals from Ireland in the crowded port cities on the East Coast, Patrick quickly moved westward and settled with his elder brother, William, in rural Wisconsin. It was in the Midwest that Patrick Henneberry first encountered the German-speaking priests of the order of Missionaries of the Precious Blood, or Sanguinists, who ministered to Wisconsin's large German immigrant population. Filled

with admiration for their efforts, Henneberry decided to enter the priesthood and was ordained as a Sanguinist priest in 1853. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear, the young Father Henneberry did not remain part of the religious order's community in the Midwest. Shortly after being ordained he took a posting in the vast and poorly resourced diocese of San Francisco, where he spent the next thirty-two years undertaking religious missions.²

By 1877 the adventurous priest was ready to export his missionary fervor across the Pacific Ocean. He sailed from San Francisco on 15 August 1877 on the steamship *City of New York*, and after brief stops in Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga, arrived in Auckland, New Zealand, on 7 September to commence what would become five years of arduous work in the Australasian colonies. In addition to the large number of parish-based missions Patrick Henneberry conducted among the Irish in New Zealand and Australia, he later claimed to have administered the sacraments to eighty thousand faithful during his highly successful tour of the colonies.³ Praised in 1878 by one New Zealand newspaper as "the Father Mathew of New Zealand," so-named after the famous Irish Capuchin temperance campaigner, Father Theobald Mathew, Henneberry was also feted throughout Australasia as a leading world expert on the question of Roman Catholic education and on the funding of Catholic parochial schools. The charismatic priest reveled in this role and made himself widely available to the local press, impressing a correspondent for New Zealand's *Northern Advocate* newspaper as "a genial, earnest priest, evidently a man of great force of character, varied experience as a traveler, and an enthusiast in his calling."⁴ Described by the historian Hugh Laracy as "the most widely ranging evangelist and observer of the Irish Catholic diaspora of the nineteenth century," Father Henneberry finally left Australia at the end of 1882 for South Africa. Subsequent ports of call included India, England, and the Vatican. Henneberry eventually returned to San Francisco after nine years of intensive missionary activity abroad.⁵

As Bathurst's Saint Patrick's Day celebrations demonstrate, national identity and religion intimately linked the lives of Irish women and men abroad, tens of thousands of whom left Ireland each decade throughout the nineteenth century. This was true not only of the Catholic Irish—as we will see, emigrants from Protestant denominations developed their own associational life throughout the Irish diaspora, and some who left Ireland avoided the call of religion altogether. Nonetheless, the majority of those who sailed from Ireland after the mid-1830s were Roman Catholic, and wherever this group settled, its social and cultural worlds

involved the church to a significant degree. In the United States, Roman Catholicism, along with Irish nationalism and participation in Democratic Party politics, constituted principal nodes around which Irish-American community life developed. This was also true in the other destinations to which the Irish scattered, including Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, where religion, Irish nationalism, and labor politics frequently aligned. The power of faith, in particular, transcended by a large margin the borders of any one town, city, or nation-state. In the decades following the Great Famine, as Irish men and women emigrated in unprecedented numbers, the Irish Catholic Church emerged as a truly transnational institution with extraordinary global reach.⁶

While the Atlantic context of postfamine Catholicism (and anti-Catholicism) and of Protestant organizations such as the Orange Order have received attention from historians, to date the Pacific experience of Irish religion and its place in immigrants' lives have not been similarly scrutinized.⁷ This chapter examines the role of religion and faith-based fraternal organizations in the making of an Irish Pacific world. It demonstrates that whereas in the early part of the nineteenth century uncoordinated religious developments predominated across this oceanic space, over the course of the next century a strong sense of connection and common purpose emerged that served to draw together in multiple ways the far-flung Irish immigrant populations from California to Eastern Australia. For while Father Henneberry's trans-Pacific crossing and the intensity of his pastoral work was unusual, the sense of connection it inferred was an important aspect of the intensifying Irish presence on Ireland's farthest shores.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

From the commencement of the nineteenth century, the changing religious map of the Pacific reflected to a large degree the rivalries and ambitions of the competing European powers. With the important exceptions of South and East Asia, local indigenous belief systems came under sustained pressure as Western newcomers proselytized the wonders of the Christian God. Spain's imperial legacy was evident in the dominance of Roman Catholicism along the western seaboard of the Americas. From Chile in the south to the Franciscan mission stations of the central California coast, Spanish Catholicism was ascendant. San Francisco's first archbishop, the Dominican Joseph Sadoc Alemany, was Catalan-born and left Spain for the United States in 1840. Appointed a decade later as bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, Alemany next moved north to lead the San Francisco archdiocese

for thirty-one years. Elsewhere Spain's influence was evident in the Philippines, and Spanish Jesuits and Capuchin priests brought Catholicism to Yap, in Micronesia, in the eighteenth century. Portugal, similarly charged by the papacy to spread Roman Catholicism around the globe, extended its missionary reach to Goa, Timor, and further east to Macau but without much additional penetration of the Pacific Ocean.⁸

While Roman Catholicism was ascendant in areas of Iberian control, evangelical Protestantism emerged as the predominant religious force across much of the Pacific from the end of the eighteenth century. As we have already seen, in the decades after Cook's voyages, highly motivated groups, including the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society, identified the Pacific Ocean as an area of high priority for the spread of the Christian gospel.⁹ Despite the tremendous challenges that confronted the first missionaries as they made landfall in islands in the South Pacific, new waves of evangelists continued to arrive through the nineteenth century, including members of American-based missionary organizations. Only the French offered a significant challenge to the spread of Protestantism by encouraging Roman Catholic missionary endeavors. Later, Roman Catholic influence grew stronger in parts of New Guinea and in island groups like the Solomon Islands.¹⁰

In all these places, Westerners propagated their beliefs to indigenous populations that they believed were urgently in need of salvation. A different scenario played out in eastern Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The transportation of large numbers of Irish Catholic convicts to its penal colonies posed entirely different questions about religious rights and freedoms and the purpose of missionary activity. The official chaplain on the first convict fleet, the Reverend Richard Johnson, was an Anglican of evangelical bent nominated for his post by, among others, William Wilberforce. Branded by his detractors in the colonial administration as a Methodist, Johnson struggled with the sinfulness of his charges and the undoubtedly burdens of his ministry. He returned to England in 1800 after twelve years of arduous service in the colony.¹¹ His successor, Samuel Marsden, another Wilberforce acquaintance, arrived in New South Wales with his wife in 1794. Marsden shared with many fellow English evangelicals a total disdain for Irish Catholics, and the convict population's criminal status doubled their offence: he was sure that these were "wild, ignorant and savage men," whose presence threatened the future of the colony. Roman religion, for Marsden, was idolatrous and, in the convict colony, merely served as a front for rebelliousness

and sedition. As one historian explained, Marsden's vision for the new society was of a one-religion state, exclusively Protestant, with Roman Catholicism and its attendant mischief bred out of the next generation of colonial children through education and active conversion.¹²

One problem confronting Marsden's vision of an exclusively Protestant colony was that Catholic priests arrived too soon, the first among them transported as prisoners for their involvement in Ireland's 1798 rebellion. The earliest to set foot in the colony, Father James Harold, struggled with the humiliation that came from being a convict priest. Harold tried to reconcile his predicament as prisoner *and* priest but to no avail. Caught up in a penal system that denied his priestly authority and undermined his self-respect, Father Harold alienated all sides by raising the alarm over a prospective rebellion by convicts and then refusing to divulge to the administration the names of the conspirators. Concerned about the possibility that Father Harold would incite Irish convicts to undertake further violence, the governor removed him to the harsher penal settlement at Norfolk Island. On the island, Harold undertook informal ministry and encouraged the prisoners to reform, offering teaching to aid in their improvement. When he returned to Sydney, Harold kept a low profile until he received a pardon from the new governor, Lachlan Macquarie, in June 1810. Freed from servitude, Father Harold left New South Wales the following month, spending time with a nephew in Philadelphia before returning to Dublin toward the end of 1813.¹³ The second convict priest, Reverend James Dixon, proved more adept at navigating his way in the convict colony. Born in Wexford, and trained at continental seminaries including Salamanca, Dixon received permission from Governor Philip Gidley King to provide a limited ministry to Irish convicts. A third priest, the Reverend Peter O'Neil, received a pardon shortly after his arrival and wasted no time in leaving the convict settlement to return to Ireland.¹⁴

These convict priests were fleeting figures on the Australian scene, although their presence highlighted the point that religious diversity was part of the makeup of the convict colony from the beginning. Their ministry, such as it was, proved unstable at best, and that trend toward neglect of the religious needs of Irish convicts continued after their departure. Following an appeal from a prominent Roman Catholic ex-convict, the Wexford-born, 1798 rebel Michael Hayes, the Vatican took fresh steps to fill the void left by the convict priests' departures. The Reverend Jeremiah O'Flynn, an Irish Cistercian priest of questionable qualities, who had spent considerable time in the Caribbean, arrived in Sydney in November 1817 to

fill the void. O'Flynn set the tone for his brief and unhappy chaplaincy as soon as he stepped ashore when he misled the governor about his credentials. Described with circumspection by one biographer as "simple but impulsive," O'Flynn found himself in constant conflict with the authorities. After a residence of a little over six months, which included a period hiding from soldiers in bushland outside Sydney, he was unceremoniously deported.¹⁵ Soon after, in 1820, London-sanctioned reinforcements arrived in the form of two Irish priests, John Joseph Therry and Philip Connolly. The two soon quarreled and went separate ways, with Therry proving himself an energetic priest and an influential figure in the foundation of early Australian Catholicism.¹⁶

Frustrated with this succession of troubled and troublesome Irishmen, Governor Lachlan Macquarie wrote to the Colonial Office suggesting that any Roman Catholic priests sent to New South Wales should be Englishmen, preferably "of Liberal education and Sound Constitutional Principles."¹⁷ Macquarie received his wish for Englishmen soon after, though not by London's doing. In 1819, in a remarkable act of religious gerrymandering, the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome assigned the Australian colonies to the control of the recently formed Vicariate Apostolic of Mauritius, nearly six thousand miles away in the Indian Ocean. This decision placed Australia directly under the authority of the English Benedictine order and resulted in the arrival in Sydney in 1835 of Englishman John Bede Polding as Australia's first Roman Catholic bishop. Polding's vision from the outset was that Australia would have a Benedictine future and that a Benedictine monastery would set the tone for the new land's religious life. That dream ultimately proved impossible to fulfill. There was no supply of local novitiates to fulfill Polding's vision, and an insufficient number of Englishmen were willing to undertake the journey to the distant and notorious colonial posting. When Polding's vicar general, William Ullathorne, returned home to Europe in 1836 to obtain new recruits, only the Irish bishops came to the party with promises of support and incentives to encourage young priests to fulfill their vocation in the western Pacific.¹⁸

While Polding's appointment ensured that the foundation of the early Australian Catholic Church was English, across the Tasman Sea in New Zealand, French influence was predominant. In 1835 Rome announced the establishment of the Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania. Its first bishop was a Frenchman, John Baptiste Francis Pompallier, and its pioneers were the French Marist Fathers. Bishop Pompallier and a small group of priests and lay brothers departed from France in December 1836 and arrived at Hokianga in New Zealand's Northland

in January 1838. Between the start and finish of the journey was a year of travel that took Pompallier and his colleagues across the Pacific Ocean from Valparaiso to Tahiti, Wallis Island, and Sydney.¹⁹ New Zealand's Irish Catholics, who had urged upon Bishop Polding the importance of securing a local Roman Catholic leader, provided a hearty welcome to their new French bishop. Pompallier wrote of his arrival:

We landed at an Irish timber merchant's, who was a Catholic, and who had been legitimately married at Sydney. He had been living in New Zealand for ten years. He wished to give up to me the best of his wooden houses, and undertook to build one for me at a reasonable price at any spot I might choose in the country. The one he offered me consisted of four small rooms and a garret. While waiting for him to build the other, I converted the principal room of this one into a sort of temporary chapel, erecting in it my missionary altar, and on the following Saturday, for the first time, the blood of Jesus Christ flowed in this island at the sacrifice of the Mass.²⁰

From this modest foundation, Roman Catholicism spread across New Zealand to meet the needs of the increasing Irish Catholic population and offer a mission to local Māori.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church throughout the English-speaking Pacific world faced tremendous challenges as the number of Irish immigrants rose dramatically. As we have seen, gold finds on the ocean's eastern and western shores brought sharp increases in immigration and unprecedented levels of population mobility. Roman Catholic clergy were in very short supply, drawn from diverse national backgrounds and religious orders, and displayed widely varying personal temperaments. The vast size of the new dioceses on both Pacific coasts added to the difficulty of providing regular religious instruction. For example, Bishop Polding, renowned for his determination to visit as many Catholics as possible in New South Wales, is reputed to have ridden nine hundred miles on horseback in one calendar month in 1838, visiting rural outposts and administering the sacraments. Individual clergy in his diocese frequently exceeded that amount of travel by a factor of five or six times in the course of one year. In these circumstances, maintaining the faith of the Irish Catholic population proved a struggle in its own right, meaning there was little time to devote resources to a mission to indigenous Australians.²¹ Across the ocean, Father Patrick Henneberry's California missions in the 1850s and 1860s took place in a diocese that extended

north from Monterey to the Oregon border and as far east as Utah. The sheer enormity of the challenge was sometimes deeply dispiriting to clergymen who had come there filled with enthusiasm to do good work. Bishop Pompallier, recently installed in New Zealand, worried that he was unable to fulfill the spiritual needs of his people, although he believed they understood the gravity of the task he faced: “They could easily see, looking at the extent of country over which their settlements extended, that it was an impossibility for me, with a single priest, to instruct them fully and quickly as they desired.” Nevertheless, Pompallier carried on industriously, and unlike the situation in eastern Australia, he emphasized providing instruction to local Māori. Remarkably, by June 1838 he wrote that he was able to deliver part of a sermon in Te Reo, the Māori language.²²

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND

It was not only in these Pacific settings that church resources stretched to the breaking point. At the same time as pioneer priests in the western United States and Australasia labored over their vast, sparsely populated parishes, the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland faced enormous problems in addressing the pastoral needs of its surging population. Historian Emmet Larkin’s study of prefamine church resources made the gravity of the Irish situation abundantly clear. Whereas in 1770 Ireland mustered 1,600 priests to meet the needs of a Catholic population of 2.7 million (a ratio of one priest to 1,690 people), by 1800, 1,860 priests were available to serve the greatly increased population of 4.2 million (a ratio of one priest to 2,260 people). Church authorities were acutely aware of their trouble in meeting the pastoral needs of the Irish people and initiated a campaign to boost ordinations. Saint Patrick’s College at Maynooth, founded in 1795, grew to become a major contributor to the 30 percent rise in the number of priests in Ireland between 1800 and 1840. Even this impressive rate of increase proved woefully inadequate in keeping pace with the growth of Ireland’s population. By the beginning of the famine decade, the ratio of priests to people in Ireland had deteriorated further to reach one priest for 2,750 people, a figure four times higher than that found in France at the corresponding time. Moreover, the quality of Ireland’s priestly population was variable at best. As Larkin made clear, although improvements in priests’ training and discipline were in the pipeline, dioceses across Ireland in the pre-famine years experienced frequent incidents of clerical misbehavior, divisive factionalism, and insolence.²³

It was not only the quantity and quality of religious personnel in Ireland that was deficient. Although strong economic growth during the Napoleonic War years underpinned a surge in new church construction, the Church's infrastructure proved woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the fast-growing population. In addition to adequate buildings, most dioceses were lacking in basic resources, including liturgical supplies. When Paul Cullen, recently appointed as apostolic delegate and archbishop of Armagh, returned home from the Irish College in Rome in May 1850, he found to his dismay that his cathedral in Armagh displayed only one lighted candle on each altar and that the priests were without suitable vestments. After the grandeur of Rome, the quality of the diocese's priests and the resources they worked with proved a bitter disappointment. Tellingly, Cullen thought this unhappy situation might be appropriate to remote places adjoining the Pacific like California and Oregon, but it was not satisfactory in holy Ireland.²⁴ In short supply, too, were church attendees. Though historians continue to refine their figures, sound estimates suggest that in 1843 at most 43 percent of Ireland's Roman Catholics routinely attended Sunday Mass. The leading historian of Irish Catholicism summarized the overall situation in sober terms: "The 'bulk' of the Irish people in the 1840s never did have the opportunity to approach the sacraments."²⁵

Most Irish who arrived in the Pacific world's settler societies between the 1790s and the 1850s were products of this prefamine church, of an institution that was more decentralized and poorly equipped than the one that emerged after the famine, and where local bishops and parish priests often seemed a law onto themselves. Much about prefamine Irish religion was local, where individual communities inscribed the neighboring landscape with meaning, and celebrations such as patterns and wakes were central to a community's expression of religiosity.²⁶ Across the countryside, a key feature of this spiritual regime was the practice of stations, adopted from the late eighteenth century, which sought to address in an expedient fashion the shortage of priests and places of worship. Rather than maintaining the parish church as the focus of devotion, religious instruction moved from house to house, allowing priests to benefit from their parishioners' hospitality and to collect their dues in the process. Typically, the practice of stations ensured the houses of the rural well-to-do received clerical visits once or twice a year. These were important occasions, when priests administered sacraments and acquaintances between the clergy and people were renewed. This innovation benefited, in particular, Ireland's diocesan clergy, who managed through stations to stake their claim to a greater share of the Irish people's resources. So lucrative did the system become—

and so central to the routine of clerical life—that postfamine church reformers encountered determined clerical resistance when they attempted to curtail the practice.²⁷

This rudimentary brand of Roman Catholicism, decentralized, more grass roots, and sensitive to local conditions, was one that up until the 1860s closely approximated the experience of most Irish in the Pacific world. The scarcity of priests, the absence of churches and chapels, and infrequent itinerant clerical contact—all were hallmarks of the immigrants' experiences in this oceanic space. Although the landscapes of Ireland and these new shores were vastly different, the strategies adopted to advance the Roman Catholic faith among Irish immigrants were strikingly similar. In California, Father Henneberry traveled through his sprawling diocese conducting local missions. In eastern Australia, priests took to the saddle conducting circuits among their spiritual charges. In 1853 Bishop Polding visited the small rural settlement at Boorowa in southern New South Wales. He encountered apathy and irreligion in this Irish locality, where few people regularly received the sacraments. Determined to revive the people's religious commitment, he undertook additional pastoral visits in 1858 and 1863, staying at the home of a wealthy ex-convict pastoralist, Edward Ryan. The bishop wrote to his vicar general, Henry Gregory: "I continued my journey through Gundagai to Ned Ryan's and here I stayed for repose and only did a small blessing in his family and Establishment. Thence to B[oo]rowa which you remember, as the people well remember you. . . . Here we are in bushranger country. . . . Our ministry was very successful about ninety confirmed and a large number at sacraments."²⁸ Irish immigrants welcomed the close personal relationships built on these visits, and the adoption of familiar devotional practices. Newcomers recognized and appreciated the humility of clergy who were willing to undertake the hardship of long hours on the road to bring religion to their communities.

The Synod of Thurles, convened in 1850, shortly after Paul Cullen's appointment as primate of Ireland, heralded a period of profound change for Irish Catholicism. While historians have differed on the question of whether the reforms initiated at Thurles constituted a fully fledged "devotional revolution" or a less-remarkable evolution in religious behavior, there is no doubt that its outcomes spread quickly to the Anglophone parts of the Pacific world. Four areas of post-Thurles reform proved significant. First, from mid-century Paul Cullen exerted stronger and more centralized control over the Irish Church and its clergy. This entailed not only the expectation that the bishops conform more uniformly to church policy and practice

but also greater prescription about the standards of behavior expected of the priesthood. Second, the synod prefaced significant expansion in the ranks of religious personnel in Ireland. The number of priests in Ireland rose by 25 percent between 1850 and 1870, producing a ratio of one priest to 1,100 people. The rise in the recruitment of nuns was even more prodigious, with the number of women taking vows doubling between 1850 and 1870.²⁹ Training of priests for missionary work abroad also received greater priority as the ranks of clergy grew larger, especially following the inauguration of All Hallows College. Third, the dramatic fall in Ireland's population due to famine and emigration meant that parish churches were better able to accommodate churchgoers for services and devotions. Rates of attendance at religious services rose markedly. Finally, the synod promoted a repertoire of new or reinvigorated devotional practices, including the introduction of new religious societies, prayer books, and religious artifacts. The rigor of these devotional practices had a corrosive effect on popular religion, gradually curtailing the persistence of old folk beliefs and local practices that were features of the pre-famine decades. Each of these changes affected the religious life of the Pacific's Irish Catholic population.

HIBERNICIZING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Several historians have invoked the idea of an Irish spiritual empire, a realm that expanded through the nineteenth century and cast a resonant shadow alongside Britain's temporal empire. At the opening of a new chapel at All Hallows Missionary College in 1898, this belief in Ireland's civilizing mission to the English-speaking world was clearly on display. Addressing an assembly that included bishops and clergy from around the globe, the principal celebrant, Dr. O'Mahony, proclaimed the Irish to be "evangelists of the whole English-speaking world—in the United States, in Australia, in Africa, in India; wherever, in fact, the British flag floats and the English tongue is spoken."³⁰ The origins of the spiritual empire, which became a source of tremendous pride in Catholic Ireland, lay in part in the emergence of a new assertive Irish Catholic nationalism from the time of Daniel O'Connell's repeal campaign.³¹ However, the process of hibernicizing the church was a truly international development. From the 1820s Irish religious leaders in North America and Australasia pressed for greater influence in the running of their churches and demanded the appointment of more Irish clergy to meet the spiritual needs of their immigrant populations. The mid-century renewal of the Cullenite Irish Church added momentum to this process throughout the

Anglo-world. Less well understood, at least for now, is the way developments outside of Ireland reverberated back to influence the development of postfamine Catholicism at home.³²

The process of refashioning the Roman Catholic Church in North America commenced before the Great Famine. From the 1820s Irish campaigners sought the appointment of greater numbers of their compatriots to episcopal positions and worked assiduously to ensure that they prevailed over rival candidates from France and Germany. The bishop of Charleston, John England, a native of Cork, believed that intervention from the church hierarchy in Ireland was necessary to persuade Rome of the need for suitable Irish appointments to vacant sees. Later, the Irish College in Rome and its influential rector, Paul Cullen, proved crucial in advancing Irish claims. For example, in 1833 Cullen wrote to Bishop Francis Kenrick, the new coadjutor bishop of Philadelphia, “I am as much interested in your success in the Western hemisphere, as I am for the cause of Ireland.” The power at the papal court of Cullen, a protégé of Pope Gregory XVI, soon became evident as a succession of Irish-born bishops took charge of American dioceses.³³

Promotion of Irish interests was also a feature on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. Murmurings against the English Benedictine vision for the Australian Church grew louder and more persistent in the 1840s. “Irishism,” historian Patrick O’Farrell wrote, “was on the march.”³⁴ In March 1851 the Sydney archdeacon, Tipperary-born John McEncroe, wrote directly to Pope Pius IX, bemoaning the inadequacy of the English leadership in Australia and urging the recruitment and appointment of clergy better suited to meet the needs of Australia’s Roman Catholic population. To McEncroe, that meant Irishmen. Although the influential Paul Cullen had recently returned to Ireland, his successor at the Irish College in Rome, Tobias Kirby, needed no coaxing to stoke the fire. Back in Sydney, McEncroe’s newspaper, the *Sydney Freeman’s Journal*, kept up the pressure with its criticisms of Benedictine control.³⁵ A similar movement emerged in New Zealand. The early 1850s saw complaints mount against Bishop Pompallier’s administration of the Diocese of Auckland. For his own part, Pompallier frankly acknowledged that an English-speaking prelate was better suited to the New Zealand scene. The French bishop finally submitted his resignation in March 1869, after which the Cork-born bishop of Melbourne, James Goold, undertook a review of the New Zealand Church. Goold criticized Pompallier’s administration and its supposed moral laxity, stressing the urgent appointment of a new bishop: “I would recommend that the future bishop be an Irishman, simply because, the Catholic people

being for the most part Irish, a bishop who knows the ways of that nation would be able to govern them better.”³⁶

It was one thing for Goold to advocate for the appointment of Irish bishops and priests, another thing to recruit them and have the new arrivals take over the local church. Two aspects were critical: the power to determine appointments, especially of prelates, and the availability of trained clergy to fill new posts. On the first requirement, there is no doubt that Ireland’s ability to shape the global church increased as the nineteenth century progressed. Paul Cullen’s close relationship with the papacy during his residence in Rome, and his influence on clerical appointments, is well established. His return to Ireland as primate and elevation as the first Irish cardinal cemented his authority. A staunch ultramontanist, Cullen was a hands-on principal in the extension of Irish clerical power. Strongly opinionated on church issues and church personalities, he had no compunction in engineering the appointment of relatives and protégés to positions of authority. He led a process that, one historian recently explained, was “not at all accidental, but rather a systematic, well planned and centrally directed operation.”³⁷ When the Cullenite appointments commenced, they came in a torrent. For example, Australia witnessed a succession of new Irish bishops that transformed the character of the church and its engagement with the wider community. Bishops James Murray, Matthew and James Quinn, Daniel Murphy, Timothy O’Mahony, and William Lanigan, most ex-students of the Irish College in Rome, all Cullen men, were appointed to Australian dioceses in the 1860s. Marking the culmination of the process, in 1884 Cullen transferred his private secretary, his nephew Patrick Frances Moran, from his post as bishop of Ossory to the prized position of archbishop of Sydney.³⁸ The extension of the “Cullen stable,” as one writer labeled Paul Cullen’s circle, was also evident in New Zealand appointments, including those of Bishop Patrick Moran to the Dunedin diocese in 1869 and another ex-Irish College Rome student, William Croke, as bishop of Auckland, in 1870.³⁹

The second priority was to put men on the ground. The Irish Church delivered a large number of new recruits to parishes on either side of the Pacific Ocean in the years after the Great Famine. Ireland’s principal seminary, Saint Patrick’s College, Maynooth, aimed principally to meet domestic requirements. It had first call on the well-heeled segment of Ireland’s rural population, yet despite their relatively privileged backgrounds, these seminarians seemed to an earlier generation of continental-trained clerics to be intellectually narrow men, too much influenced by O’Connell’s nationalism.⁴⁰ Population decline in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth

century raised the possibility of sparing some recruits for overseas service, even on a temporary basis. From 1840 onward, Maynooth graduates feature prominently among the ranks of prelates appointed to dioceses throughout the British Empire and in the United States. The college's centenary history identified sixteen Maynooth men consecrated as bishops for service abroad between 1838 and 1880. They led dioceses around the world in North America (six), Australia (four), New Zealand (one), South Africa (two), and India (three). In fact, the celebratory list was incomplete, and a subsequent study of Maynooth's contribution to Irish missionary work identified a further seventeen graduates who were appointed to dioceses in England, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Asia. The number of priests sent abroad was much greater still: as one historian of the college observed, "Only a very small percentage of the classes ordained have been accustomed to go to work in their native dioceses before spending some years abroad on a temporary mission. Thus practically every diocese in England, most American dioceses, and a good many in Australia have had, or have, Maynooth men on their list."⁴¹

The establishment of All Hallows Missionary College at Drumcondra in 1842 provided an additional opportunity to train young men to meet the overseas demand for Irish priests. Founded by the Reverend John Hand, the college drew its recruits heavily from the sons of Irish farm families disrupted by postfamine rural restructuring. As one historian observed, the college's outlook "was missionary and practical, not scholarly, emphasizing spiritual rather than intellectual formation. Discipline was rigorous, and its atmosphere closed against the world."⁴² While the literacy and learning of some All Hallows' graduates drew criticism, passage through the halls of the college typically meant a significant increase in prestige for these men over their preordination backgrounds. In keeping with graduates of other Irish seminaries of the time, most were also firm Irish nationalists.⁴³

Economic conditions in Ireland ensured there was no shortage of applicants for the college. By 1850 All Hallows had 90 students enrolled who were undergoing preparation for appointment to twenty-five overseas missions. By 1860 that number had more than doubled—210 students were in training for overseas postings. Dioceses on either side of the Pacific Ocean figured prominently among the destinations for these students. Forty-six priests were earmarked for Australian destinations (Sydney, 19; Melbourne, 13; Brisbane, 7; Hobart, 5; and Perth, 2), with another assigned to the Auckland diocese in New Zealand. U.S. West Coast dioceses received a further 19 (San Francisco, 15; Monterey, 4). Six more were destined for India. Of the remainder of the group, the largest number, more than 60,

received postings elsewhere in the United States, with smaller numbers destined for service in Britain, Canada, Argentina, southern Africa, Mauritius, and Gibraltar.⁴⁴ This scale of recruitment for overseas posts continued in the next decade. Of 279 ordinations at All Hallows between 1866 and 1872, a completion rate of 72 percent of all students who enrolled for training, a total of 74 (27 percent) were sent to Australasia, while West Coast U.S. dioceses, including Vancouver Island, received a further 36 (13 percent). In the late nineteenth century, bishops in three dioceses (San Francisco and Bathurst and Perth in Australia) were products of All Hallows.⁴⁵

All Hallows' noteworthy contribution to staffing Roman Catholic dioceses around the Pacific continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Overall, Australian dioceses received 233 ordained priests from All Hallows between 1873 and 1896, while the New Zealand dioceses of Christchurch, Dunedin, and Wellington received a further 16. In the United States, the West Coast dioceses were among the largest recipients of All Hallows' graduates. San Francisco (36), Sacramento (22), and Monterey and Los Angeles (19) accounted for 77 of the 295 priests who received American postings. In all (excluding the non-Pacific-coast Australian dioceses of Perth and Adelaide), 48 percent of All Hallows' graduates in the quarter of a century from 1873 to 1896 received postings to minister in parishes adjacent to the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁶

All Hallows' priests went abroad to undertake missionary work in dioceses and were not ordained into religious orders, although some later joined orders including the Jesuits and Vincentians. Perhaps as a result of their college's regimen, or because candidates for the priesthood knew they would be so widely dispersed at the conclusion of their studies, many All Hallows' seminarians exhibited a strong sense of belonging to their alma mater and an enduring sense of camaraderie with others who had attended their college.⁴⁷ They retained deep interest in news from the college and the progress of their peers dispersed around the world. Early annual reports from the college contained correspondence from missionary priests in locations as dispersed as Norfolk Island and Oregon, while lists of the college's missionaries with dates of departure and current locations enabled classmates to track the progress of their compatriots. Donations to the college received publicity and emphasized the importance of promoting future missionary endeavors. Networks of correspondence united alumni and contributed to the sharing of news among priests and people across the Pacific Ocean and beyond.⁴⁸ These links proved to be enduring ones. In the major commemorative history of the college

published at the end of the nineteenth century, fully one-third of the initial subscribers (186) for the celebratory history were resident outside Ireland in destinations ranging from Scotland to eastern Australia.⁴⁹

Hibernicizing the Catholic Church in the Pacific Anglo-world extended beyond expanding the priesthood. Orders of religious nuns and lay brothers came close in the wake of the emboldened bishops, ready to deepen the Irish religious presence in communal life and to fulfill the critical role of educating young, second- and third-generation children into the religio-cultural world of the Irish Catholic Church. The different groups are legion, and the extent of their presence and role varied from place to place. The large increase in the number of religious women in the postfamine years saw frequent calls made on Irish nuns to staff schools and support hospitals. Lay orders including the Christian Brothers also staffed schools on either side of the Pacific and in numerous island communities. Other orders including the Marists, founded in France, increasingly drew recruits of Irish descent into their seminaries and colleges around the oceanic world. Marist schools opened in Samoa and Fiji in the late nineteenth century and continue to this day. Historian Patrick O'Farrell reported from personal experience the obsessiveness toward Ireland of a New Zealand-born Marist brother, Egbert, who through the first half of the twentieth century used Latin classes to teach Irish history and literature to his Catholic charges. Equally colorful was the career of Brother Patrick Thompson. Born in Australia in 1921 of Irish grandparents, this Marist brother described himself as "naturally steeped in Irish history and culture." Stationed on Bougainville in the Solomon Islands in the early 1970s, Brother Patrick published poems in Pidgin honoring Saint Patrick and set them to Irish tunes. Or Sister Mary Josephine, Australian-born member of the Sisters of Mercy, who was insistent with readers in my new entrants class at Saint Finbar's convent school in Sydney at the end of the 1960s that the only correct and acceptable pronunciation of the letter "h" was the heavy "Haitch" of the Australian Irish-Catholic clan. "Aitch" was the sign of an outsider, an indicator of pupils who learned their alphabet at the rival state primary school. That subtle linguistic marker long delineated Irish Catholics in Australia's twentieth-century sectarian struggles.⁵⁰

Strong and resilient Irish Catholic lay cultures flourished throughout this Pacific Anglo-world in the locations where immigrants congregated, as indeed they did in other major Irish emigrant destinations. From the second half of the nineteenth century, parish-based religious sodalities for women and men promoted social, political, and business connections that extended beyond regular devotion

to the many domains of everyday life. For much of the subsequent period, a comprehensive infrastructure of Roman Catholic schools, hospitals, fraternal societies, and welfare organizations lay at the core of Irish Catholic associational life on the U.S. West Coast, in Australia, and in New Zealand. Although the names and the educational and welfare contexts within which they operated differed, these organizations served as mechanisms to reinforce the importance of Irish Catholic identity. At the same time, Roman Catholic missionary activity in the Pacific Islands introduced health and educational institutions that embedded the influence of the church in community life in those parts of the oceanic world.

Imperium in Imperio

In December 1863 the Roman Catholic archbishop of Sydney, John Bede Polding, wrote to his fellow bishop, Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan of Adelaide, lamenting that the Roman Catholic Church had become an “*imperium in imperio*.⁵¹ Geoghegan, Dublin-born and orphaned early, had been raised by Protestants until a Franciscan priest intervened to ensure his Catholic upbringing, culminating in his admission to a seminary in Portugal. The frustrated Sydney archbishop had little compunction in confiding his anxiety to his fellow bishop. For while Polding complained about the functioning of a Hibernian deep state, Irish influence on the church in Australia was rapidly on the rise. As we have seen, through the post-famine decades, Irish bishops came to dominate the Australian episcopacy and the church recruited large numbers of Irish priests, brothers, and nuns for its expanding network of churches and schools. In the midst of this transformation, Polding found himself increasingly subject to innuendo and marginalized on the Australian scene.

Archbishop Polding’s concern over these developments rested on two grounds. The first was the displacement of his long-held vision of a Benedictine future for the eastern Australian colonies. The second, equally sincerely held, was fear that the aggressive stance of the Irish newcomers threatened the compact for religious harmony that existed in colonial Australian society. For example, the Englishman blamed a recent “No Popery” cry in the colony on the stridency shown by Irish bishops and priests who attended William Lanigan’s consecration as bishop of Goulburn on 9 June 1867. Polding, who was absent, reported to Geoghegan that “at the consecration there was a dinner, and of course, speeches after, which I am sorry to say, contained much to inflame. It might have suited the atmosphere of Dublin, but here was sadly out of place.”⁵² Despite Polding’s misgivings, emboldened Irish

clergy in Australia were determined to assert their authority, setting the scene for confrontations that continued for decades more over issues including the education question.⁵³ A similar determination to contest opponents aggressively on political and cultural issues also characterized the Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand and the United States at this time.

Polding's often-quoted description of an Irish *imperium in imperio* has proved influential in shaping contemporary and historical understandings of the nineteenth-century Roman Catholic Church in the Anglophone world. Historians including Colin Barr have advanced the view of a transnational Irish Church, little restrained by Rome, which functioned within the broader Roman Catholic Church and exercised spiritual power parallel to the temporal power of Britain through the world. As Barr argues, "It is possible to discern a pattern of what might be called Irish Episcopal Imperialism that first began to take shape in the United States from 1830, and then spread to British North America, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, New Zealand and Scotland."⁵⁴ While the profound influence of Paul Cullen in orchestrating the leadership and tone of the church in these destinations should not be underestimated, additional implications of the Hibernian religious empire have of late been the subject of much needed scrutiny. Work by scholars including Sarah Roddy has investigated the notion of an Irish spiritual empire, raising questions about this empire model and its deployment in the transnational study of the Irish. In particular, Roddy highlights alternative intellectual foundations for the germination and growth of the putative spiritual empire, showing it aligned with a wider tendency in late nineteenth-century Ireland to celebrate secular and religious successes on the world stage to boost national pride and underscore its preparedness for nationhood. Additionally, the concept turned the disappointment of mass emigration into less a cause for despair than a virtue for celebration.⁵⁵

From the perspective of the Anglophone Pacific world, any single-minded focus on connections radiating from Ireland through the religious diaspora, from the Irish metropole to dispersed communities, risks obscuring the importance of local identity and the webs initiated by people within this oceanic space to connect Irish Catholic communities. When the Christian Brothers established schools in California, they did so with an awareness of the importance of that place and of their connection to the neighboring ocean, a link that consolidated over time and defined the character of the congregation. The Pacific Ocean spelled difference. Ronald Isette, the historian of the Christian Brothers community in San

Francisco, explained that the decision to title his book “Called to the Pacific” came from the distinctive experience of the brothers there. “The brothers in the Far West,” he wrote, “have always differed in important respects from their confreres in the Midwest, the Southwest, and the East.”⁵⁶ Place, as well as antecedence, proved crucial in defining identity.

Similarly, important connections developed among clergy that proved crucial in the establishment, content setting, and exchange of Catholic newspapers throughout the Pacific. A detailed study of the Dunedin-based *New Zealand Tablet*, edited from 1898 until 1910 by Henry William Cleary, shows the extent to which that newspaper was integrated into circuits of information that bypassed Ireland and derived meaning in this distinctive oceanic space. Cleary, who was born in Wexford in 1859, trained for the priesthood at Maynooth College and later studied in Rome before immigrating to undertake parish work in western Victoria. His writing challenging Australian Protestantism attracted attention and led in 1898 to his appointment as the editor of the *Tablet*. From his new post in New Zealand’s south, Cleary wrote back to the bishop of Ballarat, All Hallows alumnus James Moore, explaining his many connections with fellow editors: “An old Maynooth Confrere of mine is doing good work as editor of the Tasmanian *Monitor*. An old school mate of mine in St. Peter’s, Rev. W. B. Kelly, edits the *W. A. Record*, in succession to the present Archbishop of Adelaide; and Cardinal Moran is editor-in-chief of the *Australian Eccles. Record*.”⁵⁷ Cleary either subscribed to, engaged in exchanges to receive, or was periodically sent clippings from Irish Catholic newspapers based around the Pacific, including Melbourne’s *Advocate*, Sydney’s *Freeman’s Journal*, and the principal newspaper of the largest West Coast Roman Catholic diocese, San Francisco’s *Monitor*. These exchanges consolidated the religiously self-aware Irish Pacific community, although this oceanic space was not hermetically sealed. In addition to information transmitted along Pacific circuits, cuttings from the Irish press and the renowned *Boston Pilot*, long edited by John Boyle O’Reilly, also filled his inbox. Readers remained well informed about Irish and Roman Catholic developments further afield in the Atlantic world and in Ireland.

This oceanic setting was a place of multidirectional exchange. A steady stream of Irish and Catholic news also moved east, informing Roman Catholics on the U.S. West Coast and beyond about political and religious developments elsewhere in this Pacific Anglo-world. An examination of the San Francisco *Monitor* is strongly suggestive of the nature and extent of the trans-Pacific exchanges. In the last quarter of 1883, for example, the *Monitor* carried a series of profiles of the lives

of distinguished Irishmen in Australia, in addition to correspondence from U.S. subscribers who had lived in Australia, about these public figures.⁵⁸ It reported on changes in the Australian Church hierarchy, including the death of the archbishop of Sydney, Englishman Roger Vaughan, and published a letter by William Lanigan, the Tipperary-born, Maynooth-educated bishop of Goulburn, about Irish affairs in his diocese.⁵⁹ The *Monitor* also carried reports of general interest on the state of Australian agriculture; and it advertised Australian products including Euphorbia, billed as the “Great Australian Remedy for Asthma.”⁶⁰ In January 1884 the Irish National Convention in Australia, attended by John and William Redmond, received coverage, in addition to a story of Jesuit missionaries’ experiences working with Australia’s indigenous peoples.⁶¹ In April 1884 the newspaper reported on a lecture tour in the United States by a Reverend Beechinor, who described the war of extermination carried out on indigenous Tasmanians.⁶² In other years, the *Monitor* addressed topics ranging from the education question in New Zealand to the importance of religious newspapers for Roman Catholics in Australasia.⁶³ Its frequent incorporation of Australasian religious news and developments fostered a sense of common identity and connection between Irish Catholics on the Pacific’s eastern and western shores.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE PACIFIC WORLD

While historians have devoted greater attention to the expansion and role of the Catholic Church in Irish immigrant lives, Protestant Irish established their own religious and fraternal networks. Men of varying denominational beliefs arrived in the Pacific from the end of the eighteenth century as convicts, soldiers, missionaries, and colonial officials. Others disembarked with their families in search of land and opportunity. From the end of the 1840s, gold acted as an additional stimulus to migration. Across most of this oceanic space, inadequate census data inhibits our capacity to analyze the size and distribution of the Irish Protestant presence. This is particularly true in the United States, where lacunae in federal census enumerations and embedded assumptions in the historiography about the preponderance of Roman Catholics in Irish immigration have rendered the nineteenth-century Protestant Irish nearly invisible.⁶⁴ Even more widely across the Pacific, few censuses have cross-tabulated national origin and religion, and so historians have resorted mostly to a range of other data sets to investigate these issues.

New Zealand offers the most certain terrain for inquiry given the undoubtedly strength of Protestant newcomers in its immigrant stream. Nearly forty years ago,

David Fitzpatrick proposed that New Zealand's Irish immigrants represented a hybrid of the Australian and Canadian intakes, drawing extensively on southern parts of Ulster in addition to a marked Munster component.⁶⁵ Subsequent analyses have confirmed the importance of these two provinces, and Ulster in particular, in New Zealand's migrant intake between 1853 and 1915. During these six decades, Ulster consistently outstripped each of the other Irish provinces in its supply of colonists to New Zealand, with its preponderance increasing toward century's end. While we need to be cognizant of the presence of Ulster Catholics among these newcomers, we know from biographies, family histories, and other sources that the Protestant component was dominant. One innovative study using death registers indicates that New Zealand's Ulster-born Catholic population never rose above 10 percent of the provincial intake. Even allowing for errors and omissions in the data, the study is indicative of strong and sustained Irish Protestant migration to New Zealand. Among these Protestants, Church of Ireland members predominated until the 1870s, after which Presbyterians displaced them as the largest single denomination.⁶⁶

New Zealand's Ulster connection was particularly in evidence in the Auckland Province, in the top half of the North Island, where the Irish-born constituted some 27.2 percent of the UK-born population in 1871.⁶⁷ Women formed a notable component of the Ulster Protestant arrivals: estimates suggest that between 1871 and 1880, 49.8 percent of single Irish women arriving in Auckland hailed from Ulster, a figure far above those for Munster (30.9 percent), Leinster (9.4 percent), or Connacht (9.5 percent).⁶⁸ New Zealand's recruitment of such large numbers of Protestant immigrants from Ulster was not accidental. Ireland was unwanted as a source of newcomers when New Zealand embarked on its major program of economic expansion in the 1870s. Stereotypes, some imported from Great Britain, others originating in the experience of Nativism in the United States, circulated throughout the Australasian colonies at the time. Immigrants from Ireland were suspect for their alleged intellectual inferiority, impudence, and indolence. Adherence to the Roman Catholic Church was another factor that had an adverse effect on newcomers' prospects of selection.⁶⁹ To discourage Irish recruitment, in 1872, when New Zealand's agent general in London, Dr. Isaac Featherston, published recruitment advertisements in newspapers in the United Kingdom, only 15 of 124 notices appeared in the Irish press.⁷⁰ When pushed to accept Irish immigrants, Featherstone preferred northern Protestants. Sympathetic politicians, business leaders, and Presbyterian Church leaders advocated successfully for an increase in the

numbers of immigrants coming from predominantly Protestant counties.⁷¹ These calls dictated New Zealand's recruitment strategy, which saw all the agent general's advertisements in Ireland placed in the Ulster press. This focus on Protestant Ulster recruits and disregard for potential applicants from other Irish provinces provoked a backlash in New Zealand, where the minister for immigration, George Morris O'Rorke, the Galway-born son of an Anglican clergyman, demanded a more evenhanded approach to all Irish applicants. O'Rorke's desire that government policy treat prospective newcomers equally proved only to be a dream. In 1879 the new minister for immigration, Robert Stout, chastised Isaac Featherston for the "large number of applicants you are receiving from the south of Ireland."⁷²

In both Australia and New Zealand, the residential clustering of Irish Protestants was evident from an early stage. In the 1840s Presbyterian immigrants, who in the mid-nineteenth century numbered in the range of 10 to 20 percent of the Irish-born in eastern Australia, together with Anglicans and a leavening of Methodists, created an enclave on the east coast at Kiama, south of Sydney. The town's Fermanagh Hotel was a marker of ethnic and religious identity, welcoming Protestants and signaling to Roman Catholics to keep their distance. In addition to congregations, these immigrants built networks to sponsor new arrivals and established fraternal organizations. By the 1880s the Kiama district hosted nine Orange Lodges serving a local population with strong roots in counties Tyrone and Fermanagh.⁷³ Similar, if less visible, clusters of settlers dotted the colony's rural hinterland, sometimes combining Scottish and Irish of the same faith. For example, in 1841, almost all of the 114 residents of the extensive rural property of Duntroon, site of today's Australian national capital, were Presbyterians from Scotland and the north of Ireland.⁷⁴ Two decades later, during a tour of the same country districts, the Presbyterian clergyman John Dunmore Lang reported his surprise on locating a vibrant Presbyterian community near the New South Wales southern tablelands town of Braidwood, the population "all from Scotland and the north of Ireland."⁷⁵ Pioneers' reminiscences and local histories reinforce this image of nineteenth-century rural Australia as a patchwork landscape, seldom marked by rigid boundaries founded on faith yet still characterized by subtle local religious variations.⁷⁶

In New Zealand the "Vogel Era" of the 1870s witnessed a more distinctive group settlement from Ulster to the province initially known as New Ulster. We have already seen the crucial role British colonies played in offering the sons of minor gentry families the opportunity to achieve prestige and amass greater wealth

than was possible at home. George Vesey Stewart, who was born in 1832 in Brighton, Sussex, to a County Tyrone family, typified this trajectory. Stewart commenced training as a civil engineer, and studied languages at Trinity College Dublin, before embarking on an unsuccessful career as a farmer and estate agent. Having failed to achieve distinction in Ireland, and conscious of New Zealand's desire to recruit immigrants, Stewart initiated a scheme to promote the settlement of Ulster families in New Zealand and secure his financial future in the process.⁷⁷ He entered into complex negotiations with the New Zealand authorities to establish his settlement. A member of the Loyal Orange Order, Stewart found his fraternal ties invaluable in advancing the deal, and he won the backing of the influential colonial politician J. M. Dargaville, grand master of the Orange Lodge in Auckland. With the backing of New Zealand Orangemen, Stewart formally entered into an agreement with the New Zealand government on 24 June 1874 whereby the Crown set aside ten thousand acres of land for occupation by Stewart's recruits. The Protestant Irish settlers arrived in Auckland in September 1875 to commence building their new world. They moved to Katikati, in the Bay of Plenty, and quickly won praise for their industriousness on the land.⁷⁸

Protestant Irish newcomers in North America also established networks from an early stage. Canadian scholars have examined in detail the development of the Orange Order from the 1830s and highlighted the strength of the movement in provinces including Ontario, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. Lodges also opened in British Columbia in the 1870s, although the organization in the Pacific coastal province never achieved the traction or density of membership that it gained in other parts of the dominion.⁷⁹ That comparative weakness should not disguise the importance of the Order in the lives of the local Protestant population. Particularly in the later years of the nineteenth century, as the Home Rule movement in Ireland gained in strength, Irish Protestants mobilized to join this transplanted institution and sound their political concerns at developments at home. Women were active in establishing their stake in the organization at this time, so that by the 1920s, the coastal province hosted thirty-four Canada's Ladies Orange Benevolent Association Lodges.⁸⁰

Recent scholarship has also begun to shed new light on Irish Protestant migration to the U.S. West Coast. Tracking Irish Presbyterian clerical migration, Rankin Sherling has opened new possibilities for excavating the history of nineteenth-century arrivals in the far West. His research shows California and Oregon received only three Presbyterian ministers of the cohort that arrived in the United States

between 1811 and 1845. Similarly, Irish clerical migrants during the famine years did not leave a discernible footprint in California. In the mid-nineteenth century, New York and Pennsylvania stand out as by far the most frequent destinations. That situation changed after the famine as the gold rushes stimulated growth in California's population. In the period 1855–77, California ranked seventh among states receiving Irish Presbyterian clerical migrants; for the period 1878–1901, the Golden State equaled New York as the second highest recipient of these migrants. Though the absolute number of clerical arrivals is small (forty-four between 1878 and 1901), the data is suggestive of the consolidation of an Ulster Presbyterian presence along the U.S. West Coast in the decades after gold was discovered.⁸¹

As with Irish Catholics, trans-Pacific religious connections developed among Protestants during the second half of the nineteenth century. From the 1860s numerous evangelists, including the American-born, San Francisco-based Wesleyan William "California" Taylor, worked a circuit across the ocean visiting the Australian colonies and New Zealand. Irish preachers traveled through the colonies too, including Tipperary-born, Trinity College-educated Rev. George Grubb, who spent time in the antipodean settlements.⁸² While we lack at present sufficient knowledge of the range of personal connections and fraternal ties across the oceanic space, the Irish presence looms as significant. Historian Stuart Pigggin has commented on the success of George Grubb's visit, the appeal of his "rip-roaring wild Irishness" in attracting followers, and the impact of such visits in stirring evangelical sentiment in Australia. In fact, he writes, "Australian Evangelicalism owes much both in terms of tone and in potency to Irish Protestants."⁸³ Future scholarship should excavate this rich but hidden lode of Irish influence in its widest Pacific context.

Religion was an essential feature in the lives of most Irish people who entered the Pacific world from the late eighteenth century. Initially, resources were sparse to support the spiritual and social needs of Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in the diverse vistas of this oceanic space. However, over time, as the Irish population increased, so too did the numbers of religious personnel and the resources available to support their different faiths. While Ireland remained an essential reference point for religious direction and beliefs throughout the nineteenth century, life in the Anglophone Pacific societies established fresh relationships and new levels of connectivity between its peoples. In this domain of cultural life, as in the political and material worlds, the distinctive interactions of place and people worked to keep the faith and to shape new lives for the immigrants and their descendants on Ireland's farthest shores.

chapter 6

Nationalism at Long Distance

On Wednesday, 7 September 1864, the First General Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood of the Pacific Coast convened in San Francisco. The assembly's first item of business was the election of officers and the appointment of a committee, following which the delegates voted to send a Pacific Coast representative to the forthcoming national Fenian Congress in Pittsburgh. With preliminary matters settled, the convention turned its attention to the key issue of achieving independence for Ireland. The California Fenians committed themselves to campaign with the single object of obtaining the national independence of Ireland. The delegates promised to promote "harmony and sentiment and unity of action among all Irishmen using all the means that God and nature have placed at our disposal to organize our countrymen for the regeneration of Ireland and to prevent the total extinction of our race." The American Civil War provided vital context for the Fenian Brotherhood's commitment. As one speaker observed, Ireland could now count on thousands of American Irish men "duly disciplined and tested through three years of campaigning and who . . . on the hills of Holy Ireland, in redemption of the land which contains their fathers' graves, would scatter the armed mercenaries of Britain as chaff before the wind." The Pacific Coast Fenians acknowledged that in addition to Irishmen trained in the struggle over slavery and secession, the wider diaspora would also contribute to the liberation of Ireland, including what speakers believed were a million more men who stood waiting in Australia and Canada to fight for Ireland's future.¹

San Francisco's Fenian convention marked the commencement of a half century of nationalist activity in the Anglophone Pacific world that proved transformative for Irish immigrants and their relationship with the host societies. On the one

hand, the cause of Ireland provided a significant test of the mettle of the immigrant population in the most distant and largest of the oceanic regions. As Irish nationalists embraced different strategies to achieve an independent homeland, immigrants were compelled to weigh their commitment to Ireland's claims for freedom against the civic demands of new societies. Would local concerns, including opportunities for social advancement, attaining economic prosperity, or political aspirations, outweigh the appeal of patriot games? On the other hand, the issue of Ireland's future provided a direct challenge to that late nineteenth-century Pacific world's capacity to acknowledge and accept its population of Irish birth and descent. Would the host societies on the Pacific's eastern and western shores, which prized their reputations as pioneers of a new progressive age, concede the righteousness of Ireland's claims for nationhood? Would they prove capable of incorporating effectively the political diversity and difference of opinion posed by Irish independence campaigns into their social fabric?

This chapter examines the development of Irish nationalism in the Pacific Anglo-world, focusing on the period from the 1860s to the outbreak of World War I. As campaigns for the termination of the Union with Great Britain oscillated between the use of physical force and the pursuit of constitutional strategies for change, Irish communities in this oceanic space negotiated their path, weighing the emotional connection with the homeland and the expectations of the host societies. National contexts were crucial, and marked differences existed between the U.S. and the British colonies' responses to Irish aspirations. There were other determinants of Irish reactions to events at home too. In the decades prior to 1914, Irish nationalism interlaced the Pacific world at the same time as wider economic, social, and political developments in this oceanic space began increasingly to influence the Irish Parliamentary Party's nationalist agenda at home.

“I'M A FENIAN—GOD BLESS IRELAND”

In the period before the Irish Famine, the Pacific served as a receptacle for the human victims and shattered hopes of Irish campaigns for independence. Britain transported approximately forty thousand convicts directly from Ireland to its penal settlements in the western Pacific between 1789 and the middle of the nineteenth century. Additionally, in excess of ten thousand Irish prisoners sailed from British ports following their convictions in English and Scottish courts. Though historians have disagreed about how best to classify and count Irish political prisoners sent to Australia, the penal settlement in New South Wales undoubtedly received

hundreds of convicts transported from their homeland for participating in the decade of political turbulence that culminated in the audacious 1798 uprising. Some were ideologically committed United Irishmen; others were men associated with the Catholic Defender movement in the period's increasingly bitter sectarian struggle. Another group of Irish prisoners struggled in the fierce outbreaks of agrarian protest that took place through the turn-of-the-century period.²

The transportation of Irish prisoners to New South Wales, for periods ranging from seven years to life, did not silence alarm over the United Irishmen's loyalty or ill intentions. Colonial authorities quickly and unsurprisingly sounded their alarm at the arrival of the Irish political prisoners, whom successive governors deemed to be agents of sedition and disorder. In 1798 Governor John Hunter, writing to the Duke of Portland, described the Irish to be "so turbulent, so dissatisfied with their situation here, so extremely insolent, refractory, and troublesome, that, without the most rigid and severe treatment, it is impossible for us to receive any labor whatever from them." To undermine their plans to escape, Hunter informed his superiors, "I have found it necessary to divide them as much as possible, to prevent such schemes being formed; but by this separation they have a better opportunity of irritating and inflaming the minds of those convicts who before such acquaintance have been found of better disposition."³ Concerns over the threat posed to the colony's security were not entirely without merit. On 4 March 1804, a convict uprising complete with pikes and the United Irishmen's cry "Death or Liberty" seemed to confirm the colonial administration's worst fears. Forewarned of trouble, retribution was swift and sharp. Authorities hanged or flogged twenty leaders of the rebellion and dispatched other insurgents to the harsher convict settlement on Norfolk Island.⁴ This stern reckoning did not entirely quell Irish convict discontent, and some of the prisoners continued to show determined commitment to the United Irish cause and a fierce longing for home. However, the Castle Hill rebellion prefaced no wider pattern of insurgency or persistent campaign to promote the ideals of independent Irish nationhood. In August 1804 Governor Philip Gidley King wrote with a measure of satisfaction to Sir Joseph Banks, "We have been tolerab[ly] quiet ever since [the rebellion] and I hope the colony will continue so at least I will spare no pains to ensure that." King also believed that his colony presented no fertile ground for prolonged Irish Catholic dissidence: "Most certainly, their wild schemes will ever be frustrated by the great part of the inhabitants who are now convinced what their fate would be if these brutes were allowed to gain an ascendancy."⁵

In time, distance and the day-to-day demands of life in the penal settlement took hold. Most of the Irish political rebels embraced the opportunities and demands of their new colonial world. Many political exiles likely harbored sentimental attachment to independent Ireland but lacked the power to exert a significant impact on Irish affairs. Still, a small number opted through various means to reject the strictures of the penal colony and assert their independence in individual ways. Irishman Paddy Connell, resident in Fiji in the 1830s, told the American navigator Charles Wilkes that he had sided with the French at Kinsale, been captured, and then transported to Sydney for his political activism and been released from penal servitude to his new life.

A similar picture recurred five decades later, in the wake of the 1848 Young Ireland campaign. The British selected Van Diemen's Land, remote and sparsely populated, as the place of punishment for a new group of Irish rebels. It exiled William Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, Thomas Meagher, Patrick O'Donoghue, John Martin, Kevin Izod O'Doherty, and Terence Bellew MacManus to the seclusion of the western Pacific.⁶ With the exception of O'Brien, who elected solitary confinement over conditional release, the exiles were subject to strict rules that curtailed their association and suppressed their ability to influence the local population. Anxious officials rejected out of hand Patrick O'Donoghue's provocative proposal to found a nationalist newspaper, the *Irish Exile*. Though the Young Irelanders' experiences in Tasmania affected their outlooks and sensibilities in deeply personal ways, the historical record does not indicate that the Irish exiles' presence had any significant impact on Van Diemen's Land or its population. Nor did their presence on the island markedly alter wider Australian thinking about Ireland, at least at that time. Sequestered from Irish affairs, powerless as the Great Famine ravaged Ireland, the Young Irelanders' nationalist influence remained largely dormant until they left the island colony. Mitchel, Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donoghue arranged successful escapes from Van Diemen's Land to the United States, where they expected Ireland's struggle might be more fruitfully continued. Those who remained received pardons in 1854 and left the island soon after.⁷

This pattern shifted in the second half of the nineteenth century with the emergence of the Fenian movement. The first truly global Irish independence campaign penetrated more deeply societies on either side of the Pacific Ocean and affected the lives of its Irish communities. San Francisco's Irish population rallied enthusiastically to the Fenian cause as it spread across the United States. Elsewhere, Fenianism's strength lay less in its physical presence—the number of Fenian prisoners sent

to Australia in 1867 was small, and their presence confined to Western Australia—than in its unparalleled ability to generate alarm over Irish political activism.⁸ In the United States, where Fenianism proved especially resilient, the movement gained traction because it provided a rationale for the deprivation endured by famine-era Irish immigrants and encouraged them to embrace the republican ideals of the new land. In 1863 the principal speaker at San Francisco's Saint Patrick's Day picnic at Hayes Park, Hugh Farley, explained to his compatriots, "We have been driven exiles from the land that gave us birth, and the country that was once our own has been taken from us. We sought that liberty that our hearts yearned for and we found it upon the shores of Columbia." The present responsibility, Sonoma legislator E. F. Dunne advised the assembled immigrants, was "never [to] abandon the idea of Irish nationality. . . . We are a people distinct in every particular from those to whom it is sought to bind us. The Celtic blood commingles not freely with the Saxon stream. The eternal severance has been decreed by antagonistic individuality of sentiment and of race no less than by the dividing waters."⁹ These two Saint Patrick's Day speakers hoped that highly motivated Irish immigrants would embrace physical force Fenianism and use it as the vehicle by which to liberate the homeland.

From the outset, division and enmity eroded the effectiveness of the Fenian campaign. A substantial body of historical writing attests to the challenges posed to the American Fenian movement by deep personal animus and stark disagreements as to strategy.¹⁰ Soon enough, these divisions washed up on the Pacific's shores. In May 1870 the journalist and poet John Savage traveled to California to address audiences and promote Ireland's independence, his visit unfortunately timed to coincide with an abortive Fenian raid on Canada. Interviewed by the *San Francisco Morning Call*, Savage dismissed the foolish and embarrassing strategy of the Fenians who had undertaken the raid and emphasized the importance of pursuing an Ireland-first approach. The fundamental object of the Fenian movement, Savage stressed, must be "the Americanization of the Irish mind," by which he meant the willingness to adopt revolutionary means, the adaptation to Ireland of the republican spirit, and embrace of the spirit of economic dynamism that characterized the period of reconstruction. Arrayed against this objective, Savage argued, was a recalcitrant American Fenian faction too easily distracted from the main game, rivals who were distinguished by "filibusterism [and] engaged in breaking American laws."¹¹

While internecine disputes sapped its energy, Fenianism also drew the ire of pro-British critics who protested against the Irish embrace of violence and questioned

the suitability of these immigrants for American civic life. Drawing on long-established religious and racial stereotypes, a range of mid-nineteenth-century writers lamented Fenianism's threat to public order. The English traveler Isabella Saxon [Sutherland] wrote in her account of five years on the West Coast, "If the efforts such as the lamented [New York Roman Catholic] Archbishop Hughes and others had their due influence on the minds of their followers, we should hear less of the absurdities of 'Fenianism.' What, however, is to be judged of men on whom neither the denunciations of the clergy they profess to respect, in regard to secret societies or conspiracies, nor the demands of gratitude and liberty on their part toward America herself, have had any effect?"¹² Yet through these post-famine years, criticism from those allied to Britain served as much to galvanize local Irish feelings as to intimidate them. When San José politician B. D. Murphy sought advice from his father on the wisdom of chairing a controversial nationalist meeting, the response was unequivocal: "When landlords in America become like landlords in Ireland, the sooner people are rid of them the better."¹³

While internal disagreements tempered Fenianism's impact in California, the reverberations of the Fenian campaign resounded beyond the West Coast to the wider Pacific Anglo-world. Foreshadowing twentieth- and twenty-first-century concerns with terrorist organizations, vigilant British consuls around the globe sounded alarm at the reach of the Fenian menace and warned of its grave threat to the Empire. High-profile actions by activists in Britain and Ireland, including the bombing of London's Clerkenwell Prison and the seizure of arms from Chester Castle, seemed to confirm the imminent threat to global order posed by unrestrained Irish nationalism.¹⁴ In the feverish environment, incidents that today seem trifling disturbances in the historical record appeared as part of a diabolical international conspiracy. For example, in April 1868 controversy raged in New Zealand following the staging of a mock funeral in the small West Coast town of Hokitika to commemorate the execution of the so-called Manchester Martyrs. One of the organizers, Irish-born newspaper editor and nationalist John Manning, who had arrived on the West Coast via a trans-Pacific path through the United States and Australia, was imprisoned for one month following his conviction for seditious libel. Articles in his recently established newspaper, the *New Zealand Celt*, including the provocatively titled story "Fenians Awake; Ireland's Uprising!," scandalized local loyalists who intensified their attacks on Irish militancy. A Roman Catholic priest and acquaintance of Manning, Father William Larkin, also served one month in prison for his role in the localized Fenian scare.¹⁵ The impact of these activities

in a mining region renowned for its concentrated Irish male population raised concerns about the wider threat to civil order in New Zealand and of the loyalty of its Irish community to their new society.

Events in Hokitika followed more disturbing developments elsewhere. The previous month, a mentally ill Irishman recently cast out from a Roman Catholic seminary, Henry James O'Farrell, attempted to assassinate the first royal visitor to the Australian colonies, His Royal Highness Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria. O'Farrell was immediately arrested, allegedly boasting, "I'm a Fenian—God Bless Ireland" as he was taken into custody.¹⁶ O'Farrell's trial and execution followed soon after, though not without a hint of scandal as local politicians manipulated the affair for their own advantage. New South Wales premier Henry Parkes, long antagonistic toward Irish immigration, overplayed his hand and lost his parliamentary authority. The colonial parliament, mortified at the attempt on the life of the monarch's son, enacted a treason felony bill in response to the crisis. The colony's leading Irish politician, Cork-born Roman Catholic Sir James Martin, declared that Fenianism "would be met with a vigor and determination which it had not encountered in the mother country" if it raised its head in the colony. In the poisonous environment after the assassination attempt, opponents closely scrutinized Irish immigrants' behavior and spread rumors of their dissension; in response, Irish newcomers acted capriciously from time to time in order to fuel the fire and provoke a fight.¹⁷ Now, more so than earlier in the Australasian colonies' history, immigrants who raised their heads above the parapets and advocated for the cause of the Irish homeland risked a substantial backlash from the community at large.

While Fenianism provoked forceful actions and reactions from the American West Coast to the antipodean colonies, its Pacific manifestation differed from that of the Atlantic world in two key respects. First, even in its most fervent moments, Fenianism on Ireland's farthest shores never equaled the sharp intensity of the Atlantic revolutionary movement. Distance disrupted the human connections and dampened the immediacy that fueled Fenian activism in that different oceanic setting. The Pacific scene was always more reactive to developments elsewhere and played a negligible role in shaping the militant Irish republican agenda. Second, its Irish people tended in some ways to differ in disposition from their compatriots in the Atlantic world, who most fervently embraced Fenianism. Generalization is fraught, but on both North America's Pacific coast and in Australasia, Irish immigrants lacked the deep reservoir of bitter resentment that was present in the

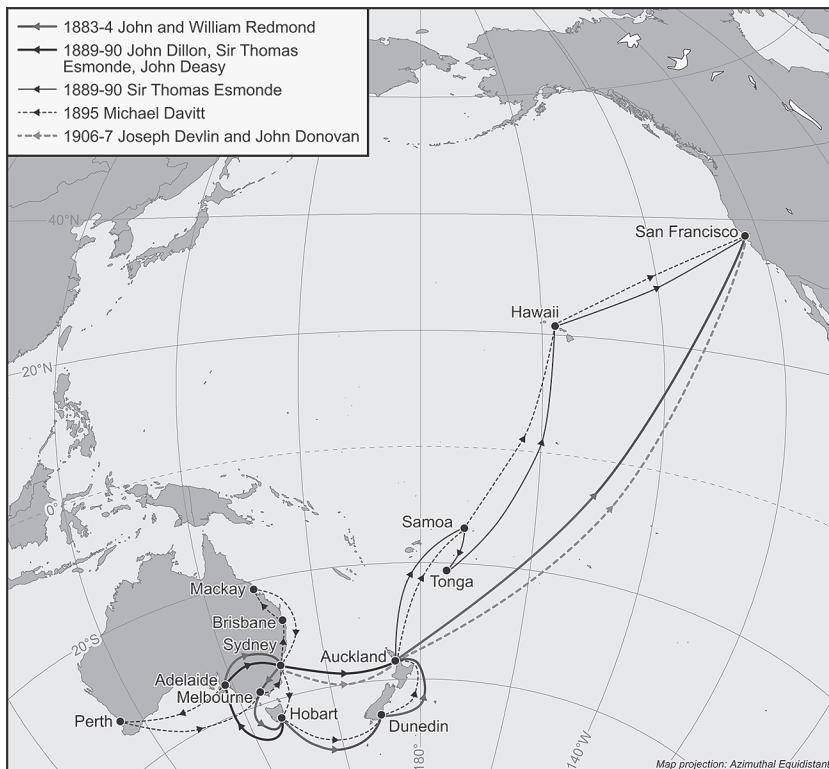
industrial cities of Great Britain and the eastern United States. In contrast to those crucibles of disadvantage and despair, the embryonic societies of the Pacific's new urban frontier successfully propagated identities that stressed novelty, cosmopolitanism, and opportunity. Despite the mythical dimensions of this identity, many Irish immigrants embraced these optimistic beliefs and celebrated what seemed fairer prospects for advancement than existed elsewhere. The Pacific ideal proved to be a leaven that shaped migrants' perspectives and diminished the angrier, insular tone that was so strong in some urban industrial communities in England, New England, and the mid-Atlantic states. Writing in the mid-1870s, the Reverend Hugh Quigley's *The Irish Race in California and on the Pacific Coast* celebrated the "charm of California [that] causes emigrants from the east to imagine they have found a terrestrial paradise when they feel the agreeable sensations of the Pacific skies." Notwithstanding the ostentatious tone of Quigley's book, in both urban and rural domains, in politics, business, and the church, notable examples of success dotted the Irish immigrant story. "It is probable that in San Francisco the Irish race are more numerous than on average, and they certainly are more independent, than in any other city on the continent," Quigley boasted. Overall, the historical record suggests that similar sentiments of optimism and opportunity prevailed through this Anglophone Pacific world and were integral to the rapid transformation of colonial societies in post-gold-rush New Zealand and Australia.¹⁸

PACIFIC SOLUTIONS

The failure of the Fenian project to dislodge British control in Ireland heralded the emergence of Isaac Butt's Home Rule Association. Founded in 1870, this modest campaign for constitutional change seems initially to have gained little traction among Irish communities overseas. In part, this lack of engagement reflected the subdued period of agitation in Ireland; it also underscored the importance of local concerns for the Irish population across this oceanic space. Changes in the leadership of the Irish movement later in the decade began to transform this hiatus. The Irish Parliamentary Party's aggressive campaign of parliamentary confrontation from the late 1870s attracted considerably more attention but, critically still, did little to harness the potential energy—human or financial—of Irish populations dispersed across the Pacific Anglo-world. Eventually, the vaunted "New Departure" of 1878 that brought together, under Charles Stewart Parnell's leadership, the Irish Parliamentary Party, land reformers, and neo-Fenians associated with the Clan na Gael generated more excitement. This new coalition held out

the prospect of a unified strategy that would pressure the British government to acknowledge the political and economic challenges confronting Ireland.¹⁹

Until the 1880s, support for Ireland and Irish nationalism across the Pacific was constrained by the lack of proximity to Ireland and immediacy of opportunity. Were Irish immigrant populations close enough, and strongly connected enough, to materially affect campaigns to secure a change in Ireland's relationship with Britain? Would Irish voices have the power to break through the stranglehold of Atlantic conversations and exercise a meaningful impact on the political scene in Ireland? Commencing in the 1880s, the answer to these questions changed fundamentally from the negative to the affirmative. A series of high-profile visits to Irish diaspora communities in the Pacific by nationalist leaders and political delegations, combined with the growing confidence of those immigrant populations to speak of Ireland's problems, brought a new vibrancy to the patriot game.



Initially, the inspirational Michael Davitt visited California, providing a major stimulus to West Coast activism. Historian Ely Janis has shown the upsurge in support for the Irish National Land League in California and Oregon at the commencement of the 1880s and the important financial contributions repatriated to Ireland by West Coast Irish men and women.²⁰ In the Australasian colonies, the first step in this process of nationalist invigoration came with the arrival in 1883 of John Redmond (see photo 7), twenty-six-year-old Member of Parliament for New Ross, who traveled with his brother William to advocate for the newly formed Irish National League. Events in Ireland made the timing of the Redmond brothers' mission less than auspicious. In late 1881 authorities imprisoned the Irish Party leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, under the Coercion Act for allegedly promoting violence. Then, on 6 May 1882 Lord Frederick Cavendish, newly appointed chief secretary of Ireland, and his permanent undersecretary, Thomas Burke, were assassinated in Dublin's Phoenix Park by a group of radicals known as the Invincibles. The Phoenix Park murders provoked outrage in Great Britain and across its empire, resurrecting fears of physical force nationalism and causing anger over the curtailment of dialogue between moderate forces in the British government and Irish nationalists. Against this backdrop, the Redmonds' arrival in Australia, and subsequently in New Zealand, provoked fierce opposition from conservative forces unsympathetic to the Irish National League and its Home Rule campaign. Many middle-class Irish were also antagonistic to the visitors, intimidated by the hostile reception their neighbors gave to the delegates' message. John Redmond's initial speech in Adelaide explaining the National League's aspirations for an independent Ireland received wide circulation across the country, prompting a stern rebuke from the influential *Sydney Morning Herald*: "If the speech [Redmond] delivered in Adelaide has been correctly transmitted to us by telegraph we fail to find anything in it which commends itself to our moral sense or practical judgement, and after considering the scheme, it appears to us that no loyal Australian can support it."²¹ The Protestant press in Australia was more vituperative, Victoria's *Protestant Standard* describing the Irish delegates' mission as an attempt to "white wash that blood-stained League." "[Parnell] and his emissaries," the newspaper complained, "have stirred up strife in the United States; brought to the surface a body of people ready with dynamite to blow up and destroy public buildings . . . and then Mr. Redmond crosses the sea to sow like abominable seed here."²²

The Redmond brothers were not blind to the predicament of the colonial Irish. They showed a good measure of patience toward nervous compatriots and more

than a fair measure of tolerance toward their opponents. Denied access to public halls in some towns, the brothers focused their attention on slowly shifting the landscape of public opinion and explaining Ireland's predicament in ways that were meaningful to the local audience. In Melbourne, John Redmond delivered three major addresses, of which the second, "Home Rule—its real meaning," was the most significant. Firmly and deliberately, he developed a case for Irish Home Rule, stressing the moderation of his objective for Ireland, "a middle course between separation on the one hand and over-centralization of government on the other": "Here in each one of these Australian colonies, you possess and you jealously guard the principles of home rule. I have asked repeatedly since I came to this country, and I ask now again, for some intelligent reason why Australians should refuse to concede Ireland that which they themselves acknowledge is the source and

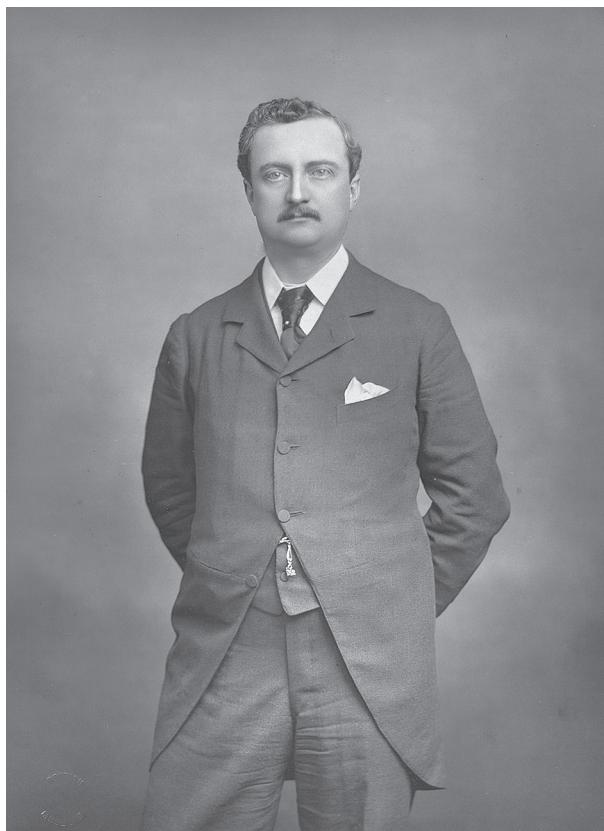


Photo 7. John Redmond (©The British Library Board 09/12/2020, 10804.i.3)

the cause of their own prosperity and their own loyalty.”²³ As historian Gregory Tobin showed, Redmond’s approach posed a dilemma for the colonial liberals, who found themselves caught between their traditional suspicion of and antipathy toward Ireland and Irish reform and the well-grounded comparison with their own successful system of responsible government. As he toured Australia, Redmond staked out repeatedly and persuasively the position that would become, in his biographer Denis Gwynn’s words, “the program which was to inspire his whole political life.”²⁴

Following extensive travels in the Australian colonies, the Redmond brothers crossed the Tasman Sea to New Zealand. John Redmond arrived in Auckland aboard the *Manapouri* on 4 October and received a reception similar to those he had received in the Australian cities of Sydney and Melbourne. The local press expressed considerable apprehension about the visit, the conservative *New Zealand Herald* writing, “We are sorry that the Redmonds have come here, and we should be grieved if they received much support.” Despite the critics, the scheduled public lectures took place as planned, and New Zealand newspapers took some delight in contrasting their colony’s more tolerant acceptance of the visitors’ right to speak with the hostile reaction encountered in parts of Australia.²⁵ Confronted with the frosty press reaction to the mission, and English-born Roman Catholic bishop John Luck’s avowed opposition to the Irish National League, Auckland’s affluent Irish initially steered clear of the delegates’ public meetings. The centerpiece of the Auckland visit was John Redmond’s lecture on Home Rule, delivered at the Theatre Royal. Before an audience containing “few men of mark” but “a large number of well-known industrial people,” Redmond articulated views now finely honed before Australian audiences. Skillfully, he asserted that Home Rule for Ireland meant no more than self-government on terms already enjoyed by New Zealanders and promised that the award of Home Rule would strengthen, not dismember, the empire.²⁶

After touring both islands, the brothers returned to Melbourne, where an Irish-Australian convention, modeled on Philadelphia’s recent all-Irish assembly, opened at Saint Patrick’s Hall on 7 November 1883. The conference, presided over by the Young Ireland veteran Kevin Izod O’Doherty, brought together more than 150 delegates drawn from all the Australian colonies except Western Australia and a small contingent from New Zealand. By way of welcome, the assembled delegates received a tribute from Charles Stewart Parnell praising the “magnificent” response of the Australian Irish to the Redmonds’ mission and foreshadowing the

formation of a permanent Australian organization from which the National League could draw “moral and practical support.” O’Doherty then gave an address confirming that Australia’s Irish population were men and women of the empire and outlining the parameters within which Irish national aspirations would receive antipodean support: “Nobody in these colonies . . . seeks or desires separation from that great empire that has been reared largely by the brain, muscle and blood of some of the best of our race. Its glory has become ours. Our destiny is inseparably connected with it.”²⁷ This was the premise that had dominated the Irish reaction to the tour virtually from the outset. In spite of the acrimony, the mission achieved much in shifting subtly Australian and New Zealand opinion on the Irish question, while the Redmond brothers remitted the healthy sum of nearly £15,000 to Ireland for the National League.

Shortly after the conclusion of the congress, the Redmonds departed on a steamship to San Francisco to continue their campaign. In the wake of Davitt’s successful visit to California, enthusiasm in the Bay Area for the Irish cause was high, with Fenian activists particularly generous in their support for the young politicians. After successful speaking engagements on the West Coast, the brothers continued eastward. On 5 February, a triumphant public meeting was held in Chicago, where thirty-five hundred eager supporters took part in a torchlight procession led by the city’s Hibernian Rifles and the Clan na Gael Guards. The Redmonds staged additional rallies in cities such as Boston, although enthusiasm for their message diminished noticeably the further they moved away from the Pacific coast. By the time of their arrival in New York, radical nationalists openly stated that to achieve anything the brothers’ fine words needed reinforcement with bombs and armed force.²⁸ This pattern of increasing nationalist fervor the farther eastward one moved from the Pacific Ocean toward Ireland remained in place for decades to come.

John Dillon, high-profile member of the Irish Parliamentary Party and son of the Young Irelander John Blake Dillon, led the next delegation to campaign on Ireland’s farthest shores. Dillon’s tour of 1889, undertaken in the company of fellow Home Rule MPs John Deasy and Sir Thomas Esmonde, took place at a difficult time for the Irish Party when the Plan of Campaign was in dire financial straits. Commencing its campaign in Australia, the delegation capitalized on the achievements of the Redmond brothers’ visit six years earlier and developed similar themes in nationalist thinking. In carefully tailored language, John Dillon stressed his desire that Ireland should “stand in the same relation to the Empire as you in

Australia." In a sign of the changing times, Dillon's disarming rhetoric now won substantial support from more affluent Irish Australians in addition to the working class, so that his Melbourne meeting presented a striking contrast to the Redmond brothers' feeble reception six years before: "Our chairman was an ex-premier of Victoria—an Irishman by birth and sentiment, and bearing an honored Irish name; our platform was thronged with members of the Victorian legislature, several of whom spoke for us manfully during the evening." A similar response prevailed in Sydney, where leading Irish Australians, including the colonial politician E. W. O'Sullivan, took prominent public positions expressing the view that Home Rule was now virtually inevitable in Ireland.²⁹

The Irish delegates' tour of New Zealand proved similarly successful. The two-month visit in December 1889 and January 1890 covered the length of the country from Dunedin to Auckland and attracted high-level interest among major New Zealand political figures in addition to people of Irish birth and descent. In fact, John Dillon claimed at his farewell dinner in Auckland that, given the lower proportion of Irish-born within the New Zealand population, the overall results there exceeded those achieved in the Australian colonies. Also noteworthy, Dillon believed, was the large number of non-Irish men of note who were receptive to his message and publicly supported Ireland's campaign.³⁰ In addition to the substantial fillip given to the profile and morale of the Irish Parliamentary Party, the Australasian tour yielded excellent financial results. In total, it raised the substantial sum of £33,000, desperately needed funds without which, Dillon's biographer F. S. L. Lyons wrote, "the Plan of Campaign could not have been carried on."³¹

The delegation's next major destination was the U.S. West Coast. The Irishmen were curious about the Pacific Islands and took the opportunity to visit and observe the major island groups on their passage to San Francisco. Thomas Esmonde went ahead of the party and left the most extensive written record of the journey. Opting for a rudimentary bunk on a western Pacific trading ship, Esmonde met the aging King George Tupou I of Tonga, who knew of the Irish leader Parnell and his impact on British politics. At Vava'u, Esmonde met two Irishmen among the small expatriate European population. One, a native of Mayo, was a firm home ruler and donated £5 on the spot to support evicted tenants. The other expatriate was a Dubliner, who made his living trading trinkets.³² Esmonde's next stop was German-colonized Samoa, where the local newspaper editor was a Dubliner who confronted a familiar challenge of the threat of censorship from a colonial administration unsympathetic to a free press. Esmonde's account of the Pacific crossing

demonstrates that he took a keen interest in the island communities he visited. His memoir contains wide-ranging comments on matters including housing, local politics, and indigenous customs and language. Across all these islands, the shadow of colonialism loomed large. Esmonde wrote critically about German colonial policy and did not disguise his bitterness over England's complicity in the spread of European imperialism in the Pacific. Unsurprisingly, he showed concern and sympathy for the plight of those people oppressed by the European powers, but his account also shows unmistakable condescension toward the island populations and their capacity for self-rule. Esmonde draws a firm distinction between Ireland's preparedness for Home Rule and the readiness of the Pacific peoples to obtain self-government: "Is it not monstrous that great, civilized, and so-called Christian empires, with thousands and thousands of square miles at home, should be so possessed of the demon of universal plunder that they cannot allow even a handful of harmless creatures at the other end of the earth to live in the land the Almighty has given them, in peace and in their own way," he wrote.³³

Dillon, who was a poor traveler and prone to seasickness, took time off to rest after his speaking engagements in New Zealand. He rejoined Esmonde for the final leg of the journey across the Pacific Ocean. In Honolulu, the delegates were greeted by members of the small Irish community and "feted . . . as none but Irishmen know how to do." King Kalākaua granted the Irishmen an audience, and Esmonde wrote positively about his administration of the Hawaiian Islands. The delegates recognized that the Hawaiian future would be an American one: the prosperous and cosmopolitan island chain, Esmonde wrote, "breathes American spirit and will shortly form as much a portion of the United States as Chicago or Charlestown."³⁴ The final port of call, San Francisco, confirmed for the visitors America's preeminence as a Pacific power. The Bay City, "the great emporium of the trade of North America with Asia and Australia," was a thriving and cosmopolitan city. For the delegates, the pickings were easy with large and enthusiastic crowds in attendance at all of their rallies, bringing the "fierce, fiery, powerful magnetism of responsive sympathy so specially characteristic of Irish meetings in the United States." With \$8,000 committed in subscriptions to support the campaign in Ireland, the visitors prepared to return home.³⁵

In addition to its success in boosting nationalist finances and morale, John Dillon's tour of the Pacific had wider ramifications for Irish politics. Most important in the next quarter of a century's quest for Home Rule was the delegates' exposure to debates about the future of the British colonies of settlement within

the empire. The Irish visitors met with an array of public figures during the course of their mission and observed at close quarters the trajectory toward nationhood developing in Australasia. F. S. L. Lyons contended that these encounters instilled in Dillon not only firm admiration for the progress of the colonies within the framework of empire but also an appreciation of difficult hurdles still to be overcome in Ireland's campaign for national independence. In some respects, Dillon's visit and subsequent developments on the Pacific's western shores set one measure against which Irish nationalists gauged an acceptable settlement at home. As Lyons wrote, "The longer [Dillon] stayed in Australia the more he seems to have become aware of the wider problems of imperial organization which were awaiting solution and of which Irish Home Rule was a part."³⁶ His interest in Australasian affairs and solutions to its constitutional quandaries continued in the subsequent decade as the question of Australian federation came to the foreground.

A second important outcome was the fertilization of international support for the Irish Party's Home Rule agenda. While the backing of the Irish of California was never in real dispute, Dillon, Esmonde, and Deasy continued the gradual process of converting liberals within the wider British Empire to support the revision of Ireland's relationship with Great Britain. In years to come, the British settler colonies of the Pacific world emerged at the forefront of this effort precisely because of their novelty and the immediacy of their efforts to negotiate relationships with the empire. These efforts to boost Australasian support bore fruit when, in the early part of the twentieth century, the new national legislatures expressed support for Ireland's cause and conveyed their sentiments to Great Britain.

STATE EXPERIMENTS AND PACIFIC PROGRESSIVISM

While Dillon's entourage proved the most important in supporting Irish nationalists financially, the visit most eagerly awaited by the Irish themselves was Michael Davitt's Pacific undertaking of 1895. Michael Davitt's tour to the Australian colonies, New Zealand, and the Pacific occurred at a time of considerable personal and professional anguish for the renowned nationalist and land reformer. In September 1890 Davitt began publishing his own newspaper, the *Labour World*. It fared poorly, and eight months later the newspaper closed due to failing circulation. At the same time, Davitt trod a rocky political path in the aftermath of the acrimonious Irish Party split. He stood for election in Waterford in December 1891 but lost to another former visitor to the Australasian colonies, John Redmond, by 1,775 votes to 1,229, suffering a physical mauling from a mob in the process. Another

distressing defeat followed in North Meath in July 1892. Frustrated in politics, and confronted with unmanageable debts following his newspaper's closure, Michael Davitt declared bankruptcy. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington's biography of Davitt records of this time that "everything he had went in the smash—even the dwelling house which had been presented to his wife. And dark times followed, borne with his customary fortitude, till his never-resting pen once more placed him in a position of comparative security."³⁷

Despite the disappointments, parliamentary politics continued to beckon. Constituents elected Davitt MP for Northeast Cork the following year, but opponents used his recent bankruptcy as grounds to have him disqualified from sitting in the House of Commons. Although the Court of Appeal subsequently affirmed Davitt's right to stand for election—initially in Britain, then in Ireland—the financial strain and legal anxieties of the turbulent early 1890s provide a critical backdrop to his decision to embark on the 1895 tour. So, too, did his attempts in 1893 and 1894 to engage with Britain's emerging labor movement. Touring through northern British constituencies, Davitt found himself increasingly in sympathy with the policies espoused by its parliamentary candidates while ostensibly campaigning for Liberal Party candidates sympathetic to the anti-Parnell faction. His mounting interest in the potential of labor politics is strongly evident throughout the journal of his tour of the British colonies in Australasia and in his subsequent book.³⁸

Australians and New Zealanders had long anticipated Michael Davitt's arrival. As early as 1883, shortly after the completion of John and William Redmond's mission to the Australasian colonies, rumors swept through Ireland, the United States, and Australia that Davitt had decided to walk away from the nationalist cause, retire immediately from public life, and relocate permanently to Australia. Much to the disappointment of the Australian Irish, Davitt did not follow in the footsteps of the Young Irisher Charles Gavan Duffy decades before and become one of them. A planned visit in 1885 also did not materialize, Davitt making it only as far as the Holy Land before returning to Ireland. Historian Carla King writes that "other projected trips were also abandoned, so as not to conflict with lecture tours by other Irish nationalist leaders, or in 1893 because he devoted his efforts to supporting the second Home Rule Bill."³⁹ Yet although still unknown in person, Davitt was familiar to Australian readers through his wonderful letters published in Joseph Winter's Melbourne newspaper the *Advocate* from 1887, correspondence that covered Irish politics as well as a wide sweep of world affairs, including the scramble for Africa and the Dreyfus Affair in France.⁴⁰

When Michael Davitt did finally arrive in the Australasian colonies to commence his trans-Pacific tour, he was, with few exceptions, enthusiastically received by Irish and non-Irish alike. The visits of previous Irish delegations had done much to erode opposition there to the Home Rule cause and promote mainstream political support for a moderate constitutional settlement in Ireland. By 1895 only the most vitriolic opponents of Ireland continued unflinchingly to reject the Parliamentary Party's Home Rule agenda. Davitt's message for local Irish nationalists, which echoed closely those advanced during the earlier tours of the Redmond brothers and John Dillon, confirmed this opinion and continued to prove attractive to Australian and New Zealand ears: "What was Home Rule? Home Rule was what New South Wales, Victoria and twenty-three other colonies today enjoyed."⁴¹ His paramount interest, however, was to witness developments in the New World rather than to agitate on Ireland's behalf.⁴²

Michael Davitt observed closely the operation of the colonial parliaments and the democratic tendencies of their politics. "To the student of popular principles of government and social and industrial legislation there are no more interesting countries in the world of practical politics than those of Australasia," he wrote.⁴³ Of South Australia, his first port of call, Davitt noted in his journal: "One man one vote. Next G[eneral] E[lection] it will be adult suffrage as women have had the franchise extended to them. . . . Present Govt. opportunistic. Leaning towards Labour and Democracy."⁴⁴ South Australia had been at the forefront of labor politics in Australia when three Labor candidates won seats in the colonial parliament in May 1891. In contrast, he was unimpressed with the Crown's decision to grant responsible government to sparsely populated Western Australia when Ireland remained unable to attain Home Rule. To concede Home Rule to an area the size of Europe less Russia and possessing a population of only 45,000 was, Davitt considered, "as illogical, irrational and contradictory policy as could well emanate from a parliamentary debating society in Colney Hatch. But it is the Imperial statesmanship of England all the same."⁴⁵

Davitt's journal and correspondence confirm the extent to which he engaged with the leading figures in colonial politics across Australia. In Sydney he dined with Edmund Barton, who in 1901 would become the Australian Commonwealth's first prime minister. Ironically, in a decade that saw the flowering of Australian nationalism, the Irish nationalist Davitt remained a skeptic of the self-governing colonies' movement toward federation. Reflecting his intense interest in the possibilities of class-based politics, Davitt prioritized social reform over the achievement of a

national parliament: “It will add nothing to the present advantages they possess in colonies where the Labor parties hold the balance of parliamentary power.”⁴⁶

In each colony, in addition to meeting prominent politicians, encouraging local Irish sympathizers, and conducting a hectic schedule of public lectures, Davitt researched and commented on topics of personal interest: legislative reforms, land ownership, the quality of local journalism, labor relations (including the use of Pacific island labor on the Queensland sugar plantations), and prisons. In South Australia, he visited the Murray River Labor Settlements, local attempts to establish a self-sufficient yeomanry. As historian Val Noone pointed out, Davitt saw experiments in alternatives to private ownership such as the Murray settlements as “of importance to the global labor movement.”⁴⁷ He also visited the farming and copper mining region of Kapunda, where he met a number of fellow countrymen.⁴⁸ In the colony, he found the people generally healthy and contented, the children comfortably clad, “strong of limb, bright and chatty,” in stark contrast to the shoeless children of the west of Ireland.⁴⁹ Davitt’s visit followed on the heels of tumultuous industrial disputes right along Australia’s Pacific seaboard earlier in the decade, and unsurprisingly, labor topics loomed large in his public lectures. His recent exposure to the increasingly influential role of labor in British politics ensured the popularity of his meetings and drew large numbers of trade unionists to hear his addresses.

For Davitt, the treatment of Australia’s indigenous population and Pacific island laborers recruited for the Queensland sugar fields proved especially important. Though his lexicon is very much that of the late nineteenth century, he commented firmly and critically on the adverse effects of colonization on indigenous peoples, believing it was “to the credit of colonial Irishmen that they have produced, in more than one instance, courageous advocates of a humane treatment of the dying Aboriginal race of Australia.”⁵⁰ More pressing to contemporaries was the immediate challenge posed to the cherished ideal of “white Australia” by the importation of indentured Pacific labor. Davitt traveled to Mackay on the northern Queensland coast and researched at length the wages, rations, and clothing available to the indentured workers recruited for the sugar industry. He spoke to local European farmers as well as the laborers themselves, taking care to do so in the absence of their masters. While Japanese inspectors attended the sugar districts to ensure fair treatment of their nationals, he judged that government inspections of the island workers were “a nominal affair.” Pacific laborers were restricted to the least skilled work, while “all technical work was done by white men.” “They

are not 'driven' in their task, as slaves would be," Davitt observed, "but they look when at labor more like prison gangs than free workers." Their desultory condition and high mortality rates were particularly striking. Consequently, he concluded, the current system of indenture ought to be terminated and replaced by one that recognized the aspirations of the smallholder: "The best, if not the only way in which to rid Queensland of the reproach and dangers of the Kanaka Labour System, is to encourage homestead sugar cultivation."⁵¹ Davitt's meticulous investigation of the racial issues confronting the Australian colonies on the eve of federation is significant and warrants further attention from Australian historians. It also speaks to present debates among historians over Irish attitudes toward indigenous and colonized minorities.

Inevitably, nationalist politics stood large alongside Davitt's other activities. Rallies and meetings took place in all the major cities. Sydney's *Irish-Australian* reported that Davitt received a reception "which has never been witnessed before in this city," including a procession more than one mile long. In Queensland, he posed for photographs with Kevin Izod O'Doherty, the venerable Young Irishman, who had returned to Australia and entered colonial politics rather than tread in the footsteps of his comrades and return to settle permanently in Ireland or the United States. "You are about to visit undoubtedly the most democratic portion of the British Empire," O'Doherty had written to Davitt on 3 May 1895, shortly before his arrival in Australia, and in general there was little Davitt encountered to dispute this claim.⁵² In Melbourne he renewed his acquaintance with a Fenian prisoner transported to Australia in 1867, Hugh Brophy. Davitt met, socialized, and was photographed with the leaders of Melbourne's Irish nationalist movement. Familiar with John Mitchel's *Jail Journal*, Davitt wrote when he arrived in Tasmania, "How often when young has this place with its convict history rung in my ears." His itinerary was hectic, the pace grueling, and the distances traveled vast. Davitt raised a significant sum of money through his relentless schedule of public lectures. He remitted £900 to the Irish Party in July to meet expenses when an election was called, although this drained him of funds otherwise needed to support his family in Ireland.

On 31 October, Davitt sailed for New Zealand. Among his fellow passengers was Mark Twain, and Davitt recorded in his journal the famed American writer's opinions on Australia and its nascent literature.⁵³ In the southern city of Dunedin, Davitt met the future New Zealand prime minister Joseph Ward and gave a labor lecture to an audience of six hundred, though not without regret: "Yes, but

1 hour and 50 mins and no compensation from these Irish who are not attracted by such a question." His visit to Oamaru did little to improve his mood: "Lecture a failure. Mark Twain and other caterers for public patronage have been here lately and the people have become tired. Proceeds least of my lectures in tour except Ipswich Queensland."⁵⁴ As had been true of Dillon's visit, Davitt met the big names of New Zealand politics and society during his time in the colony—including the premier, Richard Seddon; Robert Stout; and William Pember Reeves—but flagging energy and homesickness aggravated by the recent death of his seven-year-old daughter Kathleen seem increasingly to affect the tone of his journal. Fifteen hundred attended his Auckland lecture that "went off well." "But it was the last! So farewell to this my second and as I most fervently pray my last lecture tour. May God grant I shall never again be compelled to resort to this hated work for the need of bread and butter. Amen!"⁵⁵

Michael Davitt sailed from Auckland on the *Alameda* on Saturday, 30 November, commencing a crossing of the Pacific to the United States. His sense of relief was palpable: "Oh, the blessed feeling, of heavenly rest one experiences, after such a tour to find oneself absolutely master of oneself and free of all worry and all thought of lectures, audiences, interviews etc etc. How weary and tired do I feel! I do not think I could have carried out *two more* engagements. My strength has lasted just up to the seventieth and final lecture. Thank heaven it is all over and has not been a failure."⁵⁶ The trans-Pacific voyage promised an opportunity for relaxation and reflection.

Michael Davitt arrived in Samoa on 4 December. His observations and experiences of Polynesia were, like his experiences of Australasia, to mark his political consciousness in subsequent years. Together with his substantial photographic archive of in excess of 150 prints (see photos 8–10), his writings constitute a rich commentary on the late nineteenth-century Pacific. During his brief stay, Davitt actively sought out people and visited the main attractions. He found the time to visit the local Marist school, Robert Louis Stephenson's house and grave, and the local newspaper office. Unsurprisingly, Davitt was keenly interested in Samoa's political position and the prospects for its future. He commented critically on the presence of three imperial powers—Britain, Germany, and the United States—contesting control of Samoa and firmly explained what he believed to be the negative effect of their competition on local government: "This is a grotesquely absurd arrangement. Leads to three post offices, three authorities practically and all which this implies. . . . No body satisfied is but a natural and common sense comment



Photo 8. Scenes from Samoa photographed by Michael Davitt (Davitt Papers, 9649_432, Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin)



Photo 9. Scenes from Samoa photographed by Michael Davitt (Davitt Papers, 9649_434, Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin)



Photo 10. Scenes from Samoa photographed by Michael Davitt (Davitt Papers, 9649_441, Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin)

upon this stage of things. It would be much better if two of the three ruling powers would clear out and allow the third to establish a protectorate (fairly defined) over the island." His observation that "most of the traders are German" perhaps indicated his preference for the custodial power.⁵⁷ His concern with Samoan governance would continue long after he left its shores.

Davitt then sailed from Apia to Honolulu, "most delightfully situated, and a charming place." He visited Oahu prison and the Molokai Leper Station (previously staffed by Irish priests) and interviewed Queen Liliuokalani. Ever the journalist, Davitt noted that Honolulu boasted "no less than 15 newspapers, . . . one morning daily (*The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*) and three evening papers. Six weekly (English), 4 Native Hawaiian Weekly, 2 Chinese Weeklies; 2 Japanese weeklies and 2 Portuguese [*sic*]." He also followed up his concern, strongly evident in Australia, with plantations and the use of indentured labor, an issue addressed in detail in his published account of the tour of Australia and New Zealand (see photo 11).⁵⁸



Photo 11. Plantation Group, Kilauea (Davitt Papers, 9649_451, Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin)

Davitt's Pacific crossing ended in San Francisco. He visited his longtime friend Mary Canning in Oakland. From the West Coast, he crossed the United States for a family reunion with his sisters in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and meetings to discuss the desirability of an Irish Race Convention with American supporters.⁵⁹ Finally came his return home to Ireland. He disembarked at Queenstown on 10 January 1896, avoiding speeches and the ubiquitous banquet, commenting, "Am beginning to think that I am commencing to be fortunate." A visit to his daughter Kathleen's grave followed soon after: "I almost wished to be with her and at peace. Possibly it may not be long before I am. God knows I have had little peace in my life so far."⁶⁰

A JUST MEASURE OF HOME RULE

In 1900 the Irish Parliamentary Party reunified under John Redmond's leadership. After years of bitter division in Irish nationalist politics, men and women throughout the diaspora responded enthusiastically to the end of the Parnell split

and the Irish Party's promise of a concerted campaign for independence. The formation of William O'Brien's United Irish League, designed to mobilize grassroots support, produced an immediate impact in Ireland and across the Atlantic Ocean. Within two years, two hundred branches of the United Irish League of America were established, and vitally needed funds flowed to support the Irish party's reinvigorated political campaign.⁶¹ The UIL also established branches in the major Australian cities with solid support from Irish workers, and healthy subscriptions came in during William O'Brien's visit to the Australasian colonies in 1901. In contrast, for reasons that historians have not fully explained, the League did not gain meaningful traction in New Zealand.⁶²

In the early twentieth century, Irish immigrants within the British Empire sought to gain leverage over Ireland's affairs through the voice of their parliaments. On 3 August 1905 Henry Bourne Higgins rose in the Australian House of Representatives, proposing an address to King Edward VII desiring that "a just measure of Home Rule may be granted to the people of Ireland." Born in County Down in 1851, the son of a Wesleyan minister, Higgins had a diverse background in Ireland that included childhood years in Tipperary and Kerry and schooling in Dublin. He arrived with his parents in Melbourne in 1870 to commence a life of public distinction as a lawyer, politician, and judge.⁶³ Higgins's motion in the recently established federal parliament, which followed a similar measure in the Canadian parliament, placed Ireland's future squarely on Australia's national political agenda. Opponents of the Home Rule proposal invoked reflex responses to Irish demands for self-rule, including the threat of Irish disorder and the risk that devolution of power to Dublin undermined imperial unity. In response, Home Rule supporters argued Ireland's case persuasively in global terms. One speaker, King O'Malley, the American-born member for Darwin, a former resident of Washington, Oregon, and California, had arrived in Australia in 1888 selling insurance for the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States. Now, as a member of Australia's parliament, O'Malley questioned opponents of Irish Home Rule whether they "mean to contend that although Irishmen are capable of governing England, Scotland, Wales, Australia, Canada, the United States, they are not capable of governing Ireland?" Dismissing their concerns, he argued that Home Rule would in fact strengthen Great Britain, enhance its leadership of the world's English-speaking peoples, and ensure closer bonds between Australia and the United States. Despite recalcitrant speeches from a minority of members and senators, the wind was firmly at the back of the Home Rule advocates. Eventually both the Australian

House of Representatives and the Senate affirmed the motion in support of Irish Home Rule, thirty-three votes to twenty-one in the lower house and sixteen votes to eleven in the Senate.⁶⁴

We cannot speak of one Irish nationalism, or one nationalist experience, in the late nineteenth-century Pacific Anglo-world. National contexts were crucial. By virtue of its republican heritage and the composition of its Irish intake, the United States provided by far the most fertile ground for nationalist activism. The British colonies of settlement in the western Pacific, bound by ties of governance and strong imperial sentiment, embraced the question of Irish independence with similar timidity. However, in each of these different settings, the politics of negotiating Ireland's future proved vital in shaping the accommodation between the Irish and the new host society. Equally important, the increasing engagement of Irish leaders with this oceanic space after 1880 and the knowledge they acquired enriched thinking about Ireland and the challenges ahead on its path toward independence.

When the Irish Parliamentary Party emerged from the January 1910 general election holding the balance of power, Home Rule for Ireland seemed nearer fulfillment than ever before. To the dismay of the Irish nationalists throughout the Pacific, the legislative process in London proved painfully slow. When finally the Asquith government introduced the Home Rule Bill into the House of Commons in April 1912, it seemed that, despite myriad obstacles, the long years of struggle to convert hearts and minds to the Irish cause had borne fruit.⁶⁵ That proved not to be the case. Unionist opposition to reform in Ireland was undiminished, and the outbreak of World War I in 1914 curtailed the prospect of immediate implementation of Home Rule. Bitter disappointment at the deferral of Home Rule quickly passed to anger and despair as the wartime context heralded a new era of enmity and sectarian recrimination.

War and Revolution

The outbreak of World War I had an immediate impact in the Pacific world, most notably in those places where British or German influence was strong. New Zealanders, positioned close to the International Date Line, became aware of Great Britain's declaration of war on the afternoon of 5 August 1914. Within ten days, the nation dispatched a small expeditionary force of fourteen hundred men to support the British war effort. The Ulster-born prime minister, William Ferguson Massey, assured New Zealand's parliament that the hastily assembled contingent would play an integral part in the war as it developed in Europe: "Directly the force leaves New Zealand they are Imperial troops in every sense of the word, and under the Imperial authorities. I am quite sure that our men will be glad to learn that within a few weeks of their leaving here they may be at the front, probably in the firing line." The advent of British control brought an abrupt loss of New Zealand's authority over the force. The British government, without consulting New Zealand, diverted the initial contingent of troops to New Caledonia and then to Western Samoa. On 29 August 1914, a little more than three weeks after the outbreak of the European war, the expeditionary force seized the German colony of Samoa. Germany made no effort to oppose the military occupation of its distant Pacific territory. The New Zealand contingent, proudly reported by Dunedin's Catholic *Tablet* to contain "no less than 500 Catholics," quickly took down the German flags, replacing them with the Union Jack, and secured key installations in the colony, including the post office and radio station.¹ Initially, the occupying troops reveled in the excitement of their secret expedition and the novelty of life in Samoa. The soldiers' elation soon faded as fears grew that prolonged garrison duty in the Pacific would deprive them of the opportunity to participate fully in

the great European battles still to come. Those fears of missing out proved to be unfounded. The war would not end quickly, and by 1918, when the armistice came, nearly one in five of the New Zealander soldiers who participated in the Samoan occupation force had fallen in battle.²

Prime Minister William Ferguson Massey was born in Limavady, County Londonderry, in March 1856 and served as prime minister of New Zealand from 1912 to 1925. When the Massey family immigrated to New Zealand in the early 1860s, young William stayed behind to complete his schooling and absorb the values that historian Jock Phillips believes shaped his future political career: “Commitment to Protestant morality, to the freehold and to the Empire.” Massey arrived in New Zealand in 1870 as an atypical immigrant in some respects but emerged as a national political leader molded unmistakably by his personal experience as a Protestant Irish immigrant.³ In fact, he was the third Irishman to lead New Zealand in less than a century, the trio illustrative of the remarkable diversity of outlook and traditions in nineteenth-century Ireland. Dublin-born Daniel Pollen, who had spent two years residing in Australia and the Pacific islands before migrating to New Zealand, served as premier from 1875 to 1876. Another Ulsterman, John Ballance, who was born in 1839 in Glenavy, County Antrim, and arrived in New Zealand in 1866, led the reformist Liberal government from 1891 to 1893.⁴ The outbreak of the Great War, following in the wake of the tightly fought 1914 general election, led to the establishment of an emergency administration comprising conservative politicians and Liberals. This wartime government had an unmistakable Irish edge. The Ulster Orangeman Massey’s deputy was the Liberal leader, Joseph Ward, the Australian-born and staunchly Roman Catholic son of Irish immigrant parents, who left school at age thirteen. Half a world from Ireland, two men who were the products of widely different Irish traditions led the fledgling nation to war. Given these differences, it is not entirely surprising that relations between Massey and Ward deteriorated during the course of the war. Their estrangement stands as a metaphor for deep and long-standing divisions in Ireland and for the intense strains that developed throughout the Anglophone nations of the Pacific world during the course of the war to end all wars.

This chapter investigates the Irish experience in these Pacific societies during the momentous and often acrimonious years from the outbreak of World War I until the Irish War of Independence. Through this turbulent period of global war and insurgency in Ireland, conditions worsened for many Irish immigrants and their descendants as questions of loyalty to nation and fidelity to the British Empire

assumed increasing importance. However, the experience of men and women on Ireland's farthest shores was far from a uniform one. Location proved crucial in shaping the historical experience of individuals and communities, while faith and tradition also proved important in determining the actions and reactions of Irish men and women. Yet despite their disruptive effects, the outbreak of war and the controversies of Ireland's revolutionary years did not entirely rupture the filaments that had grown to connect the Irish in and around the Pacific. Even as physical mobility within and across the ocean was curtailed by the war, a newly emerged group of committed Irish republicans in the western Pacific turned to Irish-American compatriots in California to support their aspirations for the separation of Ireland from Britain and the empire.

“BLESS ED BY GOD”

In 1914 the Irish populations in North America and Australia who lived adjacent to the Pacific Ocean had good reason to be in a buoyant mood. The previous half century had witnessed the attainment of significant political power, rising material prosperity, and improving social standing. From east to west, the gradually aging population of those of Irish birth and their locally born descendants enjoyed living standards that exceeded those available to compatriots at home or elsewhere on the Atlantic periphery. There had been a price to pay for these achievements. Times had not always been easy, and the high rates of economic growth that propelled the expansion on the Pacific's urban frontier had resulted in sharp and painful fluctuations in the financial cycle. Bouts of depression stood alongside the boom times. Aside from economic development, recent decades had seen the containment, but not the eradication, of religious intolerance and anti-Irish bigotry. Sporadic outbreaks of sectarianism and racial vilification continued to occur, although as residents of long standing, the Irish were mostly effective in keeping their opponents in check. Political developments in Ireland also proved unsettling at times, although by early 1914 the great struggle to transform the Union appeared won. Ireland stood on the brink of achieving a meaningful measure of self-government. The passage of the third Home Rule Bill through the British House of Commons in May 1914 promised the inauguration of a new era, where Ireland would stand alongside the nations of the world. To be fair, the proposal for Home Rule within the empire fell short of the hopes of the most ardent nationalists, but few Irish at home or abroad failed to recognize the significance of the legislative achievement.

The outbreak of war in August did not initially diminish this mood of optimism. To the contrary, New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and other British colonial territories of the Pacific world greeted Great Britain's declaration of war with nearly universal acclaim. The forthcoming struggle seemed a sure sign of the maturation of the empire and of its independent dominions. In Wellington, New Zealand, the *Dominion* acknowledged the seriousness of the challenges ahead in the war with Germany, writing, "The whole Empire will have to brace itself for this supreme test."⁵ In Canada both the secular and religious press emphasized from an early stage the importance of loyalty to the empire and the righteousness of the war effort.⁶ The former British colonies matched their strong sense of loyalty to the empire with determination to use the war to promote their standing as new nations. In Australia the *Sydney Morning Herald* acknowledged the war as the new nation's first "baptism of fire."⁷ There were some notable exceptions to the cheerful reception of the war, principally in the working-class press. For example, New Zealand's socialist *Maoriland Worker*, while confessing that it had so far encountered no criticism whatsoever of the New Zealand government's decision to dispatch troops, protested that the commitment of soldiers for the European war appeared to represent "anything but statesmanship." Still, it editorialized, "it appears to be a hopeless task to get men to reason without prejudice at a time like this." While the *Worker* conceded it preferred a British victory to a German one in the war, it dismissed New Zealand's involvement in the distant conflict as a costly publicity stunt and the war itself as a destructive capitalist enterprise.⁸

In a boost to the standing of Irish immigrants and those of Irish descent within the empire, political leaders and the mainstream press took particular note of the Irish Parliamentary Party's early and unambiguous support for the war effort. One Australian newspaper wrote that the Irish Party leader, John Redmond, "excelled himself" with his statement to the House of Commons that "Irish Democracy will turn with the utmost anxiety and sympathy to Britain in every trial and danger."⁹ As best one can tell, the pro-war rhetoric of political leaders in the British dominions on either side of the Pacific Ocean and the fervor of most editorialists in those countries aligned with the sentiments of the majority of Irish people. Herbert Moran, who was born in Australia in 1885 to Irish parents, trained as a physician at the University of Sydney and captained the Australian Rugby Union team on its first international tour of Great Britain in 1908. Moran, who took a position in a hospital in Dublin following the sporting tour and enlisted as a captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps, wrote in his memoir of the turn-of-the-century

period that the “new generation of Irish-Australians ardently desired to be loyal. They wished very much to escape from the bleak moorland of perpetual resentment.”¹⁰ This sentiment seems to have enjoyed wide currency at the outset of the war.

In line with Moran’s spirit of service and sacrifice, Irish families who closely identified with the Home Rule campaign publicly contributed sons for war service. Their enlistment was closely in tune with John Redmond’s famous commitment at Woodenbridge, County Wicklow, on 20 September 1914 that the Irish volunteers would support Great Britain and serve “wherever the firing line extends.” In Melbourne, John Gavan Duffy, son of the renowned Young Irisher-turned-colonial-politician Charles Gavan Duffy, told a public meeting that Australia’s Irish were “ready, eager and willing to stand shoulder to shoulder, knee by knee, fighting the great battle of the empire to which they belonged.”¹¹ This positive Irish response to the call-up for war service was evident elsewhere. Historian Mark McGowan’s research has shown that in Canada, “if young Irish Catholic Canadian men and women needed any incentive to enlist in the service of the Crown against the Kaiser, they needed only to listen to the chief representatives of their community.”¹² Likewise, in New Zealand it was the case that “when New Zealand went to war in August 1914 the Catholic community went too.”¹³ In line with the sentiments of the laity, the Roman Catholic clergy were, with rare exceptions, enthusiastic in their endorsement of the war effort. In Sydney, Waterford-born Archbishop Michael Kelly vividly proclaimed that the allied cause was a just one and said the war effort would be “blessed by God.” The archbishop of Vancouver, Timothy Casey, rallied Irish on Canada’s Pacific coast by quoting the Old Testament advice, “Suffer no man to stay behind, but let all come to the battle.”¹⁴ Notable pockets of Irish resistance to war did exist, particularly in the labor movement, where dissenters took guidance from labor leader James Connolly’s denunciation of the conflict as a capitalist enterprise. The Industrial Workers of the World, a force of considerable strength around the Pacific, constituted a further transnational movement around which opposition to the war solidified. A small cadre of Roman Catholic clergy also viewed the war with skepticism. Nonetheless, the weight of historical evidence indicates that in the first year of the conflict, the prime sentiment among the Irish in all these countries was wholehearted endorsement of the war effort.¹⁵

Backing for the war effort remained undiminished as the conflict extended through Christmas of 1914. For New Zealand and Australia, the abortive allied

campaign following the landing at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 proved a crucial moment in the war. Historians in both nations have carefully scrutinized the legacy of the Anzac campaign in Turkey. Reportage of the Dardanelles campaign hailed the stoicism and courage of the two nations' forces in their trial of fire. The terrible campaign encouraged an upsurge in voluntary enlistment for war service. In Australia scholarship has shown that the rate of Roman Catholic enlistment during the early stages of the war aligned closely with the Catholic proportion of the overall population. To the extent that it fell short, the deficiency is attributable more to variables such as the Irish Catholic rate of membership of organized labor or their civil occupation than to any intrinsic opposition to the war.¹⁶ This broad picture held true in the other British dominions, with historian Mark McGowan concluding that in Canada, Irish Catholic recruitment into the nation's expeditionary force "followed many of the same patterns of the population as a whole."¹⁷ In New Zealand, Irish Catholics seem to have enlisted marginally below their proportion of the total population; they were, as one historian described it, "not shirkers, even if they were not disproportionately patriotic."¹⁸ Though one can point to examples of public opposition to the war, the evidence within the British Empire adjacent to the Pacific Ocean strongly points to Irish endorsement of the war effort rather than any deep-seated antipathy to participation in the conflict.

The situation in the United States was different. In August 1914 a variety of factors, reflecting the history of the American Republic, its ambivalent relationship with Great Britain, and the diversity of its early twentieth-century population, encouraged a disinterested stance toward the European war. President Woodrow Wilson captured the national mood and the desire for noninvolvement in the European conflict with his declaration that "every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness to all concerned."¹⁹ Once the war was underway, competing interest groups in the United States managed to preserve an uneasy calm. On one side, a substantial body of elite opinion welcomed Britain's declaration of war and supported measures to rein in German aggression. British diplomats worked assiduously to cultivate this support and promote the case for war. On the other side, the nation's diverse population included millions of immigrants and their descendants from the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, who, together with Irish republicans and other antiwar groups, strenuously sought the preservation of neutrality.

At the outbreak of the war, Irish Americans held a range of opinions on the European conflict and its meaning for Ireland. Long-term supporters of John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party's Home Rule campaign initially stayed the course and supported the party's position, reassured by Redmond that his commitment to support Great Britain would strengthen the Irish claims for independence. Agreement to defer Home Rule was the regrettable means to a better end. An increasing number of America's Irish disagreed and now disparaged the Irish Party's position, casting the Home Rulers as traitorous servants of the British cause. Some activists forged bonds with the German groups.²⁰ Redmond was subject to intense personal hostility and branded as the British Army's enthusiastic "recruiting sergeant." Antagonism to the Irish Parliamentary Party and its nationalist agenda continued to gain strength through 1915, a trend that was evident in California, where lay and church leaders showed increasing impatience with the Irish Party's position. In San Francisco, prominent community leader and champion of the Irish working class, Galway-born Roman Catholic priest Father Peter Yorke, embraced without hesitation the view of hard-line nationalists that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. Uncompromising and acerbic, Yorke advocated strongly for the maintenance of American neutrality right through until 1917, when the U.S. entry into the war compelled Irish Americans to radically reconsider their position.²¹

THE EASTER RISING AND ITS AFTERMATH

The rising that took place on the streets of Dublin at Easter 1916 is central to Ireland's modern history. Yet only recently have historians begun to fully interrogate its global dimensions.²² In the case of the British dominions adjacent to the Pacific Ocean, a set of nationally framed historical understandings of 1916 developed early, and those interpretations have proved extremely resilient. More than forty years ago, Richard Davis described the response of New Zealand's Irish to the first news of the events in Dublin.²³ Their reaction was to express alarm and disdain, with the Dunedin-based *Tablet* quick off the mark to dismiss what it described as the rebels' reprehensible attack on the Irish people. Subsequent scholarship has confirmed the strength of this response, emphasizing that the nation's Irish Catholics "clamored to condemn the rebels and to reaffirm their belief in Irish constitutionalism."²⁴ In their firm and immediate denunciation of the Dublin rebels, New Zealand's Irish population echoed their nation's wider level of impatience, anger, and dismay. The *New Zealand Herald*, for example, despaired that "from many

points of view the Dublin outbreak is the saddest incident of the war. The details of it will be read in every part of the British Empire and on every section of the British front with sorrow, but nowhere with deeper feelings than at Loos, where gallant Irish soldiers were fighting with conspicuous heroism while their deluded and criminal countrymen were rising in revolt in Dublin.”²⁵ In the midst of the Great War, and with New Zealanders and Irishmen serving side by side and dying on the front line in unprecedented numbers, the sense of anger and betrayal toward the Dublin rebels was palpable.

A similar reaction prevailed in neighboring Australia. Sentiment among the Irish-born and their descendants was overwhelmingly supportive of the Irish Parliamentary Party and its Home Rule agenda. Captain Herbert Moran identified their initial response to be “dismay and resentment at the abortive rising.”²⁶ Irish political leaders sought to distance themselves from the Dublin affair, with New South Wales politician Patrick McGarry condemning the Sinn Féin rebellion outright and telling the state parliament that “no true Irishman could have the slightest sympathy with the outbreak fomented as it had been by German agents.”²⁷ Irish clubs and organizations were nearly unanimous in their condemnation of the actions of the Dublin rebels, with Hibernian Australasian Benefit Society branches in both Sydney and Melbourne passing resolutions deplored the rising. The leadership of Australia’s Roman Catholic Church also strongly repudiated the rebels, with another Galway cleric, the archbishop of Melbourne, Thomas Carr to the forefront in his denunciation of an insurrection that he believed was “the result of German intrigue, or support from some Irish Americans, of hostility to the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party.”²⁸ Small numbers of Irish Republican Brotherhood sympathizers in cities along the Pacific seaboard responded positively to the news from Dublin. Middle-class Irish Australians, long invested in the success of the Home Rule campaign, moved quickly to marginalize this faction of so-called Sinn Féin supporters and endorse the constitutional pathway associated with the Irish Party.

In a similar fashion, Canada’s Irish Catholic population responded indignantly to early news of the Dublin rebellion. As elsewhere in Great Britain’s white settler empire, the dominant response of the Irish and their descendants was to vent emotions including anger, betrayal, and disbelief at the group of little-known rebels who seemed recklessly to forsake the long-established goal of Home Rule. Canada’s largest Roman Catholic newspaper, the *Catholic Record*, pulled no punches in its denunciation of the actions of “the bitter, unscrupulous, and vituperative enemies of Redmond’s constitutional home rule movement.”²⁹ This sentiment was

evident on the Pacific coast. At least two key factors contributed to the uniformity and vehemence of the reaction experienced in Canada and across the wider empire. One was surprise, a feeling of being blindsided by unexpected developments across the Atlantic. The other was the burden of the ongoing war: at a time when Canada's fathers and sons of Irish birth or descent were serving on the battlefields of western Europe, the distraction of rebellion on the streets of Dublin proved compromising and unwelcome in the host society.

The callous British response to the Easter Rising transformed this situation irrevocably. Irish men and women everywhere found common cause in their detestation of the measures meted out to the rebels, in particular the execution of James Connolly by firing squad while strapped to a chair. Attention quickly turned to the extraordinary catalog of failed British polices toward Ireland that had contributed to the rising, including the government's recent spineless failure to stand up to unionists who opposed the implementation of Home Rule. Brisbane's Archbishop James Duhig captured the deeply held sentiments of Irish leaders in his own city and elsewhere when he stated that the executions would "exasperate the great mass of loyal Irishmen all over the world." He told a luncheon of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, "The rebellion in Ireland might soon be forgotten but the executions had created a set of martyrs who were sure to find many to cherish their memories and recall their names long after the statesmen of our day were gone and forgotten."³⁰ The priesthood held no monopoly on indignation, and Irish activists everywhere were vocal in demanding justice for Ireland. In Canada, anger and disillusionment spread quickly, although not sufficiently so to eliminate support for the Irish Party and Home Rule. In New Zealand the influential labor activist Harry Holland lectured around the country throughout late 1916 and early 1917 to enthusiastic audiences, explaining the long history of English misrule and oppression in Ireland.³¹ Outrage was only one Irish response. According to Herbert Moran, who was then serving in uniform, Irish people within these societies who felt constrained from public displays of anger by the wartime demand for loyalty "merely shrank into themselves, moody and unhappy."³²

The retribution against the Dublin rebels provoked even stronger public outrage in the United States. Irish Americans mobilized to exert the greatest possible political pressure on their government. The U.S. Congress debated resolutions condemning the British actions and demanding investigation of any abuse of American participants.³³ A Clan na Gael-sponsored movement, the Friends of Irish Freedom, campaigned to raise money for the families of the rebels and to support the

fulfillment of its mission to achieve an Irish republic. In San Francisco a public meeting in May 1916 sponsored by the Friends attracted a crowd in excess of six thousand people.³⁴ The local chapter of the Knights of Saint Patrick called on California Senator James D. Phelan, one of its members, to intercede directly with President Wilson. Phelan did so, and he remained actively involved in advocacy for Ireland throughout the remainder of World War I and the Irish War of Independence.³⁵ Denunciation of Great Britain spread rapidly throughout the nation at large, prompting the British ambassador to Washington, D.C., Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, to warn London about the harmful effect of the reprisals on American public opinion.³⁶ In fact, indignation at British treatment of the 1916 rebels had scarcely begun to abate before April 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson sought and received congressional approval for the United States to enter the war. That commitment of American military forces to the European conflict then curtailed opportunities for so open disparagement of Great Britain and restricted the ability of militant Irish Americans to openly support German war aims. In the wake of the U.S. commitment to war, Irish hopes for the future principally rested on the adoption of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, including his promise that the war's end would see justice delivered for small nations.

In the months following the Easter Rising, we can observe across the Pacific world's Anglophone societies the emergence of several common themes as Irish communities responded to news from Dublin as well as the growth or renewal of significant connections between its dispersed Irish populations. Within the British Empire, the immediate legacy of 1916 was estrangement between the Irish and their fellow citizens and a deepening aura of distrust. Orangeman and conservative politicians were at the forefront of efforts to recast the Catholic Irish and their descendants as disloyal to Great Britain and the societies in which they now lived. In the states on Australia's eastern seaboard, sectarian animus returned to levels not seen since the mid-1860s as the goodwill won by the Home Rule campaign of the 1880s and 1890s diminished. Writing on behalf of the Loyalist League of Victoria, the vituperative English-born Baptist minister Thomas Elias Ruth complained that Sinn Féin's influence had spread from Ireland to Australia, with the consequence that "incalculable injury is wrought in the body politic."³⁷

"NOT FIT FOR SERVICE"

That level of animus penetrated further to affect the lives of some Irish men and women resident on the islands of the Pacific. Joseph Ernest O'Sullivan was born in

1883 and graduated as a medical doctor at the National University of Ireland in 1913. He married his wife, Margaret, in Dublin in mid-1914 and moved to Ballysadare, County Sligo, shortly afterward. Within months of his wedding, Dr. O'Sullivan joined the extraordinary legion of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Irish medical graduates who moved abroad to practice their profession. Historians have shown that in the period 1900–15, 49 percent of the Irish medical graduate cohort worked outside Ireland, while another 14 percent of the graduates were unlisted in the United Kingdom medical register. Many of the physicians crossed the Irish Sea and practiced medicine in Britain, and others dispersed across the world or took postings on vessels at sea. Few can have traveled further, or taken a position as isolated, as Joseph O'Sullivan. The newly graduated Dr. O'Sullivan applied to the British Colonial Office for a position, and within months of the outbreak of World War I, he received an appointment as the government medical officer in the Solomon Islands commencing in July 1915. Leaving his new wife temporarily behind, O'Sullivan embarked on 29 May on the first-class voyage from London to Sydney, staging point for the final leg of the journey to the Solomon Islands.³⁸ The young Dr. O'Sullivan spent a short time in this city where, in mid-1915, enthusiasm for Britain and the empire remained strong, buoyed by fervor over the outbreak of war in Europe and pride in the commitment of Australian troops for overseas service. Though the staggering losses and fateful stalemate in the trenches of the western front would cause disillusionment afterward, in July 1915 Sydney remained a city where enthusiasm for the empire largely transcended ethnic and religious divisions.

A little over six weeks later, on 9 July 1915, Dr. O'Sullivan commenced the final stage of his protracted journey, taking a passage north to the Solomon Islands Protectorate. The Solomon Islands fared well economically in the first decade of the twentieth century as plantations flourished, furnishing tropical products highly sought after by the European industrial market. Burns Philp, an Australian-based wholesale trading company well known for its unwillingness to employ Irish Catholics, became a key player in the islands, “the protectorate’s unofficial publicity agent in Australia.”³⁹ The company ran its own steamer service from the Australian east coast to the Solomons and exerted significant influence behind the scenes over the functioning of the protectorate. After initially deciding against direct investment in plantations, the firm began to purchase its own estates from 1904 in a bid to stifle the threat from its chief rival, the German firm Eduard Hernsheim, for products including copra. Years of healthy commodity prices and

outside investment brought an increased population of European missionaries, planters, and merchants as well as new issues for the colonial authorities to address. Health and working conditions were particular concerns. In 1914 an epidemic of dysentery swept through the protectorate, bringing mortality rates of up to 10 percent on some plantations. For a time, labor recruitment was suspended. The provision of adequate health regulation was therefore a critical issue for the resident commissioner in the Solomon Islands. As the protectorate reported in 1911, "the climate cannot be described as a healthy one, since malarial fever and dysentery are prevalent, the latter chiefly among the natives."⁴⁰

Based at the port of Tulagi on the island of Gela, Joseph O'Sullivan was one of two doctors responsible for public health throughout the British Solomon Islands. His responsibilities included the provision of care for the expatriate European population in a small, recently constructed hospital at Tulagi (see photo 12) as well as oversight of public health measures to lessen the impact of diseases including dysentery on plantation laborers through the archipelago. While the historical record is sparse, it indicates that visitors to Tulagi formed a positive assessment of Dr. O'Sullivan's work and character. For example, William Mann, a Harvard myrmecologist, visited the Solomon Islands for six months from May to November 1916 to study ants of the South Seas. Mann wrote favorably of his stay at



Photo 12. Tulagi Hospital, ca. 1918, photographed by Charles Woodford Morris (Mrs. Joan Presswell / Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Australian National University)

Dr. O'Sullivan's home and appreciated the Irish medical officer's willingness to store his supplies and specimens as he undertook his field research throughout the archipelago.⁴¹ Similarly, the Reverend Reginald Hodgson, a missionary in the Pacific from 1916 to 1924, recalled in his reminiscences "the good Dr. O'Sullivan" coming aboard the vessel *Southern Cross* to tend to a gravely ill New Hebrides-born sailor.⁴²

In contrast to these favorable reports, Dr. O'Sullivan's superior at Tulagi formed a decidedly negative view of his new charge. By the second half of 1917, messages from the acting resident in the Solomon Islands, Charles Workman, condemned the Irish doctor's political views and described him as unfit for continuation in the colonial service. Although the acting resident conceded O'Sullivan had carried out his medical duties "honestly, according to his lights," Workman criticized the colonial office: "The selection of officials who after two years' service are incapable of winning the respect of either natives or Europeans detracts from the loyal efforts of those who have maintained the traditions of the colonial service here."⁴³

Relations worsened dramatically in the months after the Dublin rising. Acting resident Workman expressed increasing concern over Dr. O'Sullivan's outspokenness on Irish affairs. While we cannot ascertain with precision O'Sullivan's views on Irish political matters, his superior's reaction suggests that they possessed a fervor sharply at odds with the intense loyalty to empire and moderate Home Rule sentiment that prevailed in the western Pacific consulate and the neighboring British dominions. The arrival of his wife, Margaret O'Sullivan, who embarked from London on the P&O ship *Medina* on 1 September 1916, seems also to have escalated the tension. Margaret, described on the *Medina*'s departure record as a twenty-eight-year-old housewife, brought to the Solomon Islands up-to-date and unfiltered testimony on Irish affairs and the growing impact of Sinn Féin on Irish politics.⁴⁴ Where the main Australian newspapers in circulation in Tulagi offered a constant narrative of Irish betrayal toward a beneficent empire, Margaret's arrival in the small expatriate community brought fresh perspectives on the situation in Ireland and provided opportunities for socializing, dinner parties, and teas, where Irish republican politics became table talk.

National and religious bigotry intensified in the months that followed. Early in 1918 Dr. O'Sullivan returned to Sydney to receive treatment for an injured hand and to recruit new nurses for the hospital at Tulagi. The trading company Burns Philp's Sydney office received instructions from the high commission in Fiji to assist Dr. O'Sullivan in the selection process. The company took this role seriously, and its agent sent behind-the-scenes reports on O'Sullivan's efforts to select the new

nurses. W. H. Lucas, of Burns Philp's Sydney office, wrote in confidence to the British High Commission in Suva that when considering applicants, "it soon became apparent that the only applications which interested [Dr. O'Sullivan] were those bearing Irish names and with training in Catholic institutions." According to Lucas's correspondence, O'Sullivan's first preference for appointment was a Miss Boland, but he [Lucas] successfully persuaded the doctor to favor the appointment of another nurse, Miss Beavan, on the grounds of her superior experience. Lucas later discretely reported to the high commission, "It is but fair to tell you that I have since ascertained from Miss Beavan that she describes herself as Church of England, which is satisfactory." He described Dr. O'Sullivan's first preferred candidate, Miss Boland, as "a very Irish type indeed," and opposed her employment. Lucas also felt compelled to defend his national and religious preferences to the British authorities: "You must think me a shocking bigot; as a matter of fact, I am nothing of the kind, being mostly heathen. At the present time, however, there is such a lot of disloyalty amongst the Irish Catholic section of the community, that one is merely imitating the ostrich by ignoring the fact."⁴⁵

W. H. Lucas's reports from Sydney confirmed the high commission's increasingly negative view of Dr. O'Sullivan. However, his observations on disloyalty in the Irish Catholic community were a partial and partisan representation of complex Irish attitudes to events at home. Historians of Burns Philp describe Lucas as "forceful, efficient and rather foul mouthed," a man of influence in the islands of the western Pacific Ocean who was later named the company's "island inspector."⁴⁶ Lucas was commenting within the context of a region that, like Ireland itself, experienced deep division over wartime issues, including the introduction of conscription for war service. It is easy to see how this bitter sectarian climate inflamed tensions and contributed to ostracizing Dr. O'Sullivan and his wife during the Solomon Islands posting.

In April 1918, at the completion of his treatment in Sydney, Dr. O'Sullivan returned to the Solomon Islands without an Irish Catholic nurse but with growing recognition that his future in the colonial service was in jeopardy. Acting resident Workman believed the doctor was already making plans to practice medicine on the Australian mainland, whether because he saw the writing on the wall for his current employment or because the arrival of his and Margaret's first-born child, Kathleen, made service in the Solomon Islands too trying for the young family. Eventually, the high commission determined to terminate the contract of troublesome Dr. O'Sullivan. Yet even the simple decision to replace the medical officer

disguises the depth of concern that the high commissioner and his staff held about the Irish doctor's political convictions. A remarkable minute from the high commission went so far as to consider alerting the governor general of Australia of Dr. O'Sullivan's plans to commence a practice in New South Wales.⁴⁷ For his part, acting resident Workman informed his superiors that O'Sullivan's Irish nationalist impulses were undiminished by his time recuperating in Australia. "Only yesterday at my own table Dr. O'Sullivan said that he was confident Irish fathers would shoot their sons rather than permit them to be conscripted."⁴⁸

A TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP

The First World War reinvigorated Irish republicanism in the Pacific Anglo-world. Prior to the outbreak of the war, California alone had a strong and enduring tradition of Irish republican activism, which reached back to the Fenian movement of the 1860s. Both New Zealand and Australia experienced Fenian episodes of a watered-down kind in the late 1860s, but these left no enduring footprint in either society. The Irish Parliamentary Party and its Home Rule campaign eclipsed any other Irish political agenda. That situation began to change on 21 July 1915 when twenty-seven-year-old Albert Dryer formed the Irish National Association of Sydney. Dryer was born in Australia in 1888 to a German father and an Irish mother, Mary Cusick, a native of Poulnagun on the coast of County Clare. Dryer's father died when he was four years of age, leaving Mary to nurture him through the unforgiving years of the 1890s depression in eastern Australia. At the completion of his schooling, Albert Dryer worked for the Customs Department and undertook further studies, culminating in his graduation in arts from the University of Sydney in 1913.⁴⁹

Later in his life, Dryer offered extensive witness testimony to the Irish Bureau of Military History that sheds important light on the trans-Pacific connections of Irish republicanism in the early twentieth century. According to his account, provided to the bureau in 1956, Dryer was inspired to devote himself to Irish independence after reading Alice Stopford Green's *Irish Nationality*, and in 1915 he established the Padraig Pearse Branch of the Irish National Association of Australia. Dryer described the Irish National Association as the pioneer organization in its field in Australasia, established with the specific purpose to "advance the cause of Ireland in Australia and to advocate the ideals of Irish national independence and republicanism." To fulfill its objective, the association began to recruit members of Sydney's Irish community. It did so by assuming a strong social focus, encouraging

the learning of the Irish language, the practice of cultural activities, and fostering “Irish racial consciousness amongst people of Irish birth or descent.” By February 1916 the association claimed to have 211 members and laid solid foundations for a permanent Irish society. Its weekly meetings comprised “a large measure of social amusement, with the object of augmenting the membership list.” A journal was in the pipeline. Association branches were also established in Melbourne and Brisbane around this time, producing a total membership on Australia’s Pacific Coast that at its peak may have numbered as many as 2,000.⁵⁰

While the Irish National Association propagated the public image of a moderate and well-meaning social club, behind the scenes its leadership was highly motivated and politically active. In addition to Australian-born Dryer, a core group of immigrants with connections to the republican movement in Ireland guided the association. Its members included Belfast-born Liam MacGuinness, who arrived in Sydney in 1912 at the age of twenty-three. According to Dryer’s testimony to the Bureau of Military History, as a teenager MacGuinness had been a foundation member of the Dungannon Club in Belfast. He became a sworn member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1906. MacGuinness’s circle of acquaintances included Bulmer Hobson, Séan MacDermott, and later, Roger Casement. He was also a member of the Ulster Literary Theatre and was familiar with prominent figures throughout the Irish theatrical scene. Unsurprisingly, given this first-class republican pedigree, he was a member of the Gaelic League and Gaelic Athletic Association. In 1910, at Hobson’s urging, MacGuinness was planning to move closer to the action in Dublin. Long-distance migration abruptly altered this trajectory. Family circumstances intervened and required MacGuinness to reluctantly accompany his mother to Australia, severing his opportunity to become more involved in the republican cause in Ireland.

In Sydney MacGuinness mixed with veterans of a range of Irish political campaigns. Edmund McSweeney, who was born in Tipperary in 1861, had arrived in Australia in 1883, having previously spent time in New Zealand. McSweeney had been a Land Leaguer in County Kerry and was a committed republican. Francis MacKeon, born in 1884, was a native of Dundalk who had arrived in Melbourne in 1912, where he established the first local branch of the Gaelic League. Key clerical supporters of the Irish National Association included Monsignor Patrick Tuomey, a native of County Kerry, who attended the Irish College in Rome and was appointed in 1910 to the position of professor of dogmatic theology at the Roman Catholic seminary in Sydney, St. Patrick’s College. Tuomey’s tenure at the

college was short lived, and in 1916 Archbishop Michael Kelly sent him to serve as a parish priest in the New South Wales southern highlands. Even from the obscurity of his new country parish, Tuomey attracted the attention of authorities for his incendiary views on Irish matters. In 1918 police successfully prosecuted the priest for sedition, resulting in a fine. Another key supporter was the Reverend Maurice O'Reilly, a former principal of Castleknock College in Dublin, who was radicalized by the events of 1916 and became a strong advocate of Irish republicanism in the wake of the Easter Rising.⁵¹

In contrast to most other Irish organizations in Australia, the Irish National Association welcomed the Easter Rising from the outset and mourned the loss of the Irish who rose on the streets of Dublin. In Sydney, its April 1916 *ceilidh* was canceled in sympathy with the “patriots who lost their lives (being murdered after the Irish insurrection) to satisfy the bloodlust of the champion of small nations.” Confronted with this discordant response to the insurrection, key nationalist leaders within Irish Australia stepped up to reaffirm their loyalty to the Irish Parliamentary Party and denounce the so-called Sinn Féiners. In Melbourne the leading Home Ruler and Gaelic scholar, Nicholas O'Donnell, believed fewer than a dozen republicans were at work in his city but, in widely reported comments, denounced the rebels and their local supporters.⁵²

In addition to opposition from moderate Irish organizations, Dryer and the republicans also faced a hostile environment that suppressed opposition and constrained opportunities to overtly assist Ireland. In Australia a strict security regime was introduced in 1914 that imposed restrictions on German immigrants and their descendants, along with any other group deemed to constitute a national threat. Censorship curtailed the importation of seditious literature, including New York's strident working-class newspaper the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*.⁵³ Maritime workers proved crucial in overcoming this handicap and maintaining connections with Irish communities across the Pacific Ocean. Brothers Matthew and Patrick Organ, born in Cork in 1885 and 1887, respectively, proved to be lynchpins during the war years. Matthew Organ was in contact with the San Francisco priest Father Peter Yorke and, according to Albert Dryer, smuggled proscribed publications and other republican propaganda into Australia and New Zealand. In fact, Dryer testified that the brothers undertook this clandestine work while under a regime of police surveillance that included an illicit search of their belongings during a voyage to New Zealand. Dryer also pointed out that Matthew Organ was a “trusted agent” of the Australian republican clerics Monsignor Patrick Twomey

and Rev. M. J. O'Reilly, implying that secretive communications channels existed among clergy between 1914 and 1918 that were discrete from the secular ones of republican activists.⁵⁴

In the aftermath of the Easter Rising, the Irish Republican Brotherhood established its first Australian Circle in Melbourne. The key figures in its initiation were Maurice Dalton, a veteran of the Fenian campaign of 1867, and John Doran, an American citizen of Irish birth and member of the local shipwright's union. Doran moved quickly to expand the movement's reach along the Pacific coast and sailed to Sydney in July 1916 to establish an IRB circle. He found enthusiastic recruits within the top ranks of the city's Irish National Association, and two circles totaling twenty men were sworn into the organization. A Brisbane circle followed the next month. In coded language, Doran reported to Maurice Dalton that the mission to establish the IRB in the major east coast cities had been successful.⁵⁵

With these circles in place, the Australian organization reached across the Pacific Ocean to California. Doran wrote to the renowned Clan na Gael leader John Devoy, reporting on the establishment of the Australian IRB and foreshadowing a visit to the United States. In September 1916 he embarked for San Francisco, where, on arrival, he took on the mantle of "representative of the Australian wing." Soon after, Doran wrote a hopeful report on his progress in consolidating the trans-Pacific link, hinting to Australian IRB associates of future action planned in Ireland: "There are great things on foot over here which I dare not even hint at just now, but which will all be known to the world in due time. I can only say this much, there will be another Easter week before the war ends, and it won't be 3000 men against 20,000 this time."⁵⁶ Early optimism for the relationship faded, and it was not until September that Doran wrote to Dalton explaining his predicament: "You may think that I have forgotten my trust because I have not written to you direct before now, but such is not the case. I would have communicated long ago but there was considerable risk and nothing of grave importance to communicate. I have been in touch with local affairs since my arrival here, but as a probationary period of at least one year is insisted upon in the case of everyone not provided with a regularly endorsed transfer, I am not yet initiated although recognized unofficially as representing the Australian wing."⁵⁷ Stationed on the margins of the American movement, Doran appears to have made little progress in building ties that were meaningful for Australian republicans. The U.S. entry into the war served only to intensify the challenge. Doran then disappeared, with rumors circulating of his involvement in a pro-German conspiracy in California and that he was on

the run. This seems entirely plausible given that in 1918 he wrote in code to Albert Dryer from Alaska, signaling that the hoped for trans-Pacific IRB alliance was at an end.⁵⁸

Unbeknownst to Doran, Australian authorities were successfully undertaking surveillance of the IRB and its activities. From 1916 members of Sydney's Irish National Association were aware of increasing police attention to their organization. Although IRB countermeasures were successful in disguising some of the group's subversive activities, by 1918 Australian federal authorities were determined to intervene. On 28 March, the Australian government published sweeping regulations directed at Sinn Féin. It issued warrants for the detention of seven men, including Dryer, McSweeney, MacGuinness, and Dalton (see photo 13). A Supreme Court judge, Justice John Harvey, conducted an inquiry into the activities and affiliations of the Australian IRB. Harvey found that while the IRB had raised money and offered support to the American movement, and the American



Photo 13. The Irish internees in Darlinghurst Jail, Sydney, ca. 1918 (National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer R.4 #P829/3)

movement had procured arms from Germany for the purpose of rebellion, there was no evidence that the Australian internees “had any connexion with enemy persons in the Commonwealth.” He also identified the Irish National Association as a front organization used by the IRB to further its aims, although he found that it was “not shown that the rank and file had any knowledge of their connexion with Germany.”⁵⁹

In New Zealand, a skeletal IRB organization also developed in the wake of the Easter Rising. Dunedin’s Irish Club, like the Sydney Irish National Association, presented to the world a face of harmless social interaction but harbored a more radical element with IRB connections. Historian Seán Brosnahan examined the fragmentary evidence of the club and its members and of the emergence on the Dunedin scene of the *Green Ray*, which branded itself “the only truly Irish newspaper South of the Line, and the only Republican journal in Australasia.”⁶⁰ As in eastern Australia, the committed republicans bypassed the older, middle-class Irish leadership associated with the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Home Rule cause, preferring instead to strike out and connect with Sinn Féin and the reinvigorated republican cause. Parallels existed with Australia in the pedigree of the personnel attracted to the new republicanism. For example, John Tohill (Seaghan O’Thuail) was born in Belfast and arrived in New Zealand with his parents and siblings in 1909. Like Liam MacGuinness in Sydney, Tohill was a product of the Ulster Dungannon clubs and a keen proponent of the Irish language. He claimed to have association with republican luminaries, including Joseph Mary Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh. In fact, it seems highly probable that Tohill and another Belfast republican veteran now in Dunedin, James Bradley, were former associates of MacGuinness. In a similar fashion, these New Zealand republicans turned to the United States for support. “We are linked up with our brethren at Home and in America,” claimed local Irish activists, although the fragmentary historical record is quiet on the breadth and depth of any long-distance connections.⁶¹

HELP FOR IRELAND

In the aftermath of the Easter Rising, a wave of sympathy for Ireland washed across the Anglophone Pacific world. In a short preface penned for Katherine Hughes’s widely distributed pamphlet, *English Atrocities in Ireland*, California Senator James Phelan asserted that the United States had a direct interest in the final resolution of the Irish situation. Having come to the aid of Great Britain in the current war, he wrote, the United States now demanded recompense in the name

of Ireland. Phelan declared, “Ireland will only be peaceful when she is free; and the influence of the Irish around the world, unless freedom be granted, will be an implacable and disturbing element.”⁶² Irish Americans mobilized to place pressure on the Wilson administration to make the Irish question a part of the postwar peace settlement. Visits to the United States by prominent Irish figures energized public opinion in support of a republican solution. Hanna Sheehy Skeffington was the most prominent of a series of women who toured the nation from late 1916. Sheehy Skeffington lectured extensively in California and Oregon to large and enthusiastic crowds and met with leading women in progressive politics on the West Coast, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. As her biographer Margaret Ward showed, the tour was not without controversy. Some Californians questioned the incendiary tone of Sheehy Skeffington’s presentations at a time when the United States and Great Britain fought side by side in war. However, these disputes did nothing to diminish the passion of the West Coast Irish men and women who turned out to condemn Britain’s treatment of Ireland.⁶³

During her visit, Sheehy Skeffington became a lightning rod for Irish-American pressure on the Wilson administration. Returning to the East Coast, on 11 January 1918 she secured a private audience with President Wilson, a distinction no other firsthand witness to the events of 1916 had achieved, and presented him with a copy of the Proclamation of the Republic. The result of the audience was to heighten Irish American optimism that, with President Wilson’s intercession on Ireland’s behalf, the postwar peace settlement would look favorably on Irish independence. The tour also proved transformative for Sheehy Skeffington. Exposure to political currents in the American West contributed to the growth of her reputation as a social and political reformer. On a return visit to San Francisco in April 1918, she attended a meeting in support of Tom Mooney, an Irish-American IWW activist sentenced to death following a bombing that had killed ten people. The extensive public campaign challenging Mooney’s conviction did not overturn the verdict but achieved the commutation of his penalty to life imprisonment. Sheehy Skeffington’s participation in this campaign reinforced in the eyes of some American critics the view that she was now a subversive force. Her comments questioning conscription added to the tension. Galvanized by these controversies, Sheehy Skeffington returned to Ireland in June 1918 ready to enter the political maelstrom. As Margaret Ward wrote, “She had left Ireland as a widow devastated by personal tragedy. She would return home as a self-proclaimed Sinn Féiner, determined to be part of the struggle to rid Ireland of British rule.”⁶⁴

In contrast, within the empire, supporters of Ireland initiated appeals to the British government to show beneficence toward Ireland and implement the Home Rule proposals. In fact, some thought the events of Easter 1916 signaled the likelihood of imminent implementation of the plan to cede increased power to Dublin. In Australia the radical *Bulletin* magazine foreshadowed “the speedy establishment of a sort of double-barreled Home Rule,” with partition acceptable as a “temporary expedient [to ameliorate] the difficulty created by Carson and his noisy followers.”⁶⁵ Responding to the weight of public sentiment demanding final settlement of the Irish issue, in March 1917 the Australian Senate passed by twenty-nine votes to two a motion to present an address to the king expressing the hope that “a just measure of Home Rule may be granted (immediately) to the people of Ireland.”⁶⁶ In Canada and New Zealand, too, strong sentiment existed for an end to the century of division over Ireland’s future. A belief that “common sense” would prevail dominated, while support for Sinn Féin remained confined to small groups of ardent activists.⁶⁷ A terrible naivete infected these views of the situation in Ireland and the possibility of a reversion to the Home Rule path.

Throughout the British Empire, conscription became a flashpoint in the months after the Easter Rising. Canada and New Zealand introduced conscription for war service to replenish their depleted forces in Europe, though not without significant controversy.⁶⁸ The Australian government failed in its attempt to do so. In 1916 the prime minister, William Morris Hughes, returned from Great Britain determined to implement a compulsory draft. A first plebiscite, held on 28 October 1916, was narrowly defeated. Voters in three Australian states carried the measure; in the other three states, a majority of voters opposed the proposal. The 1916 conscription campaign split the Australian Labor Party and saw Prime Minister Hughes and his followers expelled from the party. Hughes, now leading a government that included his former political opponents, staged a second plebiscite on 20 December 1917. It lost by a wider margin than the first proposal. In the spiteful battles that surrounded both conscription plebiscites, the issue of Irish nationalism was an ever-present factor. This was mainly because of the prominent anticonscription stance adopted by Daniel Mannix, coadjutor bishop in Melbourne at the time of the first vote and, following the death of Thomas Carr in May 1917, the new archbishop. Mannix, who categorized the struggle in Europe as “a sordid trade war,” was outspoken in his criticism of conscription and described Prime Minister Hughes as “the little tsar.”⁶⁹ Critics castigated Mannix’s pronouncements as a demonstration of disloyalty to Australia and a sign of his

preference for Ireland's republican ambitions over Australia's imperial interests. The conscription issue, which cast Mannix into the spotlight as the most prominent representative of Irish Australia, heralded an upsurge in sectarian animus that continued in Australia well into the 1920s. The Australian dispute had wider ramifications. Simultaneously, New Zealand experienced its own upsurge in bigotry, with Protestant opponents casting Roman Catholic bishops and priests as disloyal political figures, intent on undermining the British Empire. Its Protestant Political Association, led by an Australian-born Baptist minister, the Reverend Howard Elliott, claimed two hundred thousand members in 1917.⁷⁰

The issue of conscription also proved crucial in Ireland. Great Britain introduced compulsory military service in 1916, although the legislation establishing the call-up excluded Ireland.⁷¹ On 16 April 1918, shortly after John Redmond's death, new legislation extended conscription to all of Ireland. Irish Parliamentary Party members walked out of the House of Commons, unable to prevent passage of the measure. Irish Catholic fury over the conscription measure was soon evident in the general election of December 1918, or "khaki election," which saw Sinn Féin win seventy-three seats in the House of Commons to the Irish Party's six, recasting the Irish scene and putting an end to the decades-long Home Rule campaign.⁷²

The Receding Tide

In June 1920 the Roman Catholic archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, arrived in San Francisco on the first stage of an extended overseas tour that culminated in an audience with Pope Benedict XV in Rome. Warmly welcomed by the Bay Area's Roman Catholics, Mannix then commenced an overland journey to New York that provided what his biographer, Michael Gilchrist, described as "some of the sweetest moments of his long career." At St. Columbia's Missionary College in Nebraska, Mannix renewed his relationship with Éamon de Valera, the president of the Dáil Éirann, who had visited the West Coast twice in the previous year to promote the new Irish republic. Shortly afterward, on 18 July, Mannix shared the stage with de Valera at a rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City to press once more for U.S. recognition of de Valera's Sinn Féin government. At the height of Ireland's War of Independence, before a crowd of fifteen thousand people, de Valera introduced Mannix, the principal speaker at the rally, as "a champion, a true champion, of the plain people, and Ireland's mission in the world today." The Irish revolutionary Harry Boland, who was present at Mannix's oration, praised the "wonderful speech" that included the archbishop's commitment to go to Ireland and kneel at the graves of those who gave their lives in the Easter Rising.¹

Daniel Mannix, who was almost certainly the most polarizing figure in early twentieth-century Australian life, was born in Cork in 1864 and ordained to the priesthood in 1890. Appointed to the prestigious post of president of Maynooth College in 1903, Mannix held that position until his selection as coadjutor bishop of the Melbourne diocese in 1913. He succeeded to the position of archbishop of Melbourne on 6 May 1917, following the death of Thomas Carr. Mannix arrived on American shores in mid-1920 as part of an obligatory visit to Rome, fresh from

his role as the leading adversary of the Australian government's attempts to impose conscription for war service during World War I. Branded a traitor to Australia and the British Empire when the conscription plebiscites were defeated, Mannix poured oil on the fire in March 1918 when he controversially doffed his miter to a float commemorating the Easter Rising "martyrs" during Melbourne's Saint Patrick's Day Parade. He then orchestrated an Irish Race Convention in the city in November 1919 that endorsed Éamon de Valera and Sinn Féin as the legitimate rulers of Ireland. Mannix's provocative behavior during the latter years of the war and in its immediate aftermath provoked intense criticism from his opponents, both at home and abroad. Prior to his departure for San Francisco, political and religious critics demanded that the prelate face a loyalty test if he ever sought to re-enter the Australian Commonwealth. Mannix's tour, including his detention by the Royal Navy in August 1920, prohibition by the British government from addressing crowds in the cities of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, and proscription from setting foot in Ireland, only added to his international reputation as a leading figure in Irish religious and political life.²

Daniel Mannix's Pacific crossing and his triumphant reception in the United States, attended by so much celebrity and controversy, is open to interpretation as the high point of the Irish presence in the Anglophone Pacific world. Mannix spoke powerfully at the New York rally as the representative of voices from Ireland's farthest shores, for distant Irish men and women brought onto center stage to join a global chorus of anger and defiance toward the disturbing turn of events in Ireland. However, the appearance of Irish unity surrounding Mannix's visit was a deceptive one, and any notion that his journey marked the zenith of an Irish Pacific world is, in hindsight, a mistaken one. In fact, by the time of Mannix's arrival in San Francisco, the levels of Irish mobility and connectivity that had linked the Irish on the Pacific's eastern and western shores were in decline, a trend that was evident even before the end of the Great War. That trajectory of loosening engagement would continue for another two decades, until the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific foreclosed the 170-year period commencing around 1770 that historian Katrina Gulliver described as constituting a truly coherent "Pacific World."³

No single explanation accounts for the retreat of Irish life into more narrowly defined national contexts at this time. Instead, a combination of factors brought about the reconfiguration of identities and loyalties among Irish immigrants and their descendants throughout the Pacific Anglo-world. First, the outbreak of World War I brought to a close the great wave of postfamine Irish migration that had

contributed so much to the rapid escalation of the European population in and around the Pacific in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Irish-born populations in the western United States and Australasia, aging even before the turn of the century, lost the possibility of youthful reinforcement that might have perpetuated their vitality. Lacking such renewal, in their place stood multigenerational populations of Irish descent who were increasingly distanced from and unfamiliar with the homeland, even if they maintained some semblance of Irish identity and a sentimental attachment to the old country. Unsurprisingly, engagement with Ireland diminished even further as the second- and third-generation Irish became confused and alienated in the 1920s by the distressing course of events at home.

At the same time, a series of political and social developments profoundly affected the Pacific world. From the late 1880s, in line with wider global trends, the prevailing trajectory in the Pacific gradually shifted from one of closer connections between its lands and peoples toward one of increasingly rigid national borders, diminished integration, and less fluid mobility. The relentless tightening of global connections that had characterized the century after the French Revolution diminished in the face of intense nationalism, racial chauvinism, and ideological division.⁴ Though this global development was most starkly evident in the great European crises of the early twentieth century, the unprecedented war and the Russian workers' revolution, its effect in slackening ties was also evident within this oceanic space. Nationhood in the British dominions of the western Pacific, the rise of protectionist economic sentiment, and the introduction in North America and Australasia of legislative measures to stem migration and promote ethnic homogeneity all contributed to a curtailment of long-standing Pacific connections.

This chapter considers the period extending from the late nineteenth century during which the tide receded on the Irish presence in the Pacific world, especially in the former strongholds of the North American West Coast and Australasia. It commences with an examination of the changing demography of the Irish-born population before considering the ways in which broader political, economic, and social forces transformed the lives of individual Irish men and women resident on Ireland's farthest shores.

THE LIFELOOD OF THE COUNTRY

We have already observed Irish participation in the processes of urbanization and industrialization that transformed the eastern and western fringes of the Pacific Ocean in the second half of the nineteenth century. In California the Irish-born

population rose rapidly to reach 54,421 in 1870, at which time immigrants from Ireland constituted 26 percent of the state's foreign-born population and nearly 10 percent of the total state population. Although the absolute number of Irish-born continued to rise in the next two decennial censuses, peaking at 63,128 in 1890, the Irish share of California's foreign-born and total state populations declined from 1870 onward. Growth in the state's American-born population and the diversification of its immigrant stream late in the century diluted the size of the Golden State's Irish population. By 1910 the number of Irish-born had declined to 52,478, constituting 8.9 percent of the state's foreign-born population and 2.2 percent of the total population. That trend continued throughout the next decade, so that by 1920 California's Irish-born population had fallen further to 45,308. Irish-born men and women now constituted a mere 6 percent of the state's foreign-born population and 1.3 percent of the total state population.⁵

Elsewhere on the West Coast, the numbers of European immigrants remained small until late in the nineteenth century. Oregon, which had been a more homogeneous and sedate society than its southern neighbor, experienced greater population growth and social diversification as the barriers of distance gradually diminished. In the last two decades of the century, its population increased eightfold. Portland, the principal city, experienced a comparable rate of growth to the state itself, reaching a population of 100,000 by the turn of the century. With the rise of this new Pacific city came reorientation of the state's economy. On the back of heavy investment during the Gilded Age, manufacturing overtook agriculture as the principal driver of Oregon's economy. By 1910 the state was home to 4,995 Irish-born immigrants who comprised 4.4 percent of the state's total population. Further north, the granting of statehood to Washington in 1889 spurred a new bout of development after difficult economic times through much of the 1870s and 1880s. Its Irish population in 1910 was 10,180, or slightly less than 4 percent of the population. One group not contributing to this surge in population growth in the Pacific Northwest was the Chinese, excluded from legal entry to the United States by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.⁶

British Columbia and Alaska experienced slower and later development than their southern counterparts. Without the benefit of meaningful assisted migration schemes, both struggled for many years to recruit European newcomers. In fact, as late as 1881 the combined First Nations, Chinese, and black populations of British Columbia outnumbered its European residents. That situation changed in the three decades leading up to World War I, as railway construction and tariff-supported

industrial development brought an enlarged and increasingly urban population to the north. In the first decade of the twentieth century, British Columbia's Irish-born population doubled, from 20,658 to 40,652. Even though in 1911 this constituted only 3.8 percent of Canada's total Irish population, the proportion of Irish in British Columbia approached 10 percent of the provincial population.⁷ Alaska's nonindigenous population, numbering fewer than 500 men and women in 1880, also rose rapidly to more than 36,000 by 1910, boosted from the 1890s as the gold magnet drew new fortune hunters. Ambitious prospectors boarded ships along the U.S. West Coast to make the voyage northward. While a few became rich, many more experienced disenchantment and failure.⁸

The gradual decline of the Irish-born population in the largest and most populous state, California, was the product of slowing emigration from Ireland and the aging of the immigrant population. The details of Ireland's postfamine exodus and the economic changes that underpinned it are now well established. Four million women and men left their homeland in the sixty years after the Great Famine, leaving behind a population in 1911 of only 4.4 million people, about half the size of Ireland's population on the eve of the famine. Economic restructuring was the principal driver behind the depopulation of the Irish homeland. Agricultural reform and the consolidation of landholdings excised two-thirds of all rural laborers. The loss of traditional employment drove some of the displaced workers to commence urban lives in Irish towns, others toward laboring work in industrializing Britain, and more still to the rapidly expanding industrial economies of the eastern United States and the Pacific Anglo-world. Simultaneously, industrialization, especially in the United States during the era of Reconstruction, created an insatiable demand for cheap and expendable labor. But in time, and at incalculable human cost, that brutal restructuring of the Irish rural sector, the more modest transformation of its industry, and the salve of emigration caused Irish real incomes to commence rising. By the outbreak of World War I, they reached near parity with those of Great Britain. Although Irish incomes rose much more modestly in comparison with those of workers in the United States and Australasia, even small improvements in purchasing power helped offset the advantage enjoyed by those higher-wage, industrializing economies. While until 1914 opportunities abroad continued to provide the impetus for tens of thousands of men and women to sail from Belfast and Cobh, and the outbreak of war created its own demand for labor, the real economic advantage derived from emigration diminished to levels not seen since the end of the Napoleonic Wars.⁹

Not all calculations were strictly economic ones, however. A century ago, as today, individuals and families chose to migrate for a myriad of reasons, ranging from the pursuit of romance to reunification of the extended family. A desire for adventure, or the wish to escape the austerity that Irish political leaders celebrated as a national virtue until the second half of the twentieth century, provided the motivation for others. In the American West, Australia, and New Zealand, late nineteenth-century advocates of immigration compared favorably the space, freedom, and political liberty available to those who embraced new lands with the burdens and anxieties that attended the old European world. Many women and men embraced migration, once viewed pejoratively as a blight on Irish life, as the point of entry to a new and more independent future. For advocates of an independent Irish nation, cauterizing this draining of the nation's lifeblood was a critical priority.

As in California, the numbers of Irish arriving in Australasia, along with the share of total Irish emigration, began to decline sharply from the 1880s. The fall in the number of new arrivals, along with the aging of the earlier generations of Irish immigrants, saw marked diminution in the Irish-born share of the population. In New Zealand the 1911 census counted some 40,958 Irish-born men and women in the country, who comprised 4 percent of the nation's population. This constituted a decline of 6 percent in the Irish share of the New Zealand population since the census ten years earlier.¹⁰ Longitudinal figures for Australia present an equally stark picture. Whereas in 1881 the Irish-born population in the Australian colonies numbered 212,633, or 9.4 percent of the total population, two decades later, that number had fallen to 184,085 or 4.9 percent. By 1921 the number declined further to 105,033, or fewer than 2 percent of the Australian population.¹¹ Despite this decline in the first-generation Irish presence, a large multigenerational population of Irish descent remained. In the inner-city suburbs of cities, in regional towns, as well as in a range of rural localities known for their distinctive Irish hue, the legacies of the past remained evident. Membership of churches, fraternal societies, nationalist groups, and trade unions provided institutional pillars for the commemoration of the old country and the support of its political aspirations. That sense of Irish identity permeated urban and rural cultures, leaving an indelible mark on both Tasman nations.

Elsewhere, smaller numbers of Irish men and women continued to gravitate to the Pacific world. British merchant communities in South America typically included an Irish component, and economic transformation in East Asia created

opportunities for Irish professionals to deploy their skills. In Japan the late nineteenth century witnessed a period of extraordinarily rapid change, including constitutional reform, industrialization, and the introduction of new education systems modeled on the West. The experience of Thomas Waters showcases the mobility of the Irish who contributed to modernization in Japan. Born in Birr, County Offaly, in 1842, Waters set sail for England in the 1850s with his recently widowed mother, Helena, and siblings. Tom Waters trained in engineering, taking an apprenticeship in Glasgow and later working in London. While his younger brother worked in the maritime trade and spent time in Australia and one sister emigrated to New Zealand, Tom left for East Asia in the early 1860s seeking better opportunities than were available in Britain or Ireland. He spent time first in Hong Kong and then in Japan, where he received appointments as chief engineer for the Imperial Mint and later as Japan's surveyor general. New opportunities presented themselves in China, and by the early 1880s he was in Shanghai proposing a range of public works. Tom Waters's time in Asia drew to a close when he decided to wed and commence a family. Marriage to Gwendoline Robinson in 1881 foreshadowed a brief return to England, followed by migration to the South Island of New Zealand.¹²

Perhaps we should also number among this group of Irish professionals Lafcadio Hearn, who became the leading Western observer of Meiji Japan during his residence of fourteen years there. Born in 1850 on the island of Levkàs in the Ionian Sea to a Greek mother and Anglo-Irish surgeon father, Patrick Lafcadio Hearn's upbringing included childhood years in Dublin, schooling in England, and late adolescent years in Cincinnati, Ohio. Work in a printer's shop there led to writing and journalism. At the age of forty, Hearn moved to Yokohama as *Harper's Magazine* correspondent. Hearn married in Japan, held the chair in English at the University of Tokyo, and wrote prolifically about Japanese society until his death in 1904.¹³

The expansion of Christian missions in South and East Asia from the late nineteenth century drew on Irish men and women. In 1885 plans were set to establish a Dublin University Mission in China, modeled on initiatives at Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁴ Building on earlier labors by Roman Catholic clergy in China, the establishment of the Maynooth Mission to China in 1916 signaled the intensification of the Irish Catholic commitment to missionary endeavors in East Asia.¹⁵ While missionary activities attracted increasing public attention, imperial service continued to be a sought-after career in the late nineteenth century for many Irish

sons, and recruits from Ireland served in army regiments wherever the sun shone on the British Empire. The case of Robert Hart, born in County Armagh in 1835, is illustrative of the nineteenth-century engagement outside the Anglophone parts of the Pacific world. Seeking improved social standing, Hart, a graduate of Queen's University Belfast, received a government posting to China and rose to become inspector general for the Maritime Custom Service of the Qing government in 1863. Historians have shown the importance of Hart's Irish background and connections in a career in China that lasted until 1908, including his ability to navigate successfully the complex cross-cultural world of encounters between the Qing and the European powers. Often British, sometimes Irish, an Ulsterman, or English, Robert Hart's life exemplified the fluidity of Irish identity possible in the diverse nineteenth-century Pacific.¹⁶

Added to this mix, too, were the small numbers of Irish-born men and women who resided on the interior islands and beaches of the Pacific Ocean. Their exact numbers and identities are for the most part unknown, the individuals and families lost from this historical record except in fragmented census returns, family stories, and memories. In Hawaii, for example, the population doubled to almost 150,000 people between 1850 and 1900, the increase driven principally by indentured laborers from Japan and China who together constituted more than 55 percent of the Hawaiian population at the turn of the century. Even in the midst of this rapid change, small numbers of Irish were present, women or men who appear fleetingly but with regularity at the margins of the historical record. In 1895 Michael Davitt's trip to the largest emporium near the port of Honolulu to purchase a cap turned into an unexpected conversation between two Irishmen when he met the owner, McInerney, one of the 200 or so Irish-born women and men then resident in the islands.¹⁷ Elsewhere, Fiji's registrar-general recorded 70 Irish-born men and 32 Irish-born women among the European population of nearly 2,000 in 1891, a figure that remained virtually unchanged one decade later. Some, no doubt, were colonial officials attached to the Western Pacific High Commission, others employed in some capacity in Fiji's vertically integrated sugar business.¹⁸

One other important group is unrecorded in contemporary enumerations. Throughout the Pacific, the Irish legacy is visible in the thousands of men, women, and children who are descendants of mixed Irish-indigenous parentage and who identify their Irish heritage as an important part of their genealogy. Noteworthy studies in recent years have begun to excavate the complex history of intimate encounters and interracial relationships between the indigenous populations of

the Pacific and those who came from afar.¹⁹ For the progeny of those relationships, Irish inheritance is present and transmitted in their family stories, sometimes in religious affiliation, and occasionally by a sense of Ireland as a synonymous culture. For younger generations, a visit to Ireland may commemorate their Irish ancestry. Scholars in New Zealand, Australia, the American West, and the Pacific Islands are increasingly aware of these Irish whose story remains one of the least investigated aspects of the Irish diaspora.

The case of the Yawuru indigenous elder and Australian national political figure Pat Dodson offers a glimpse into this largely hidden Ireland. Dodson's maternal grandmother's father, Joseph Fagan, was a native of County Monaghan. Joe Fagan arrived in Australia in 1857 as an infant with his parents, John and Matilda Fagan. The Presbyterian family arrived in Victoria and quickly commenced agricultural work on the land near Geelong, while their young son acquired the critical skills and vices of the Australian bush. By 1887 Joe Fagan was living thousands of miles to the north as the head stockman at Victoria River Downs in Queensland, then the world's largest cattle station. Following in the tracks of the famous Durack family and its celebrated multigeneration migration from southeastern Australia to the Kimberley region, Joe Fagan headed west across the continent in pursuit of gold. In Western Australia, he took stock work at the celebrated Wave Hill Station, where in 1898 he fathered a daughter, Elizabeth Grace Fagan, in a long-term relationship with an indigenous woman, Nawurla.²⁰

In 2000 Pat Dodson traveled to Ireland to participate in a conference on reconciliation. He has spoken warmly of his stay there: of the places he visited, identities discovered, connections made, and of the importance of his own Irish history in thinking about the challenges of indigenous people in postcolonial Australia.²¹ Acknowledging these shared pasts is perhaps the greatest challenge facing the Irish diaspora and those who study it today.

A NEW PACIFIC

Life throughout the Pacific changed dramatically from the late nineteenth century. Intuitively, some of the developments should have enhanced the sense of connectedness of people living in and around the ocean, including its Irish population. New shipping technology raised the prospect of bridging the distances of the world's largest ocean. At the peak of the era of the "new imperialism," rapid expansion in the world's merchant and passenger fleets accompanied advances in seafaring. People and goods traversed the world's waterways faster, in higher

volumes, and with greater certainty than ever before. At the same time, new means of communication developed, complementing large rises in rates of literacy. Extensive investment enabled the commencement in 1902 of the Pacific telegraph cable that stretched from Vancouver Island to the Queensland coast, allowing news and information to cross the Pacific Ocean with unprecedented speed. Additional branches of the cable soon extended this connectivity to New Zealand and other Pacific territories claimed by the European powers.²²

Each of these innovations increased the possibility of broader and deeper trans-Pacific connections. Writing on the eve of the new century, Hubert Howe Bancroft espoused the optimism of the moment: "Nowhere is history so rapidly being made as in and around the Pacific Ocean; nowhere is the evolution of events which stand for progress of more increasing interest and importance." This was a new Pacific, "one of the world's highways of commerce, not a hazy dream or half-mythical tale, with its ancient mariner and Amazonian queen, and Crusoe island, and terrestrial paradise."²³ However, a rising tide of nationalist sentiment also countered that trajectory. The latter decades of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of indentured labor on a large scale throughout the Pacific. We have already observed the transformation of Hawaii's population prior to 1900, brought about by the importation of East Asian laborers. With new immigration came fresh challenges and measures to curtail mobility. At the beginning of the 1880s, the spread of diseases including smallpox temporarily brought about new restrictions on movement within the Hawaiian Islands in order to limit their impact.²⁴ Elsewhere, Chinese laborers who entered the United States prior to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act toiled in the American West in industries including railway construction, standing side by side with poorly paid Irish laborers as they cut stone and forged tunnels.²⁵ In the tropical north of Australia, plantation owners recruited indentured laborers from the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, and other Pacific islands to sow crops and harvest cane in the fledgling sugar industry. Between 1863 and 1904, planters imported approximately sixty thousand workers to northern Australia, initially in what amounted to little more than enslavement, until, under humanitarian pressure from Great Britain, colonial officials enforced regulations on ship owners. Plantation owners in Fiji recruited Indian indentured laborers, with in excess of sixty thousand arriving on ships from Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras until the trade terminated during World War I.²⁶

The introduction of nonwhite labor produced a sharp backlash. The mid-nineteenth century witnessed principally sporadic, localized responses to the arrival

of Asian immigrants, especially the Chinese on the goldfields. From the 1870s, momentum increased across the Pacific's "White Men's Countries" for concerted action to restrict the introduction and use of non-European labor. Historians have examined in detail the transnational spread of racial ideas that underpinned legislative measures to restrict immigration in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Political leaders and policymakers traded in a stock of common ideas about racial inferiority and the mounting population pressure in the temperate latitudes deemed suitable for the world's so-called white population.²⁷ A singular demonstration of the rising sentiment was the dispatch in 1908 of a U.S. naval fleet to tour the Pacific Ocean. A key proponent of the exercise, the Australian prime minister Alfred Deakin, stated, "The appearance in the Pacific of such an Armada is an event in the history not only of the United States, but of the Ocean. We are naturally deeply interested in its significant voyage, and anxious to have some opportunity of expressing our sympathy with our kinsmen in their timely demonstration of naval power in what may be loosely termed our Oceanic neighborhood."²⁸ More and more, that neighborhood experienced the pressures of restriction.

In the United States, the 1882 exclusion of Chinese immigrants prefaced additional legislative measures to limit immigration and introduce quotas favorable to Western European newcomers. For example, in 1891 Congress placed restrictions on the entry of contract laborers and imposed more stringent health checks. A Washington state congressman, Albert Johnson, was principal author of the important 1924 Immigration Act that tightened restrictions on Asian immigration and controlled the entry of other groups through quotas. Advocating for the new laws, Johnson stated, "The day of unalloyed welcome to all peoples, the day of indiscriminate acceptance of all races, has definitely ended."²⁹ In Australia legislative action by the six self-governing colonies gave way to a demand for a new national legislature that would implement robust and consistent measures across the continent. Great Britain, concerned at the diplomatic consequences of a prohibition based on race, suggested alternative approaches. The result was the introduction in 1901 of Australia's Immigration Restriction Act, which implemented a dictation test based on the Natal model to regulate entry at the nation's borders. The test, which required racially targeted newcomers to complete a fifty-word dictation in any European language as directed by immigration officials, enabled the pretense that educational deficiency rather than race was the ground of exclusion. New Zealand, too, went down the path of this purported education test

until immigration officials were delegated the responsibility to reject the entry of unwanted immigrants.³⁰

These immigration measures did not target the Irish. On the contrary, as best as one can tell, the Irish were as supportive of such measures as their neighbors were. When San Francisco's *Monitor* assured Irish Catholics that they "need not fear that they will have to encounter prejudices against their race or religion, that are such drawbacks to their settlement in many parts of the eastern states," the reason was in part the presence of the Chinese as alternative targets for nativist bigotry.³¹ In California, labor leaders including the Cork-born populist Denis Kearney were at the forefront of agitation against the Chinese. Yet this was not an Irish movement, and not all people saw matters this way. The published memoir of Belfast-born Frank Roney, a former senior member of the Fenian Brotherhood in Ulster who arrived in San Francisco in 1875, provides good evidence of an alternative strand of Irish labor activism that disagreed with Kearney's Workingman's Party and its race-based politics.³² Similar fault lines existed elsewhere throughout the Pacific Anglo-world. In the 1890s Sydney's *Irish-Australian* newspaper mimicked other identifiably chauvinistic publications with its front-page banner "Australia for the Australians."³³ While many Irish joined the anti-Chinese chorus, others defied that sentiment in the knowledge that a level of anti-Irish racism remained latent in Australia with tropes of violence, ignorance, and untrustworthiness occasionally evident in the popular press.³⁴ While the Irish themselves were not the target of these new restrictive regimes, it seems likely that the rise in border consciousness and heightened opposition to non-European immigration inhibited the circuits of movement and exchange that flourished so freely in the Pacific world in the decades after the California gold finds.

A NEW IRELAND

As the Pacific world transformed, so did Ireland. The Sinn Féin victory in the December 1918 election, as well as the assembly of the Dáil Éireann on 21 January 1919, represented a bold break with decades of nationalist politics. Many Irish around the Pacific Ocean initially struggled to comprehend the sea change in Irish affairs and to develop a meaningful understanding of the implications for the future. The lead came from the United States, where the end of World War I restored voices to major Irish organizations silenced by the American commitment to war. California senator James Phelan played a leading role at the time, lobbying the Wilson administration to ensure the president of Sinn Féin, Éamon de Valera,

received a hearing at the Versailles Peace Conference. An Irish Race Convention convened in Philadelphia in February 1919, bringing together the Clan na Gael, republicans of all stripes, and former Home Rulers to raise funds for the recently established Dáil Éireann and demand that the postwar peace conference resolve the Irish question. Representatives of the convention secured an audience with President Wilson and met with him in New York on 3 March. The interview proved disastrous; the Irish representatives were so forthright that Wilson later confided to a member of his staff that he had been inclined to tell them to “go to hell.”³⁵

Éamon de Valera’s arrival in New York on 11 June 1919, shortly after he escaped from British custody, reaffirmed the focus on securing U.S. recognition. Following meetings on the East Coast, de Valera headed to California, where he spent five days in San Francisco at the beginning of July (see photo 14). He attended a series of large rallies in the city, sponsored by the Friends of Irish Freedom, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the United Irish Societies of San Francisco, including one at the Civic Auditorium that attracted twelve thousand supporters. The longtime Irish leader in the city, Father Peter Yorke, played a significant role in motivating the Irish reception, culminating in the *Monitor*’s assessment that the Irish leader “came, saw, and conquered the hearts and minds of San Franciscans.”³⁶ Irish communities in Oregon also turned out to support de Valera and his campaign for recognition. The strength of feeling on the West Coast caught the eye of Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish politician and rural reformer. Plunkett, concerned at the recalcitrant British response to the changed situation in Ireland, told a journalist for the *London Daily Mail*, “It is apparently impossible for the people in England to realize the extent to which the Irish campaign against England is poisoning sentiment in this country against the British Empire.” Agitation for Ireland was “virulently active” in the West, he added.³⁷

In the aftermath of the Philadelphia Race Convention, a group of three delegates, the American Commission on Irish Independence, traveled to Paris for the peace conference. Inspired by President Wilson’s Fourteen Points, their objective was to secure the presence of an Irish delegation at the talks. After initial meetings in Paris, the commissioners traveled to Ireland. They toured extensively, canvassed republican—though not unionist—opinion, and addressed the assembled Dáil Éireann. Reports of their pro-Sinn Féin agenda soon caused consternation in Great Britain, which withdrew its tacit support for the American mission. The controversy humiliated President Wilson, ensuring that the postwar settlement would not seat Irish representatives at the peace table.³⁸



Photo 14. Sinn Féin president Éamon de Valera in California, 1919 (Bettmann / Getty Images, 516475384)

While Irish opinion in the United States unreservedly endorsed moves to terminate the Union, in New Zealand the policy of abstention adopted by Sinn Féin attracted criticism. Liberal newspapers that had been willing to support Home Rule now showed little sympathy for Irish aspirations. As Richard Davis explained, the newly elected Irish representatives' unwillingness to go to London seemed not only to signal disloyalty to the empire but also to betray the possibility of the sought-after imperial federation in the future. With Prime Minister William Ferguson Massey at the helm, the prospect of meaningful New Zealand intervention on the Irish issue seemed remote. As a result, supporters of Ireland looked across the Tasman Sea to Australia, where Archbishop Daniel Mannix was already attracting headlines for his brazen public demonstrations of support for Irish independence.³⁹

The British government declared Sinn Féin and the Dáil Éireann illegal organizations in September 1919. As the Irish War of Independence escalated in the latter months of 1919, Australia's Irish gathered in Melbourne in November for

their own race convention, modeled on Philadelphia's gathering earlier in the year. Orchestrated by Archbishop Mannix, with New Zealand representatives in attendance, the assembly confirmed the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on Australian Irish affairs and made clear Mannix's unambiguous support for Sinn Féin.⁴⁰ Even though the environment in Australia became increasingly hostile as the violence in Ireland escalated, Mannix showed no inclination to compromise. In fact, his defiance grew stronger. He staged a theatrical Saint Patrick's Day parade in Melbourne in 1920, at which fourteen winners of the Victoria Cross, the highest military honor available to Australian troops, escorted him through the streets.⁴¹ Then in May, Mannix left Australia amid much fanfare for the overseas tour that would further inflame hostility.

In contrast to the United States, where the period after 1918 allowed increased opportunity for public dissent, in Australia the Irish War of Independence placed constraints on criticism of British policy. The conflict posed a crisis of loyalty that overshadowed critical issues, including the partition of Ireland. In a parliamentary debate in November 1920 about the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, a Labor member, Hugh Mahon, stated that there were no police in Ireland, only "the agents and provocateurs of a foreign government." Mahon continued, "Is it not a shocking commentary on Britain's boasted love of freedom that the elect of the nation find their place, not in parliament but in the jails of the country. . . . I am confident that Australia will not stand for a policy so unrighteous that, if continued, it will lead to serious estrangement between the Dominions and the Imperial Government."⁴² In an unprecedented attack on Australian democracy, Mahon was expelled from the national parliament soon after, his seat declared vacant following a public speech in which he allegedly declared the empire "bloody and accursed." Prime Minister Hughes, with the memory of the failed conscription plebiscites in mind, declared, "We must divorce ourselves entirely from the Irish question, and anybody who counsels the disruption of the empire must be a traitor to this country."⁴³

In spite of the hostile environment, local resolution held firm into 1921, fueled by news of the outrages of the Black and Tans. The mobilization of Irish opinion worldwide helped steel Irish Australian opinion. When Sydney's *Catholic Press* advocated in February that year that "every Irish man and woman should come forward and endorse [Ireland's claim]," it did so with explicit reference to the achievements of Self Determination Leagues in Canada and the United States.⁴⁴ An additional incentive was to stand behind their representative, Archbishop Mannix, through

his international ordeal. When he returned to Australia in August 1921, he did so triumphantly, welcomed by Irish Australians as “the man he is today—the recognized co-leader, with Éamon de Valera, of the Irish race throughout the world.”⁴⁵

The signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921 sowed confusion: the elation of some matched the indignation of others. In Irish communities throughout the Pacific Anglo-world, as in the Irish diaspora at large, old allegiances frayed and new ones developed as the immigrants and their descendants came to terms with the implications of the agreement. Within the British Empire, the pro-Treaty side predominated, with Ireland’s continuing connection considered a satisfactory outcome for the present. Echoing Michael Collins, the Sydney *Freeman’s Journal* believed that the treaty was “a stepping-stone to better things.” Once the Dáil Éireann ratified the agreement, most Irish in Australia and New Zealand regarded the matter as closed and believed that “Mr. de Valera must eventually bow to the inevitable, no matter how badly his dreams have been shaken.”⁴⁶

The subsequent failure in Ireland to reach agreement on the treaty caused deep disillusionment, and the outbreak of violence in 1922, despair. As historian David Brundage observed, “The outbreak of fighting in June prompted mainly incomprehension and revulsion on the part of Irish nationalists in Australia and Canada as well as in the United States.”⁴⁷ Everywhere, small pockets of resistance held out during the Civil War in support of de Valera and the anti-Treaty side. On 6 October 1922 a new newspaper went on sale in Melbourne, Australia, titled *Irish News*. Its first editorial set out its purpose: “To present the truths of the Irish situation without any embellishment or comment to all lovers of freedom in Australia.” Stridently opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty, it spoke to a small audience, including an unrepentant Archbishop Mannix, who alone of the Australian hierarchy rejected the Irish bishops’ denunciation of the Irregulars. In January 1923 the *Irish News* quoted Mannix’s incendiary statement that “every enemy of Ireland all over the world is in favor of the acceptance of the London Treaty” and asked its readers, “On which side do you stand?”⁴⁸ However, for the vast majority of Irish in the Anglophone communities of the Pacific world, the long campaign in support of Ireland’s freedom to determine its political future was over.

ONE IRISH FAMILY IN THE PACIFIC

In 1817 Captain Terence Murray arrived in Australia as paymaster of the 47th Regiment. A veteran of the Battle of Waterloo, he spent seven years in the penal settlement at New South Wales before the transfer of his regiment to a new posting

at Madras. Murray did not fare well in the Indian climate and in 1826 returned home to Ireland, where he retired from the army on half pay. Prefamine Ireland offered the former officer few decent prospects, and in 1828 Murray returned to Australia with his eighteen-year-old son, Limerick-born Terence Aubrey Murray, and his daughter, Anna-Maria. At a time when free immigrants were highly sought after, Murray senior received a land grant of 2,560 acres and appointment as a magistrate; his son acquired a generous portion of adjacent farming land. That purchase of land established a family history of Irish life in the western Pacific.

Young Terence Aubrey Murray flourished in the new land. He soon acquired additional farmland and received an appointment from the governor to oversee police activity in his district. From 1829 Roman Catholic emancipation created new circles of influence. According to one biographer, T. A. Murray was “very conscious of his Irish origin” and closely associated with leading Irish Catholic figures in colonial society, including Daniel Denehy and John Hubert Plunkett. In 1843 he married Mary Gibbes, the daughter of the collector of customs. T. A. Murray’s education exceeded that of most of his neighbors, and this, together with his wealth, opened excellent opportunities in colonial politics. Elected to the New South Wales Parliament in the 1840s, Murray rose through the political ranks to become speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in 1859 and president of the Legislative Council in 1862.⁴⁹

Terence Aubrey Murray fathered three children prior to Mary’s death in 1857. Left to raise the children, he appointed a governess, Agnes Edwards, whom he married and with whom he had two sons, John Hubert Plunkett Murray, who was born in 1861, and George Gilbert Murray, born in 1866. T. A. Murray received a knighthood in 1869 and died in Sydney in June 1873, but not before legal problems and his lavish expenditure caused financial woes that caused the loss of his family home and left his new widow in crisis. With the support of friends, Agnes Murray raised the funds to purchase a failing school, the Springfield College for Girls, and she managed to turn around her family’s fortunes. Financially secure, she returned to England with Hubert and Gilbert in 1877.⁵⁰

Hubert Murray received baptism into both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. His education in Australia was principally at the Sydney Grammar School, where he won plaudits as a capable scholar and good athlete, with a particular penchant for boxing. Compared with Australia, Hubert found his new life in England uncongenial. Although sport provided an avenue for acceptance there, heavy drinking, his refusal to accept slights directed at his Australian

or Irish background, and a fierce temper compromised his education. His expulsion from school for striking a master derailed plans to attend Oxford as a scholarship student. Despairing, Agnes arranged for him to attend an academy near Cologne. The year in Germany proved beneficial, and a chastened Hubert returned to complete his studies at Oxford.

Hubert Murray successfully completed his studies at Oxford and passed his bar exams in London, but unsurprisingly England was not to be this Irish Australian's future home. He returned to Australia, married, reaffirmed his commitment to Roman Catholicism, and attempted to chart a career in the law. Progress was slow. In 1889, while working as a prosecutor, he was involved in the formation of the New South Wales Irish Rifles and led troops in the Boer War. The time in South Africa seems to have provided Murray with respite from a distant marriage and his struggle with alcohol. Perhaps because of these things, and additional professional embarrassment from an episode of fighting, Murray accepted appointment in 1904 as a judicial officer in Papua. Promotion to acting administrator of the Australian mandate soon followed, initiating what would be decades of service in New Guinea in a basic and often lonely posting.⁵¹

Hubert Murray showed aptitude as the acting administrator, and he received appointment as the inaugural lieutenant governor of Papua in January 1909. Murray's confirmation in that role followed extensive lobbying by Irish friends. Hugh Mahon, the Irish-born member of Parliament expelled from the Australian House of Representatives in 1920 for his support for the Irish Republic, was a stalwart supporter and oversaw the appointment. The Irish travel writer and novelist Beatrice Grimshaw (see photo 15) was another strong advocate and wrote to a number of correspondents, including the Australian prime minister, Alfred Deakin, strongly pressing Murray's suitability for the role.⁵²

Beatrice Grimshaw was not a disinterested sponsor. Hubert Murray had met her in Papua in 1907, and the two developed a lasting friendship. She was born at Cloona, County Antrim, on 3 February 1870, the daughter of a linen merchant and the fifth of eight children in a Church of Ireland family. Beatrice proved highly independent and moved to Dublin at the age of 21 to take up journalism. Conversion to Roman Catholicism followed the move south. In the coming months, Beatrice's news reporting turned to writing promotional materials for the Cunard shipping line and then to travel itself. Leaving Ireland in 1903, Beatrice Grimshaw visited America and then crossed the Pacific Ocean to New Zealand. She also visited and wrote about the Cook Islands, Tonga, Samoa, and Niue during this trip.

Subsequently, Beatrice undertook commissioned writing in Fiji and visited Sydney before returning to London in 1906. The Pacific beckoned and Beatrice soon returned, visiting Papua in 1907 and meeting Hubert Murray. What Beatrice anticipated to be a trip of short duration became in effect a permanent move. The rapport that developed between the two is not surprising. As a historian commented, "Irish, Catholic, well educated, traveled, a 'loner,' a noted sportswoman, and an advocate of commercial development for the tropical colonies, Beatrice was in many ways an analogue of Murray."⁵³ The acting administrator, his wife resident far away in Sydney, was delighted to have new company. He wrote to his brother Gilbert, the famous Oxford classicist, "She is an extremely nice woman, clever and interesting and not a bit superior; also she is Irish Catholic and a Fenian—



Photo 15.
Beatrice Grimshaw
(Photographs: John
Oxley Library, State
Library of Queensland,
Neg or Image No:
73302)

if she were also Australian there would be nothing more to be desired. She had heard all the missionary yarns of New Guinea atrocities and, I think, really imagined there might be something in them, though she had traveled the South Seas and ought to know the invariable missionary attitude towards a progressive Administration, especially one with a Papist at its head.”⁵⁴

Beatrice Grimshaw, who remained based in Papua until 1936, when she retired for her final years to the rural Australian town of Bathurst, was a prolific author of fiction and nonfiction that is set in the Pacific. Her books were well known and commercially successful; some of her novels appeared as films. It seems likely Murray was the principal reason she settled in Port Moresby, and her relationship with him has long been the source of guarded speculation. One scholar suggested, “People could be pardoned for thinking, as some did, that their relationship was more than close; even contemporary newspaper photographs show her virtually living in Government House.”⁵⁵ Certainly Murray’s letters, discrete on the issue, make clear that he valued her companionship and regretted her occasional absences from Port Moresby.⁵⁶ In her absence, he found clever conversation rare. He recounted to his brother, “One has an interesting life in this country, but at times it reaches a rather low ebb. For instance, I asked one of the Government Officers to have dinner with me the other day and he talked to me about tadpoles. He was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, which certainly does turn out the queerest fish.”⁵⁷

Hubert Murray, who had taken lessons in Gaelic, followed Irish affairs as closely as he could from his posting in Papua. When news of the Easter Rising reached Port Moresby in April 1916, he wrote to his brother at Oxford with insightful comments on Sinn Féin and the background to the insurgency in Dublin.

We got startling news of an “Irish Rebellion” the other day—it has already boiled down into a riot. Of course all the leading papers in Australia will make the most of it. . . . I used to take in Sinn Féin until they suppressed it—it was an interesting movement, though unpractical, and I followed it mainly from interest in the Gaelic language question. I cannot understand the Sinn Féiners rioting; it was quite contrary to their principle, which, as I understood it, was to completely ignore all connection with England. Possibly it was not a Sinn Féin riot, but that is what they tell us.⁵⁸

Murray was also keenly aware of the potential of events in Ireland to produce sectarian strains in Australia, making conditions more difficult for Irish Catholics. He confided to his stepsister, Evelyn, that Orangemen seemed determined to support

Prime Minister Hughes in the upcoming Australian election on 5 May 1917 and that, given the Protestant majority in the country, there was little prospect of holding their campaign at bay: “They are making desperate efforts to keep sectarianism out of the election altogether, but I fear that the Orangemen behind Hughes will be too strong for them. The Orangemen try to make one believe that the Archbishop of Sydney is in league with the Kaiser, which really seems to be rather absurd.”⁵⁹

Even as post–Civil War Ireland drifted further from the thoughts and minds of most Irish residents throughout the Pacific world, Hubert Murray, descendant of an early nineteenth-century immigrant and enthusiast for Ireland, kept his connection alive. A visit to Ireland during the Great Depression in 1932 provided an opportunity to renew old acquaintances and build new ones. Writing to his brother Gilbert, he lamented, “The only two countries I take any interest in—Australia and Ireland—both seem to be under a cloud just now. [New South Wales Premier] Lang is mad, and so too, I think, is Devalera [*sic*]. I have never seen Lang but I met Devalera the last time I had leave. He is a cultivated person—a mathematician God forgive him; we discussed the Gaelic language.” An old acquaintance, Frank Fahy, was now the speaker of the Dáil Éireann, and that provided Murray with some reassurance. De Valera’s reelection as taoiseach in 1933 raised anew doubts about Ireland and its future: “I am afraid that Ireland will go Bolshevik, like Spain. The Church seems to have lost its punch and goes down without striking a blow. In Ireland the question is whether their devotion to the Church is equal to their hatred of England.”⁶⁰

Hubert Murray’s life is a testimony to the duration and resilience of ties that developed between Ireland and the substantial Irish communities that took root in constituent parts of the Pacific world. From his grandfather’s arrival in the penal settlement at Sydney in 1817 until Hubert’s death on Samarai Island in 1940, a remarkable connectivity existed between old and new lands. Whether in his observation of Irish affairs, fascination with the Gaelic language, or personal friendships, Hubert Murray existed always under the shadow of an old nation while living in the new. His life story illustrates key themes of the Irish presence in the Pacific: mobility, difference, and opportunity. Yet by the time of Murray’s death, the threads of connectivity that had interlaced Ireland’s farthest shores were fast disappearing.

“I DO NOT WANT YOU TO HAVE ANY FALSE IMPRESSION”

By the middle of the twentieth century, the Irish presence in the Pacific world stood stationary in a near permanent eclipse. In the immigrant strongholds on the

ocean's eastern and western shores, few new men or women of Irish birth arrived. The Roman Catholic Church promoted a sentimental attachment to Ireland among those of Irish descent, but the land itself, distant, somber, gray, remained largely unknown. Irish neutrality in World War II, if a cause for celebration at home, received a negative reception among the Allied nations and represented a further measure of disassociation. Historian Patrick O'Farrell wrote of the Australian scene at that time: "The disillusionment of the 1940s was final, adding to the rejection of Irish politics that had taken place in the 1920s, a rejection of the myth of Irish moral superiority." In the United States, too, Ireland's failure to join the alliance against fascism won few plaudits. As David Brundage explained, "In what many saw as America's greatest hour of need, Éire had stayed away."⁶¹

In 1948 in a campaign to rebuild bridges and energize worldwide support against the partition of Northern Ireland, Éamon de Valera toured the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and India. The renowned leader attracted respectable crowds in California, while the intervention of Archbishop Daniel Mannix ensured decent audiences in the major Australian cities. The specific objective of the visit was to establish in each country a new organization, the League for an Undivided Ireland. In the United States, the American League enjoyed some initial success but soon faded, paving the way for Irish American support for later armed campaigns to end the northern Irish state.⁶² In Australia, decades after his internment during World War I and still committed to the achievement of a unified Irish republic, Albert Dryer took on the mantle of organizing an Australian League. Dryer's dream was of a campaign that unified not only Australia but also the Irish of the Pacific Anglo-world in support of Ireland.

Following the establishment of the Australian League for an Undivided Ireland on 9 August 1948, Albert Dryer worked tirelessly to succeed in this goal. He undertook extensive correspondence with Joseph Scott, the octogenarian, British-born, Los Angeles lawyer and organizer of the American wing. However, no grand trans-Pacific connection materialized. He also corresponded with Kathleen O'Shea, Wellington-based secretary of the New Zealand League for an Undivided Ireland. Initial signs were positive. The New Zealand League had, at de Valera's suggestion, printed ten thousand copies of the pamphlet "The Partition of Ireland" for distribution across the nation. In Australia four state branches had formally affiliated to the national body. Dryer wrote to O'Shea on 3 December 1948, "There is plain evidence that sufficient enthusiasm exists to carry our project through."⁶³

The sober truth was soon apparent. In January 1949 O'Shea wrote apologetically to Dryer that she had little to report: "From the outset the League's work has been regarded with comparative indifference by the Irish people in Wellington, to whom we looked for our greatest support and cooperation." Although active branches reportedly existed in Auckland and Christchurch, O'Shea believed the reluctance of Wellington's Irish to support the campaign was "present in varying degrees throughout the Dominion." By return mail, Dryer confided his own difficulties in promoting Undivided Ireland in Australia, blaming "the recalcitrant and uncooperative attitude of one state."⁶⁴ Although Dryer retained his fervor, correspondence became less frequent through 1949. He wrote in March to New Zealand, imagining that the lack of news reflected the challenge of motivating the local Irish: "We surmise that you experience the same difficulties as here. The apathy of Irish people is really appalling and quite incomprehensible." O'Shea replied, noting the hostility of the New Zealand press to the movement. Additional letters from Dryer to the New Zealand organization followed in May and June 1949, and again in January 1950. All went unanswered. Finally, more than one year later, on 21 March 1951, Dryer tried once more, disconcerted at the two years of silence from across the Tasman Sea. He surmised correctly that the reason was O'Shea's reluctance to "tell us of the insuperable difficulties you are encountering." His last letter enabled Kathleen O'Shea to respond frankly, on 9 April 1951, about the final failure of the movement. She wrote, "The time has now come when I am unable to deceive myself any longer about the state of things here. . . . The Irish people here are not interested in, and do not want, the league. . . . This is a very bleak picture [but] I do not want you to have any false impression about our position."⁶⁵ As Kathleen O'Shea and Albert Dryer finally came to acknowledge, there would be no popular movement to end partition, no new transnational movement in support of Ireland across the Pacific world.

Conclusion

In 1917 Hanna Sheehy Skeffington toured the United States to mobilize American support for Sinn Féin and raise funds for the families of those killed in the 1916 Easter Rising. Her visit, which included a private meeting with President Woodrow Wilson, attracted international attention. As proved the case for many first-time visitors from Ireland to America, the size of the nation made a profound impression on Sheehy Skeffington. Departing from the East Coast after a series of successful rallies, she “realized that I was touring not a nation but a continent.” That continent harbored striking geographical range and extraordinarily diverse communities. San Francisco, Sheehy Skeffington wrote, “is in many respects as different from New York as Petrograd is from London, and no one can estimate the strength of Irish sentiment in the United States who has not included the west in his observations.” The fervor of the support for Ireland and power of the Irish in civil society at the American gateway to the Pacific Ocean were especially noteworthy. San Francisco included people “more enthusiastically Irish, and now more enthusiastically Sinn Féin than any town in Ireland is,” she wrote. “Moreover, in the west particularly, the Irish blood hold the strings of government in their hands—judges, lawyers, policemen, are usually Irish to a man.”¹

Hanna Sheehy Skeffington’s travels in California and Oregon revealed vibrant Irish communities that formed part of the rich mosaic of Irish America. From the middle of the nineteenth century, when the United States annexed California, the lives of immigrant men and women on the West Coast took shape within a distinct national context. Further north, in British Columbia, Canada’s history of colonization and nationhood bestowed its own distinctive mark on the lives of Irish men and women, influencing their views on the Irish homeland, the British

Empire, and their rights and obligations as immigrants in a new land. Across the Pacific Ocean, New Zealand and Australia constituted different contexts within which Irish immigrants established themselves and built new lives. As historians, we should not lose sight, or underestimate the importance, of the nation in shaping Irish identities and giving meaning and force to individual and group actions. However, we need to carefully calibrate its importance against other influences and not normalize the nation as the single or best approach for thinking about the Irish diaspora.

This study demonstrates that a focus on the nation is insufficient to account for the dynamism of Irish immigrants' lives or their contribution to the development of the societies on Ireland's farthest shores. Though in our own time the nation seems the dominant entity in the Pacific world, this oceanic space did not develop over time as a collection of separate and disconnected states. The first Irish encounters with the Pacific Ocean were fleeting ones, as seafarers traversed the maritime world on voyages of discovery, plunder, or war. From the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans came to stay, exerting ephemeral influence at first and then more direct power as they claimed territories, surveyed lands, and subordinated indigenous populations. Well before the end of the Napoleonic Wars triggered the escalation of emigration from Ireland, small Irish-born populations were resident in India and on the Pacific coast of the Spanish empire in South America. As British interest in East Asia increased from the late eighteenth century, small-scale Irish contact commenced with those Pacific states. Over the next 150 years, a distinctive stream of Irish-born diplomats, professionals, merchants, and missionaries resided in China and Japan. Others took to the islands of the Pacific as beachcombers, missionaries, and traders. Across these various settings, the mobile new arrivals entered societies confronting extraordinary change. Initially, most of the Irish in the Pacific world moved around its periphery; then, from the commencement of the gold rushes in the late 1840s, men and women traveled with increased frequency across its wide waters. Neither natural nor human barriers did very much to impede their extraordinary movement. As they traversed this oceanic space, the immigrants laid down in their wake complex circuits of connectivity: personal ties, trade in goods, channels of information, and belief systems that remained active for decades.

During the nineteenth century, increasing rates of departure from Ireland to the Pacific made their deepest mark in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Early time of arrival and their high proportion among the European-born

population ensured Irish men and women were significant participants in the establishment and transformation of a Pacific Anglo-world that developed across these settler societies. The ledger of their contribution is indisputably mixed. Participation in the dispossession of indigenous populations and the commodification of annexed lands stood in contrast to their frequent commitment to movements in support of superior rights and liberty. Campaigns for the freedom to practice one's religion, to vote, and to organize as workers attracted substantial Irish involvement. The historical record reveals no single Irish position on any one of these issues, but seldom were they silent in the debates that shaped the future of their new societies. As Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, and many other observers, realized, the Pacific world was a place where Irish men and women possessed an unusual degree of authority to intervene and shape the future.

If the Irish helped determine the character of this oceanic space, life on Ireland's farthest shores also transformed the immigrants who traveled there. Distances, landscapes, and climatic conditions rendered this place different from home. Of San Francisco in the gold rush years, the American poet Bayard Taylor wrote that under its unique conditions, no man could remain unchanged. All aspects of life were in a state of flux: "Society was for the time cast into new forms, or rather, deprived of any fixed form."² Taylor's observations on the dislocating pace of change held true throughout these transformative years in the wider Pacific world. Experiences of living—whether as beachcombers on the foreshores of the Pacific islands, convicts in penal settlements, diggers on the scattered mid-century gold-fields, professionals employed in the transformation of Asian industry, or factory workers in the large modern cities of the Pacific's late nineteenth-century urban frontier—demanded accommodation, not least the experience of living closely side by side with men and women of different backgrounds, religions, and languages. The Pacific world possessed a new and invigorating character that differed from the environment in Ireland or the Atlantic world. It required of its residents a sense of engagement and a willingness for adventure in a world that was in furious motion toward an uncharted future. Contrary to Giovanni Costigan's proposition at the commencement of this book, the Pacific oceanic space proved more to be a place of energy and optimism. Despite stories of individual hardship and despair, the weight of evidence indicates that collectively the Irish did not view this sea as a symbol of sorrow or oppression.

Ripples from the Pacific Ocean reached back to Irish shores. In 1907 the Belfast-born, early twentieth-century travel writer Beatrice Grimshaw wrote that the South

Pacific was for Irish people “at the back of God-speed.”³ This gulf in distance did not mean the Pacific world was entirely absent from Irish minds. From the eighteenth century, intense curiosity existed in Ireland about the lands and peoples of this oceanic space. Jonathan Swift wrote of seas, discoveries, and distant civilizations; at the end of the 1780s, Wolfe Tone was preoccupied with the Pacific Ocean and proposed his imperial venture in the Hawaiian Islands to circumvent Spanish ambitions. Given this imaginative legacy, it is little wonder that in the second half of the nineteenth century a new generation of Irish political thinkers looked to this place with interest. Several visited in person, in part to promote the cause of Ireland but also to gain what understanding they could of the future for humankind. We see recurring signs of the Pacific world, of its variety of opportunities and challenges, in the speeches and writings of Redmond, Dillon, and Davitt, among others. I hope that a future author will piece together these fragments to show the full political, social, and cultural influence of the Pacific world on Ireland.

In the early twenty-first century, the concept of a global Irish nation is much in vogue. After a slow start, historians are embracing transnationalism and the story of the global Irish.⁴ Irish immigrants and those of Irish heritage in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand look positively on connections with Ireland, while the modern, progressive Irish state reaches out inclusively to its peoples around the globe. These links and perspectives offer enormous benefits and opportunities. However, in developing this laudable model of attachment, it would be regrettable if we lost sight of the rich variety of ways the Irish of past generations configured and reconfigured their relationships with Ireland and within the diaspora, interactions that contributed so much to defining life on Ireland’s farthest shores.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

I. Giovanni Costigan, *A History of Modern Ireland with a Sketch of Earlier Times* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), vii.

2. Paul Wagner, dir., *Out of Ireland* (New York: American Focus Productions, 1994).

3. David Armitage, “Three Concepts of Atlantic History,” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11. The tremendous rise of interest in oceanic history was demonstrated in the *American Historical Review*’s forum “Oceans of History,” *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 717–80. The scholarship on Atlantic history and its principal themes is extensive and was addressed in the *AHR* forum in Alison Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities” (741–57). An additional overview of scholarship and bibliographic sources is Trevor Burnard, *British Atlantic World: Oxford Bibliographies Online* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Oceanic historical approaches addressing the Pacific and Indian Oceans were until recently less common. Matt K. Matsuda’s “The Pacific,” *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 758–80, set the scene for more recent studies, including Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); David Igler, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); and David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Early Indian Ocean world studies included Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of the People and the Sea* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2003). In recent years a proliferation of titles has occurred, many within the Palgrave Series in Indian Ocean World Studies. Migration in oceanic worlds is addressed in Donna R. Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder, eds., *Connecting Seas and Connecting Ocean Rims: Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and China Seas Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

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5. Damon Salesa, “‘Travel-Happy’ Samoa: Colonialism, Samoan Migration and a ‘Brown Pacific,’” *New Zealand Journal of History* 37 (2003): 171. See also Ben Finney, “The Other One-Third of the Globe,” *Journal of World History* 5 (1994): 285–86; Paul D’Arcy, “No Empty Ocean: Trade and Interaction across the Pacific Ocean to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Studies in the Economic History of the Pacific Rim*, ed. Sally M. Miller, A. J. H. Latham, and Dennis O’Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), 21–44.
6. Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1–38, 108–17; Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).
7. Katrina Gulliver, “Finding the Pacific World,” *Journal of World History* 22 (2011): 84.
8. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds*, 5.
9. See, for example, Annick Foucier, ed., *The French and the Pacific World, 17th–19th Centuries: Explorations, Migrations and Cultural Exchanges* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979).
10. John Darwin, “Empire and Ethnicity,” *Nations and Nationalism* 16 (2010): 392. Irish-British divergence is discussed widely, including David Powell, *Nationhood and Identity: The British State since 1800* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 53–57.
11. Stephen Howe, “Historiography,” in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 246. See also Stephen Howe, “Minding the Gaps: New Directions in the Study of Ireland and Empire,” *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History* 37 (2009): 135–49. For a recent stock taking of scholarship, see Jill C. Bender, “Ireland and Empire,” in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 343–60. Also important in this regard has been the work of scholars uncovering Irish-Indian connections, including Barrie Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Kate O’Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).
12. See Niall Whelehan, “Playing with Scales: Transnational History and Modern Ireland,” in *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History*, ed. Niall Whelehan (London: Routledge, 2015), 7; Enda Delaney, “Our Island Story? Towards a Transnational History of Late Modern Ireland,” *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (2011): 599–621.
13. Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3–4.
14. Malcolm Campbell, “Ireland’s Furthest Shores: Irish Immigrant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century California and Eastern Australia,” *Pacific Historical Review* 71 (2002): 59–90.
15. Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860–1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), 6; Malcolm Campbell, “Marginal Micks or Mainstream Men and Women? Irishness and Britishness in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century New Zealand,” *Humanities Research* 13 (2006): 27–29.

CHAPTER 1. EUROPEAN EMPIRES AND THE MAKING OF THE IRISH PACIFIC

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2. Ibid., 52, 75. See also David B. Quinn, “Columbus and the North: England, Iceland, and Ireland,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 49 (April 1992): 278–97.

3. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 14, 48–52, 85; Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2008), 50–51; Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007* (Hounds-mills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan 2008), 86–90. On Irish involvement in the Spanish military, see also Harman Murtagh, “Irish Soldiers Abroad, 1600–1800,” in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 294–314.

4. Tostado, *Irish Influence*, 178; Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 44–47.

5. Pieter Emmer, “The Dutch and the Making of the Second Atlantic System,” in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, ed. Barbara Solow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 77.

6. For an introductory account, see Edmondo Murray, “Secret Diasporas: The Irish in Latin America and the Caribbean,” *History Ireland* 16, no. 4 (2008): 16. See also David B. Quinn, *Ireland and America: Their Early Associations, 1500–1640* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991); Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630–1730* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 14–16; A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, vol. 2, *The Portuguese Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221.

7. Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 496–97.

8. Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 504–6.

9. O. K. H. Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), 41. For coverage of Magellan and subsequent voyages, see Spate, *Spanish Lake*, 43–53; Donald D. Brand, “Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards,” in *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, ed. Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, and James Sobredo (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), 1–54; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 495–510.

10. Early modern Irish seafaring is examined in M. McCaughey and J. Appleby, *The Irish at Sea: Aspects of Maritime History* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies and Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 1989); and John De Courcy, *Ireland and the Irish in Maritime History* (Dublin: Glendale, 1986).

11. Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea, and round the world, perform'd in the years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711* (London: printed by H. M. for B. Lintot and R. Gosling, A. Bettesworth, and W. Innys, 1712), 1:334. Akenson, *Montserrat*, 14, notes Irish participation in Spanish naval activity from the 1580s.

12. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 235–40, 275. On the importance of family and kinship networks, see also Tostado, *Irish Influence*, 40–41.

13. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 276, 286–88.

14. Spanish attention to the Pacific did not disappear entirely. For example, Spanish navigators made visits to Tahiti in the late eighteenth century alongside the voyages of Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville. For the background to and perceptive accounts of those encounters, see Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island: The European Discovery of Tahiti* (Auckland: Penguin/Viking Books, 2009), 236–56.

15. O. K. H. Spate, *Monopolists and Freebooters* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983), 310–19.

16. For a general overview, see Steven Roger Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002), 81–88.

17. Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 13–47.

18. East-India Company, *Charters Granted to the East-India Company, from 1601 also the treaties and grants, made with, or obtained from, the princes and powers in India, from the year 1756 to 1772* (London: East India Company, 1773). See also Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 41–42, 53.

19. Williams, *Great South Sea*, 76–82; Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 176–77; Alan Frost, *The Global Reach of Empire: Britain's Maritime Expansion in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, 1764–1815* (Melbourne: Miegunyah, 2003), 20.

20. Spate, *Monopolists and Freebooters*, 41–51; Williams, *Great South Sea*, 61–66. On Batavia's cosmopolitan cast, including the presence of a mixed European population, see Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 6–8.

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23. Tim Beattie, *British Privateering Voyages of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2015), 5.

24. Williams, *Great South Sea*, 146; Beattie, *British Privateering Voyages*, 64, 73–74.

25. Woodes Rogers, *A cruising voyage round the world first to the South-Seas, thence to the East-Indies and homewards by the Cape of Good Hope: begun in 1708 and finish'd in 1711* (London: A. Bell

and B. Lintot, 1712), 7–8; David Cordingley, *Spanish Gold: Captain Woodes Rogers and the Pirates of the Caribbean* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 379, 45–46.

26. Williams, *Great South Sea*, 71. The pirate in renaissance literature is addressed in Claire Jowitt's *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

27. Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1967), 37, 53–55.

28. T. W. Moody, R. B. McDowell, and C. J. Woods, eds., *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, vol. 1, 1763–98 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 10–12; Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2009), 42–43.

29. Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 13–14.

30. Finney, "The Other One-Third of the Globe," 285–86. See also Paul D'Arcy, "No Empty Ocean: Trade and Interaction across the Pacific Ocean to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Pacific Rim*, ed. Sally M. Miller, A. J. H. Latham, and Dennis O'Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), 21–44.

31. See Daniel A. Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (New York: Longman, 2011).

32. Anson, who was later promoted to first lord of the admiralty, thereafter maintained keen interest in the Pacific. See, in particular, Williams, *Great South Sea*, 214–50; Frost, *Global Reach of Empire*, 23. On the problem of longitude and developments in navigation, see Derek Howse, "Navigation and Astronomy in Voyages," in *Background to Discovery: Pacific Exploration from Dampier to Cook*, ed. Derek Howse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 160–84.

33. For an account of English activity in this period, see Glyndwr Williams, "To Make Discoveries of Countries hitherto Unknown: The Admiralty and Pacific Exploration in the Eighteenth Century," in *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, ed. Alan Frost and Jane Samson (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 13–32.

34. Oliver Warner, "Introduction," in *An Account of the Discovery of Tahiti from the Journal of George Robertson, Master of H.M.S. Dolphin*, by George Robertson (London: Folio Society, 1955), 7; Captain Samuel Wallis, Extracts from Captain Wallis's Journal, British Library MS RP9327, 15–16; Robert Molineux, The Transactions of His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, Samuel Wallis Esq Commander In the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768 by Robert Molineux Mate of the Said Ship, British Library Manuscript 1076C/Add 47106 Molineux's Log Papers.

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36. George Robertson, *An Account of the Discovery of Tahiti*, ed. Oliver Warner (London: Folio Society, 1955), 19.

37. Extracts from Captain Wallis's Journal, British Library, 18–21.

38. Robertson, *Account*, 56–57.

39. Robertson, *Account*, 72–73.

40. Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 51.

41. *Ibid.*, 67.

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CHAPTER 2. COLONIAL CONTACTS AND ISLAND ENCOUNTERS

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CHAPTER 3. POPULATING THE IRISH PACIFIC

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CHAPTER 4. RADICALISM, PROTEST, AND DISSENT

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CHAPTER 5. KEEPING FAITH

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4. *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 September 1878, 19.
5. Laracy, “Patrick Henneberry,” 110–11.
6. See Sheridan Gilley, “The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (1998): 188–207; Colin Barr, “‘Imperium in Imperio’: Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century,” *English Historical Review* 123 (June 2008): 611–50.
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28. M. Campbell, *Kingdom of the Ryans*, 212–13.

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45. Ibid., 129.

46. Ibid., 134.

47. See Thomas O'Donnell, "Centenary of All Hallows College," *Studies* 31 (January 1932): 434–37. O'Donnell was president of Maynooth at the time of the centenary.

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CHAPTER 6. NATIONALISM AT LONG DISTANCE

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7. See Cian T. McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation, and the Popular Press, 1840–1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 44–76; M. Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*, 43–46.

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15. See Richard Davis, *Irish Issues*; Neil Vaney, “Manning, John,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, *Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed 7 December 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m10/manning-john>; Neil Vaney, “Larkin, William John,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, *Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed 7 December 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1l3/larkin-william-john>.

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25. *New Zealand Herald* [NZH], 4 October 1883.

26. NZH, 4, 5, 10 October 1883; Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, 169–70; Davis, *Irish Issues*, 102–5. The determination of Auckland’s “Irish aristocracy” to steer clear of Redmond was the subject of correspondence in the *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin), 26 October, 23 November 1883.

27. Tobin, “Sea-Divided Gael,” 121–25; *The Irish-Australian Convention* (Melbourne, 1883), 8. A list of delegates is included in the published conference proceedings. On the Australian

career of O'Doherty, see Ross Patrick and Heather Patrick, *Exiles Undaunted: The Irish Rebels Kevin and Eva O'Doherty* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989).

28. See M. Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*, 145–46; Brundage, *Irish Nationalism*, 125–26.
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30. *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin), 7 February 1890.
31. Lyons, *John Dillon*, 106.
32. Esmonde, *Round the World*, 119.
33. Ibid., 130–31; Lyons, *John Dillon*, 105.
34. Esmonde, *Round the World*, 130–31; Alan O'Day in *The English Face of Irish Nationalism: Parnellite Involvement in British Politics* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), 20, describes Dillon's challenges with sea travel.
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37. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, *Michael Davitt: Revolutionary Agitator and Labour Leader* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967), 155. See also Carla King, *Michael Davitt*, 327–41; T. W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution, 1846–82* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 534–58.
38. See Laura McNeil, “Land, Labor and Liberation: Michael Davitt and the Irish Question in the Age of British Democratic Reform, 1878–1906” (PhD diss., Boston College, 2002), 307–61; Carla King, “A New World Full of Youthful Hopes and Promise: Michael Davitt in Australia, 1895,” in *Ireland, Australia and New Zealand: History, Politics and Culture*, ed. Lawrence M. Geary and Andrew J. McCarthy (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008), 185–86. I am grateful to Carla King for information on Davitt's collection of photographs.
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40. Michael Davitt, “Advocate letters,” Michael Davitt Papers, Trinity College Dublin, TCDMS 9623. On Davitt and Joseph Winter, see also Val Noone, “Michael Davitt, Melbourne and the Labour Movement,” *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (2006/7): 31.
41. *Irish Australian* [Sydney], 13 July 1895.
42. O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, 236. The outcome of Davitt's observations was *Life and Progress*.
43. Davitt, *Life and Progress*, viii.
44. Michael Davitt, “1895 Tour Notes Part 1,” Michael Davitt Papers, Trinity College Dublin, TCD MS 9562, 43.
45. Davitt, *Life and Progress*, 27.
46. Ibid., 132.
47. Noone, 37; Davitt, *Life and Progress*, 73.
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49. Davitt, *Life and Progress*, 64–69.
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