

# Religion **AND** Greater Ireland

CHRISTIANITY AND IRISH GLOBAL NETWORKS

1750-1950



*Edited by*

COLIN BARR AND HILARY M. CAREY

RELIGION AND GREATER IRELAND

MCGILL-QUEEN'S STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION  
*Volumes in this series have been supported by the Jackman  
Foundation of Toronto.*

SERIES ONE: G.A. RAWLYK, EDITOR

- 1 Small Differences  
Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants,  
1815–1922  
An International Perspective  
*Donald Harman Akenson*
- 2 Two Worlds  
The Protestant Culture of  
Nineteenth-Century Ontario  
*William Westfall*
- 3 An Evangelical Mind  
Nathanael Burwash and the  
Methodist Tradition in Canada,  
1839–1918  
*Marguerite Van Die*
- 4 The Dévotes  
Women and Church in  
Seventeenth-Century France  
*Elizabeth Rapley*
- 5 The Evangelical Century  
College and Creed in English Canada  
from the Great Revival to the Great  
Depression  
*Michael Gauvreau*
- 6 The German Peasants' War and  
Anabaptist Community of Goods  
*James M. Stayer*
- 7 A World Mission  
Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for  
a New International Order, 1918–1939  
*Robert Wright*
- 8 Serving the Present Age  
Revivalism, Progressivism, and the  
Methodist Tradition in Canada  
*Phyllis D. Airhart*
- 9 A Sensitive Independence  
Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries  
in Canada and the Orient, 1881–1925  
*Rosemary R. Gagan*
- 10 God's Peoples  
Covenant and Land in South  
Africa, Israel, and Ulster  
*Donald Harman Akenson*
- 11 Creed and Culture  
The Place of English-Speaking Catholics  
in Canadian Society, 1750–1930  
*Edited by Terrence Murphy  
and Gerald Stortz*
- 12 Piety and Nationalism  
Lay Voluntary Associations and  
the Creation of an Irish-Catholic  
Community in Toronto, 1850–1895  
*Brian P. Clarke*
- 13 Amazing Grace  
Studies in Evangelicalism in Australia,  
Britain, Canada, and the United States  
*Edited by George Rawlyk  
and Mark A. Noll*
- 14 Children of Peace  
*W. John McIntyre*
- 15 A Solitary Pillar  
Montreal's Anglican Church  
and the Quiet Revolution  
*Joan Marshall*
- 16 Padres in No Man's Land  
Canadian Chaplains and the Great War  
*Duff Creer*
- 17 Christian Ethics and Political Economy  
in North America  
A Critical Analysis  
*P. Travis Kroecker*
- 18 Pilgrims in Lotus Land  
Conservative Protestantism in  
British Columbia, 1917–1981  
*Robert K. Burkinshaw*

- 19 Through Sunshine and Shadow  
The Woman's Christian  
Temperance Union, Evangelicalism,  
and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930  
*Sharon Cook*
- 20 Church, College, and Clergy  
A History of Theological  
Education at Knox College,  
Toronto, 1844-1994  
*Brian J. Fraser*
- 21 The Lord's Dominion  
The History of Canadian Methodism  
*Neil Semple*
- 22 A Full-Orbed Christianity  
The Protestant Churches and Social  
Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940  
*Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau*
- 23 Evangelism and Apostasy  
The Evolution and Impact  
of Evangelicals in Modern Mexico  
*Kurt Bowen*
- 24 The Chignecto Covenanters  
A Regional History of Reformed  
Presbyterianism in New Brunswick  
and Nova Scotia, 1827-1905  
*Eldon Hay*
- 25 Methodists and Women's  
Education in Ontario, 1836-1925  
*Johanne Selles*
- 26 Puritanism and Historical  
Controversy  
*William Lamont*

SERIES TWO: IN MEMORY OF GEORGE RAWLYK  
DONALD HARMAN AKENSON, EDITOR

- 1 Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal,  
1640-1665  
*Patricia Simpson*
- 2 Aspects of the Canadian  
Evangelical Experience  
*Edited by G.A. Rawlyk*
- 3 Infinity, Faith, and Time  
Christian Humanism and  
Renaissance Literature  
*John Spencer Hill*
- 4 The Contribution of Presbyterianism  
to the Maritime Provinces of Canada  
*Edited by Charles H.H. Scobie  
and G.A. Rawlyk*
- 5 Labour, Love, and Prayer  
Female Piety in Ulster Religious  
Literature, 1850-1914  
*Andrea Ebel Brozyna*
- 6 The Waning of the Green  
Catholics, the Irish, and Identity  
in Toronto, 1887-1922  
*Mark G. McGowan*
- 7 Religion and Nationality  
in Western Ukraine  
The Greek Catholic Church  
and the Ruthenian National  
Movement in Galicia, 1867-1900  
*John-Paul Himka*
- 8 Good Citizens  
British Missionaries and Imperial States,  
1870-1918  
*James G. Greenlee and  
Charles M. Johnston*
- 9 The Theology of the Oral Torah  
Revealing the Justice of God  
*Jacob Neusner*
- 10 Gentle Eminence  
A Life of Cardinal Flahiff  
*P. Wallace Platt*
- 11 Culture, Religion, and Demographic  
Behaviour Catholics and Lutherans  
in Alsace, 1750-1870  
*Kevin McQuillan*

- 12 Between Damnation and Starvation  
Priests and Merchants  
in Newfoundland Politics,  
1745–1855  
*John P. Greene*
- 13 Martin Luther, German Saviour  
German Evangelical Theological Factions  
and the Interpretation  
of Luther, 1917–1933  
*James M. Stayer*
- 14 Modernity and the Dilemma  
of North American Anglican  
Identities, 1880–1950  
*William H. Katerberg*
- 15 The Methodist Church on  
the Prairies, 1896–1914  
*George Emery*
- 16 Christian Attitudes towards  
the State of Israel  
*Paul Charles Merkley*
- 17 A Social History of the Cloister  
Daily Life in the Teaching  
Monasteries of the Old Regime  
*Elizabeth Rapley*
- 18 Households of Faith  
Family, Gender, and Community  
in Canada, 1760–1969  
*Edited by Nancy Christie*
- 19 Blood Ground  
Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest  
for Christianity in the Cape Colony  
and Britain, 1799–1853  
*Elizabeth Elbourne*
- 20 A History of Canadian Catholics  
Gallicanism, Romanism, and  
Canadianism  
*Terence J. Fay*
- 21 The View from Rome  
Archbishop Stagni's 1915  
Reports on the Ontario Bilingual Schools  
Question  
*Edited and translated by  
John Zucchi*
- 22 The Founding Moment  
Church, Society, and the  
Construction of Trinity College  
*William Westfall*
- 23 The Holocaust, Israel, and  
Canadian Protestant Churches  
*Haim Genizi*
- 24 Governing Charities  
Church and State in Toronto's  
Catholic Archdiocese, 1850–1950  
*Paula Maurutto*
- 25 Anglicans and the Atlantic World  
High Churchmen, Evangelicals,  
and the Quebec Connection  
*Richard W. Vaudry*
- 26 Evangelicals and the  
Continental Divide  
The Conservative Protestant Subculture  
in Canada and the United States  
*Sam Reimer*
- 27 Christians in a Secular World  
The Canadian Experience  
*Kurt Bowen*
- 28 Anatomy of a Seance  
A History of Spirit Communication  
in Central Canada  
*Stan McMullin*
- 29 With Skilful Hand  
The Story of King David  
*David T. Barnard*
- 30 Faithful Intellect  
Samuel S. Nelles and  
Victoria University  
*Neil Semple*
- 31 W. Stanford Reid  
An Evangelical Calvinist  
in the Academy  
*Donald MacLeod*
- 32 A Long Eclipse  
The Liberal Protestant  
Establishment and the Canadian  
University, 1920–1970  
*Catherine Gidney*

- 33 Forkhill Protestants and Forkhill Catholics, 1787–1858  
*Kyla Madden*
- 34 For Canada's Sake  
Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s  
*Gary R. Miedema*
- 35 Revival in the City  
The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884–1914  
*Eric R. Crouse*
- 36 The Lord for the Body  
Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880–1930  
*James Opp*
- 37 Six Hundred Years of Reform  
Bishops and the French Church, 1190–1789  
*J. Michael Hayden and Malcolm R. Greenshields*
- 38 The Missionary Oblate Sisters  
Vision and Mission  
*Rosa Bruno-Jofré*
- 39 Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada  
The Colbys of Carrollcroft  
*Marguerite Van Die*
- 40 Michael Power  
The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier  
*Mark G. McGowan*
- 41 The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970  
*Michael Gauvreau*
- 42 Marguerite Bourgeoys and the Congregation of Notre Dame, 1665–1700  
*Patricia Simpson*
- 43 To Heal a Fractured World  
The Ethics of Responsibility  
*Jonathan Sacks*
- 44 Revivalists  
Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1884–1957  
*Kevin Kee*
- 45 The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada  
*Edited by Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert*
- 46 Political Ecumenism  
Catholics, Jews, and Protestants in De Gaulle's Free France, 1940–1945  
*Geoffrey Adams*
- 47 From Quaker to Upper Canadian  
Faith and Community among Yonge Street Friends, 1801–1850  
*Robynne Rogers Healey*
- 48 The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Superiors, and the Paradox of Power, 1693–1796  
*Colleen Gray*
- 49 Canadian Pentecostalism  
Transition and Transformation  
*Edited by Michael Wilkinson*
- 50 A War with a Silver Lining  
Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899–1902  
*Gordon L. Heath*
- 51 In the Aftermath of Catastrophe  
Founding Judaism, 70 to 640  
*Jacob Neusner*
- 52 Imagining Holiness  
Classic Hasidic Tales in Modern Times  
*Justin Jaron Lewis*
- 53 Shouting, Embracing, and Dancing with Ecstasy  
The Growth of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1774–1874  
*Calvin Hollett*
- 54 Into Deep Waters  
Evangelical Spirituality and Maritime Calvinist Baptist Ministers, 1790–1855  
*Daniel C. Goodwin*

- 55 Vanguard of the New Age  
The Toronto Theosophical  
Society, 1891–1945  
*Gillian McCann*
- 56 A Commerce of Taste  
Church Architecture in  
Canada, 1867–1914  
*Barry Magrill*
- 57 The Big Picture  
The Antigonish Movement  
of Eastern Nova Scotia  
*Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta*
- 58 My Heart's Best Wishes for You  
A Biography of Archbishop  
John Walsh  
*John P. Comiskey*
- 59 The Covenanters in Canada  
Reformed Presbyterianism  
from 1820 to 2012  
*Eldon Hay*
- 60 The Guardianship of Best Interests  
Institutional Care for the Children  
of the Poor in Halifax, 1850–1960  
*Renée N. Lafferty*
- 61 In Defence of the Faith  
Joaquim Marques de Araújo, a Brazilian  
Comissário in the  
Age of Inquisitional Decline  
*James E. Wadsworth*
- 62 Contesting the Moral High Ground  
Popular Moralists in Mid-Twentieth-  
Century Britain  
*Paul T. Phillips*
- 63 The Catholicisms of Coutances  
Varieties of Religion in Early  
Modern France, 1350–1789  
*J. Michael Hayden*
- 64 After Evangelicalism  
The Sixties and the United  
Church of Canada  
*Kevin N. Flatt*
- 65 The Return of Ancestral Gods  
Modern Ukrainian Paganism  
as an Alternative Vision  
for a Nation  
*Mariya Lesiv*
- 66 Transatlantic Methodists  
British Wesleyanism and  
the Formation of an Evangelical Culture  
in Nineteenth-Century Ontario and  
Quebec  
*Todd Webb*
- 67 A Church with the Soul of a Nation  
Making and Remaking the United  
Church of Canada  
*Phyllis D. Airhart*
- 68 Fighting over God  
A Legal and Political History of Religious  
Freedom in Canada  
*Janet Epp Buckingham*
- 69 From India to Israel  
Identity, Immigration, and the Struggle  
for Religious Equality  
*Joseph Hodes*
- 70 Becoming Holy in Early Canada  
*Timothy G. Pearson*
- 71 The Cistercian Arts  
From the 12th to the 21st Century  
*Edited by Terry N. Kinder and Roberto  
Cassanelli*
- 72 The Canny Scot  
Archbishop James Morrison  
of Antigonish  
*Peter Ludlow*
- 73 Religion and Greater Ireland  
Christianity and Irish Global Networks,  
1750–1950  
*Edited by Colin Barr and  
Hilary M. Carey*

Religion and Greater Ireland  
Christianity and Irish Global Networks,  
1750–1950

Edited by

COLIN BARR AND HILARY M. CAREY

McGill-Queen's University Press  
Montreal & Kingston • London • Chicago

© McGill-Queen's University Press 2015

ISBN 978-0-7735-4569-4 (cloth)

ISBN 978-0-7735-4570-0 (paper)

ISBN 978-0-7735-9734-1 (EPDF)

ISBN 978-0-7735-9735-8 (EPUB)

Legal deposit third quarter 2015  
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

Printed in Canada on acid-free paper that is 100% ancient forest free  
(100% post-consumer recycled), processed chlorine free

McGill-Queen's University Press acknowledges the support of the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program. We also acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for our publishing activities.

---

#### Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Religion and greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish global networks,  
1750–1950/edited by Colin Barr and Hilary M. Carey.

(McGill-Queen's studies in the history of religion. Series two; 73)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Issued in print and electronic formats.

ISBN 978-0-7735-4569-4 (bound). – ISBN 978-0-7735-4570-0 (paperback). –  
ISBN 978-0-7735-9734-1 (EPDF). – ISBN 978-0-7735-9735-8 (EPUB)

1. Ireland – Church history. 2. Irish – Religion. 3. Irish – Ethnic identity.  
4. Immigrants – Religious life. I. Barr, Colin, 1974–, author, editor II. Carey,  
Hilary M. (Hilary Mary), 1957–, editor III. Series: McGill-Queen's studies  
in the history of religion. Series two; no. 73

BR795.R44 2015

274.15

C2015-903132-X

C2015-903133-8

---

This book was typeset by Interscript in 10.5/13 Sabon.

# Contents

Acknowledgments xiii

Introduction: Religion and Greater Ireland  
*Hilary M. Carey and Colin Barr* 3

## PART ONE IRISH GLOBAL NETWORKS

- 1 Deference, Accommodation, and Conflict in Irish Confessional Relations 33  
*R. V. Comerford*
- 2 Drawing Strength from Past Migratory Experiences: The *Church of Ireland Gazette* and Southern Protestant Migration in the Post-Independence Period 52  
*Leigh-Ann Coffey*
- 3 Religious Texts for the Catholic Migrant: International Print Networks and the Irish-Australian Book Trade 71  
*Kevin Molloy*

## PART TWO ATLANTIC WORLD

- 4 The Tales and Trials of a “Double Minority”: The Irish and French Catholic Engagement for the Soul of the Canadian Church, 1815–1947 97  
*Mark G. McGowan*
- 5 This Sacred Feeling: Patriotism, Nation-Building, and the Catholic Church in Newfoundland, 1850–1914 124  
*Carolyn Lambert*

- 6 Controversial Immigrants: Theological Conflict in the Transatlantic World of Eighteenth-Century Irish Presbyterianism 143  
*Rankin Sherling*
- 7 Catholicism, Masculinity, and Middle-Class Respectability in the Irish Catholic Temperance Movement in Nineteenth-Century Canada 163  
*Mike McLaughlin*
- 8 “We Know Neither Catholics, nor Protestants, nor Free-Thinkers Here”: Ethnicity, Religion, and the Chicago Public Schools, 1837–94 187  
*Mimi Cowan*

PART THREE ASIA AND AFRICA

- 9 Irish Religious Networks in Colonial South Asia, ca. 1788–1858 209  
*Barry Crosbie*
- 10 Saving the Empire? The Role of Irishwomen in Protestant Female Missions, 1870–1914 229  
*Myrtle Hill*
- 11 “Hurrah for Old Ireland!”: Irish Catholicism at the Cape of Good Hope 251  
*Colin Barr*

PART FOUR SOUTHERN WORLD

- 12 Greater Ireland and the Australian Immigrant: The Religious Dimension 275  
*Eric Richards*
- 13 “Mindful of Her St Columbas and Gaels”: Ireland, Empire, and Australian Anglicanism, 1788–1850 297  
*Michael Gladwin*
- 14 “God Sent Me Here to Raise a Society”: Irishness, Protestantism, and Colonial Identity in New South Wales 319  
*Dianne Hall*
- 15 Building “God’s Own Country”: The Reverend Rutherford Waddell, the Global Irish, and New Zealand History 340  
*John Stenhouse*

16	“A Veritable Hurricane of Sectarianism”: The Year 1920 and Ethno-Religious Conflict in Australia	363
	<i>Jeff Kildea</i>	
	Conclusion	383
	<i>Colin Barr and Hilary M. Carey</i>	
	Bibliography	391
	Contributors	431
	Index	435



## Acknowledgments

The editors would like to express their appreciation to people and funding bodies who have supported us through the long gestation of this project.

A number of the chapters that make up *Religion and Greater Ireland* were presented at a symposium organized and funded by the Humanities Research Institute (HRI) at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, 3–4 December 2012. The HRI enabled us to bring a number of contributors to Newcastle and later provided Colin Barr with a visiting fellowship at a crucial time for the development of this book.

Funding for archival travel was provided to Hilary Carey by the Australian Research Council as part of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project (DP 1096538) “Liberty, Anti-Transportation and the Moral Empire,” and to Colin Barr as part of an Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences project, “The Letters of Paul Cullen.”

The editors acknowledge the support of the School of Divinity, History and Philosophy and the Centre for the Study of Global Empires, both at the University of Aberdeen, and the School of Humanities at the University of Bristol for additional financial support towards the publication of this book.

Copy-editing was provided by Briony Neilson in Australia and Joanne Richardson in Canada.

We are also grateful to Kyla Madden at McGill-Queen’s University Press for sage advice and encouragement and to Mark McGowan for suggesting that we approach MQUP with this proposal.



RELIGION AND GREATER IRELAND



## INTRODUCTION

# Religion and Greater Ireland

HILARY M. CAREY AND COLIN BARR

When James Joyce's character, the citizen, proclaimed his blustery hope for Irish independence backed up by the nebulous reinforcements of "our greater Ireland beyond the sea," he was referring to those refugees from the darkest days of the Irish famine who had fled in their millions to the United States.<sup>1</sup> In vain, Leopold Bloom hit back with the riposte that Ireland was no more than the sum of its current residents: "A nation," he replied, "is the same people living in the same place." For Bloom, those Irish who had left the land of their birth, or that of their parents and grandparents, had no ties, military or otherwise, with the Ireland of Thursday, 16 June 1904. Bloom was making another point too, one that asserted his own claim to citizenship of a secular Irish nation, regardless of his cultural identity as a Jew. Such an assertion flew in the face of those who assumed, and sometimes loudly proclaimed, that to be Irish was to be Roman Catholic. As Bloom and the citizen were aware, religion had conspired with politics, war, and emigration to fracture the Irish soul into opposing shards. Yet, as the authors of this collection demonstrate, Irish churches retained the cultural power to both bind and loosen. In Ireland, they were emblems of a divided nation; abroad, they generated religious networks of undeniable variety and tenacity that stretched to all corners of the globe. It is this spiritually capacious greater Ireland to which we now turn.

There have been many attempts to define what it meant to be a part of the Irish diaspora,<sup>2</sup> that great outpouring of people who left Ireland for elsewhere – principally the United States, British North America, Australia, and Britain, with smaller populations heading for New Zealand, South Africa, and Argentina – and yet continued to identify with their Irish forbears.<sup>3</sup> In terms of chronology, large-scale Irish

emigration is popularly assumed to have begun with the Famine, although there had been considerable migration both well before and long after the demographic crisis of the mid-nineteenth century. These earlier migrations followed complex paths and involved both Protestants (largely, but not only, Presbyterians and Anglicans) and Catholics. Although North America would eventually prove to be the favoured destination, others rose and fell in popularity as times and circumstances changed.

From the Reformation, and indeed before, the Irish overseas were nurtured, literally and figuratively, by a number of religious, political, and commercial institutions. In Counter-Reformation Europe, Irish Catholics built a network of colleges in locations as diverse as Lisbon, Salamanca, Paris, and Leuven, among others. These served not only as bases for training Irish clergy but also as centres around which an Irish Catholic emigrant culture could be nurtured and preserved. Irish Catholics and their descendants could be found in the service, both political and military, of the European Catholic courts, and many enjoyed careers in the European Catholic empires. This could range from relatively humble service in the French East India Company to the career of the Irish-born Ambrosio O'Higgins (1721–1801), who rose to the Spanish title of marquis of Osorno and served as viceroy of Peru. (His illegitimate son, Bernardo O'Higgins, helped lead the revolt against Spain that resulted in the independence of Chile.) In the British Empire, Catholics rarely reached such heights, but, by the 1840s, something like a majority of the East India Company's soldiers were Irish Catholics, and they were the backbone of the British Army throughout the world for much of the period.<sup>4</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, Irish Catholics such as Sir John Pope Hennessey and Richard More O'Ferrall could enjoy successful colonial careers – Hennessey served as governor of colonies as diverse as Hong Kong, Sierra Leone, and the Bahamas; O'Ferrall's tenure as governor of Malta ended with his resignation in protest against British government policy towards Irish Catholics in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> Many more Irish Catholics enjoyed long careers in one branch or another of the imperial service.

Irish Protestants were also enthusiastic empire and nation builders. They helped establish institutions that ranged from the University of Melbourne, whose first chancellor came from County Cork,<sup>6</sup> to the *Cape Times*, which was founded by a lapsed Church of Ireland priest from Limerick.<sup>7</sup> Irish Protestants served the Empire at every level, from colonial governors such as New South Wales's (and the Eastern Cape's) reforming Richard Bourke (1777–1855) to the disproportionate

numbers of largely Protestant Irishmen who staffed the Indian civil and medical services after 1857 or dominated the Cape Mounted Rifles in southern Africa. As Jennifer Ridden and Zoë Laidlaw both point out, Bourke's Irish Protestantism and Irish liberalism shaped his behaviour as a colonial governor, with enduring consequences for Australia.<sup>8</sup> And Bourke was hardly unusual in bringing Ireland to the Empire or the Empire back to Ireland. Despite the modern impression of a largely Catholic Irish diaspora, Protestant migrants were numerically dominant in the American south, Ontario, and southern Africa.

What is often overlooked in considerations of the role of the Irish in the Empire is the fact that many were not looking for a career as a colonial governor or a private soldier or a doctor in the Indian Medical Service. Many, perhaps most, were not looking to do a job and go home but, rather, were looking for a new home entirely. As a consequence, a complete understanding of the role played by Ireland and the Irish in the Empire (and, indeed, in the United States) can only be properly achieved through the framework of "Greater Ireland" and not simply that of the island of Ireland or of the British Empire as such. This holds true for both Catholics and Protestants, and members of both traditions (and all Protestant denominations) quickly assumed positions of real power and influence. In Victoria, for example, consider the Tipperary-born John O'Shannasy (1818–83) who helped found the St Patrick's Society before being elected to Parliament and serving several stints as premier. Or the Monaghan-born nationalist and newspaper editor Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903), who was tried multiple times for treason, served as a member of both the British and Victorian parliaments, and briefly as premier of Victoria. Both were Irish nationalists; both were Roman Catholics, one markedly devout; both built their political careers on an avowedly Irish Catholic base; both were knighted by the queen, and O'Shannasy also by the pope. Duffy's son Frank became chief justice of Australia, and his grandson Charles sat on the Supreme Court of Victoria until his death in 1961. They too were knighted. Or consider the career of the Cork-born T.W. Anglin (1822–96). The son of an East India Company employee, Anglin emigrated from Ireland to New Brunswick in 1849 in search of economic opportunity, founded a newspaper for Irish Catholics, entered provincial and then national politics (always as a champion of Irish Catholics), and finished his career as speaker of the Canadian House of Commons.<sup>9</sup> In southern Africa, to take a different example, two Irish Protestants served as premiers of their respective colonies, the Cork-born Anglican Sir Thomas Upington

(1844–98) in the Cape and the Wicklow-born Sir Albert Hime (1842–1919) in Natal. Another, the Ulster Presbyterian William Porter (1805–80), wrote the colour-blind Cape Constitution of 1854 and is remembered as the “Father of Cape Liberalism.”<sup>10</sup> Two American presidents – Andrew Jackson and James Buchanan – had Irish-born parents, Protestants from County Antrim and County Donegal, respectively. Irish Catholics and Protestants alike participated in the Empire (and the United States) both as a career and as a home.

As a result of economic stagnation and intermittent starvation, which combined to decimate the population at home and fuel the departure of the ambitious, the unlucky, or simply the survivors, the proportion of the Irish-born who were living outside of Ireland climbed rapidly from 1841 to 1921. D.H. Akenson uses the available statistics to plot a graph of the Irish outside Ireland. This resembles a clawed finger that shoots up from less than 10 percent in 1841 to reach a high of close to 40 percent by 1891 before beginning to decline thereafter.<sup>11</sup> The proportion of Irish-born living abroad continued at high levels for a modern European society well into the twentieth century, and at least a quarter of the Irish-born were living outside Ireland in 1991.<sup>12</sup> Economic prosperity in the 1990s saw this pattern reversed, but the trend for the Irish-born to live abroad has accelerated since the Irish financial crisis began in 2008.<sup>13</sup> An estimate based on current national census returns suggests that in 2012 about 1 million, or 15.6 percent, of the Irish-born live abroad, principally in Britain, the United States, Australia, and Canada.<sup>14</sup> For Ireland, this has had and continues to have profound social, political, and economic implications. Yet for the countries in which the Irish continue to settle, the Irish-born represent only a small (if regularly replenished) segment of the some 70 million people who self-identify as Irish. The Irish diaspora is, then, largely a product of the great emigration event of the nineteenth century and its continuing aftermath in the Anglo world. And the Irishness that distinguishes it is largely that of an Ireland of an earlier age, an age in which religious tensions and cultures were felt more intensely and when religion and national identity were fused.<sup>15</sup>

The mere accident of emigration does not in itself create a diaspora, and there are no rules that determine how a people will reconstitute themselves once they have left their native shores, though place of birth, language, religion, and ethnicity have all been regarded as critical to most national concoctions.<sup>16</sup> As Rogers Brubaker notes, religion is just one of the ways in which identity might be mediated across and beyond national borders.<sup>17</sup> Diasporic people might come to include not just first-generation emigrants but also their children and subsequent

descendants in new countries of settlement. Once resettled they might redefine themselves again as a new people with identities that straddle both the homeland and the land of settlement. Some sections of the Irish diaspora became “Irish Americans” or “Irish Canadians” or “Irish Australians,” though these identities were stronger in some cases and in some places than in others, not least in the robust survival of Irish Catholic hybrid identities and the relative decline of Irish Protestant ones. Yet their feelings of attachment to Ireland and to their own Irish identity vary from passionate identification with the religion, politics, and supposed cultural mores of their ancestors to an ephemeral nostalgia evoked by the annual arrival of marching season, a flash of the colour green (or, decreasingly, orange), or the smell of burning peat.

#### RELIGION AND IRISH IDENTITY

Religion has long been seen as both a burden and a blessing of the Irish people. Ireland’s fame as a land of saints and scholars reflected not just a tradition of learning and spirituality at home but also the success of medieval Irish monks and missionaries abroad.<sup>18</sup> In modern times, it has become a staple of the heritage publishing market, with books such as Thomas Cahill’s *How the Irish Saved Civilization* enjoying runaway popular success despite (or perhaps because of) their green-tinted and largely ahistorical view of the past. In fact, there have been three historical Irish missionary movements, of which the early medieval and early modern are well known. From around the seventh century, the Irish consolidated Christianity at home and spread it to their immediate neighbours. Meanwhile, the Irish abroad under royal patronage made fervent, well-trained, and ascetic foundations in Europe. The creation of a second continental religious diaspora followed in the wake of the Tudor conquest of Ireland and the flight of Catholic aristocratic patronage and clergy to Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Irish colleges sustained the ambition of the reconversion of Britain and Ireland to the Catholic faith. The Protestant plantation in Ulster, which was mainly seeded by Scottish Presbyterians, added a new and enduring religious dimension to the island. And, in the eighteenth century, Irish Presbyterian emigrants to the United States self-identified as “natural pioneers” whose passion for religious and civil independence made, they said, a natural alliance with the ideals of the new republic.

While religion formed a part of the early, largely Protestant, emigration of Irish settlers in the New World, the third and final missionary movement of the Irish people properly began in the mid-nineteenth

century and was dominated numerically by Roman Catholics and marked by the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church to places of Irish settlement abroad. Because the vast majority of the nineteenth-century migrants who left Ireland were driven by poverty even if not literally starving, it is necessarily the case that the vast majority of those migrants were also Catholic: poor Protestants did exist, both Anglican and Presbyterian (and others too), north and south, but not in anything like the same numbers as poor Catholics. As a result it is often assumed that Catholics were the only ones leaving Ireland, or at least leaving in any numbers. But it is important to remember that the era of mass emigration engaged Irish of all denominations, and thus the nineteenth-century missionary movement also involved all Irish denominations. Catholics formed the larger part, but Protestants were everywhere important and in places dominant. It is the religious, social, cultural, and political impacts of this, the third and most numerically significant of the Irish missionary movements, that the chapters in this collection seek to explore.

The outpouring of Irish Catholics occurred at a critical time in the history of church-state relations in the United Kingdom and its growing empire. In 1829, the UK Parliament finally passed Catholic Emancipation, thus freeing itself of the most overt characteristics of a confessional state.<sup>19</sup> The privileges of the (episcopal) established and united Church of England and Ireland and the (presbyterian) established Church of Scotland were slowly abandoned as first dissenters and then Catholics and later Jews and finally atheists entered civil society as equals. The process was never complete as, although the Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1869 and the Church of England met the same fate in Wales in 1914, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland remain today by law established in their respective nations. The gradual change from confessionalism to voluntarism in religion affected all parts of the British polity, but it did not affect all parts equally.

From the early 1830s, it slowly became apparent that the privileges of the Church of England would not extend into the British World. In New South Wales, for example, the Irish Protestant governor Bourke advanced the careers of lay Roman Catholics and extended state aid to their church using monies at least in part previously provided to the Church of England. It amounted to disestablishment.<sup>20</sup> The military authorities in the Cape and India and beyond began to provide Roman Catholic chaplains to their troops and even to encourage Roman Catholic bishops. The bulk of both were Irish. By the mid-1860s, several South

African legal cases (*Long v. Bishop of Cape Town* in 1863, *Bishop of Natal v. Gladstone* in 1866) finally established that, in the Empire, the Church of England was simply one church like any other, neither specially privileged nor under the control of metropolitan authorities, lay or ecclesiastical. As the chief justice of the British Columbia Supreme Court observed in applying the latter case in an 1872 dispute over Anglican ritualism, “for ‘Natal’ read ‘British Columbia.’”<sup>21</sup> In the United States, the last state-established churches had lost their status and funding by the early 1830s. The consequences were striking in the colonial and former colonial empire, where, instead of a collapse in religious sentiment, attachment, and loyalty, something like the reverse appears to have been the case. Supported by their churches, Anglicans, Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other colonial and emigrant Christians appear to have grown in numbers and, in the British World, in identification with the British cause. In the United States, Irish-born bishops such as John England of South Carolina and John Hughes of New York fused Irish nationality and republican pride into a distinctively Irish American Catholicism; England’s diocesan newspaper (the first in the United States) reproduced the text of the First Amendment to the Constitution on its masthead. In this religious free market, Irish emigrants and their denominations could (and did) compete freely.

Two approaches to the religious history of the Irish diaspora hold great potential, particularly if we are to move beyond perennial questions about the relative perseverance of Irish-born religious sectarianism. The first of these focuses on the extent to which religion worked to attenuate old religious antagonisms and to support emerging diasporic nationalisms. For some years now, John Mackenzie has been suggesting that we need to be pursuing a “four nations” approach to the history of the British Empire.<sup>22</sup> By this he means to draw attention to the ways in which the separate ethnic, religious, social, and political characters of the nations that came together to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801 continued to participate and, indeed, to prosper among the British and Irish abroad. Although by no means uncontested, Mackenzie’s approach has found many supporters among those keen to draw attention to the multi-layered nature of the imperial experience, the ways in which it allowed for the furtherance and extension of networks and pathways that may have been suppressed or obscured at home, and the ease with which minorities could find the space to continue old attachments and loyalties in new lands, whether in Orange lodges or Catholic parishes or Irish social clubs.

A second useful approach is the presently fashionable “network theory,” one consequence of which is a renewed interest in the settler empire and the networks that underpinned it. The most obvious signs of this have been not only the sequence of “British World” conferences but also the success of the journal, now published by Edinburgh University Press, *Britain and the World*. The development of imperial network theory, originally in the work of economic historians and historians of geography, has had a major impact on the ways in which the British Empire is interpreted and imagined today.<sup>23</sup> Network theory was immediately appealing to historians who were seeking to find ways of talking about the connections between Britain and the colonies that recognized the reciprocal nature of these relationships. It emphasized co-operation rather than coercion as the critical feature of the second British Empire and explained its extraordinary cohesiveness in the apparent absence of overt mechanisms of control. Talking about networks also bypassed the uncomfortable hierarchy of values implicit in discussion of periphery and metropole, or the political determinism of postcolonialism, which argues that all aspects of imperial culture are ultimately hegemonic. Network theory opened up tangled relationships that operated at many layers, between different points on the peripheries as well as from periphery to metropole, and that reflected the depth of cultural as well as economic and political ties of empire. It also took into account the way that the existence of an empire – with its chains of command, government, communication, transport, commerce, and culture – worked not just to facilitate the administration of the empire but also the movement of people, ideas, and culture for whom the empire was a path to somewhere else.

Almost immediately there were attempts to extend the idea of imperial networks from its origins in economic history. In a series of influential articles (now gathered together as *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*), Tony Ballantyne proposes the image of a spider's web to capture the complex interrelations criss-crossing the imperial world, including religious webs.<sup>24</sup> Pioneers such as S.B. Cook and, more recently, Barry Crosbie examine one kind of ethnic network, that of the Irish in the Indian Empire, and migrant networks more generally provide particularly rich pickings for this methodology.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps inevitably, prosopography, the study of individual and collective lives, is another field that has made much use of network theory.<sup>26</sup> The most ambitious development of the idea is probably found in Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson's monumental *Empire and Globalisation*, which focuses largely on networks within the British World.<sup>27</sup> In his important

review of Magee and Thompson, Stuart Ward suggests that network theory has, in the last decade, developed in two rather different directions. The first is the transformation of imperial history into a more expansive global history, or world history, one of the purposes of which is to reduce the tendency to Eurocentricity of traditional imperial history. The “new” imperial history, with its focus on discourses of race, gender, and class, has generated a new interest in global history and the history of other world empires.<sup>28</sup> Another factor has been the rise of interest in the British World, something of a transformation from the situation in the 1960s and 1970s, when the settler colonies were quietly forgotten as a field of empire. It was not just British historians who felt this: the same atrophication of attention was evident in national histories that were written in postcolonial states, including Ireland and (to a lesser extent) Scotland as well as in the former settler colonies themselves. As British imperial historians started to become interested in the global, so historians who wrote about Australian, or Canadian, or New Zealand, or (more hesitantly) South African history also began to turn their attention to the imperial aspects of their questions, as, for example, in the work of James Belich, Saul Dubow, Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, and the political historian Duncan Bell.<sup>29</sup>

As fruitful as network theory has been, it is helpful to draw attention to two or three points of critique and possibility. In the first place, we need to consider what constitutes an imperial network and whether we are always talking about the same thing. According to Linton Freeman, network theory originally emerged in the 1930s, came to prominence in the 1940s in two disciplines – sociology and anthropology – and exploded in the 1990s.<sup>30</sup> Economic historians first began working in the field in the 1980s, with historians such as Richard Drayton, Paul Duguid, and others using the theory to explain merchant networking outside formal government structures in the Atlantic World.<sup>31</sup> In 1998, Charles Wetherell published an article that urges historians “to adopt social network theory from sociology,” providing a crib for those who want to do so.<sup>32</sup> The charm of network theory was that it could be used to provide predictions about the likely behaviour of individuals in any social system, across national, ethnic, and imperial boundaries, and it worked particularly well for informal systems that lacked overt mechanisms for central control. Sociologists applied network analysis to the study of social relationships in modern cities, ethnographers to kinship networks in traditional societies, social anthropologists to changing family structures, security analysts to organized crime and terrorism.<sup>33</sup> However, it needs to be said that the very success of the methodology has invited

overuse, and not all historical research that makes use of the term would be recognized as such within what is now a specialized field.

David Lambert and Alan Lester may have pushed the concept to the limit in their collection of “colonial lives.”<sup>34</sup> Can a single individual, however well travelled, constitute a network? Even if he or she is as interesting and distinguished as the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld or the bookish and peripatetic Sir George Grey, who both have chapters in Lambert and Lester’s “imperial careering” collection? While fascinating individually, we need to consider the problem of scale – and individual lives need a different methodology than that which emerges from the global movement of people, the rise and fall of imperial dynasties, or the economic and military scaffolding that forged the visible empire. If networks are allowed to include everything that happens in an imperial territory, then this very useful tool will ultimately lose much of its interpretive force. The same problem affects those who choose to work on the periphery of empire, using the language of transnationalism to draw connections between two or more sub-imperial localities: Australia and India, New Zealand and Upper Canada, Scotland and Fiji. The connections are not always powerful or obvious, and perhaps we should admit that some people and places were better connected to each other and to the Empire than others. To provide them all with “imperial network” status is to overdetermine the limited evidence. It also reduces the significance of local and indigenous forces that might provide them with much richer explanatory frameworks.

On the other hand, network theory in some cases has not been extended far enough and marginalizes some things that should remain in the foreground. Showing its roots in economic history, network theory does not invite investigation of the formal apparatus of state power; Magee and Thompson write about “networks of people, goods and capital,” and the bonds created by co-operation and mutual self-interest. This leaves out the direct coercive aspects of imperial power, notably the army and navy but also the penal system, which was integrated with the colonial service and the military through the appointment of governors, convict administrators, and other officers (including chaplains) to penal colonies. It is fascinating to track the co-operative strands that knitted the British Empire together as a cultural and commercial entity, but this mode of empire needs to be balanced against the reality of overt agencies that allowed a foreign power to sustain its authority.

Another interpretive field that has scarcely been touched by a consideration of imperial network theory is religion, especially as it relates to

the history of the later British Empire. Research on religions and religious migrants in the Atlantic World, particularly in the early modern period, is abundant and arguably central to current understanding of the peopling of the Americas. Summarizing the current situation, Susanne Lachenicht suggests that networks of religious communities “are crucial for transnational, translocal, and circum-Atlantic exchange, including the exchange of goods, knowledge, and peoples. Religious networks were by no means exclusive networks, but were established within and without specific religious communities in order to satisfy these communities’ needs.”<sup>35</sup> It is the unabashed hope of the editors that this book might precipitate further explorations in the still largely unknown archives of imperial religion.

In contrast to the wealth of studies on religion in the Atlantic World prior to the loss of Britain’s American colonies, it would be fair to say that, other than the missionary movement, an imperial religious history hardly exists for the later period. This seems to have been a deliberate choice by the most recent generation of imperial historians. There are, for example, no entries for churches or religious organizations in either Belich or Thompson and Magee. According to the emigration historian Eric Richards, “One is aware, and possibly feels mildly reproved, for such an approach, by Sheridan Gilley’s admonition of ‘historians who can only understand an institution if it discharges a secular function and who reduce religion to an odd form of collective behaviour, to be understood as an answer to a secular need.’”<sup>36</sup> In fact, network theory provides a new way of looking at religious enterprise in the Empire, one that recognizes the affective power of religious traditions and their extraordinary permeability and flexibility in generating and extending communities of feeling – communities that have proven much more resilient than has the Empire itself. This neglect of religion as an aspect of empire is beginning to change, with new studies of religious diasporas by scholars who include Tony Ballantyne on Sikhism, David Hempton on Methodism in the Atlantic World, Rowan Strong and Joe Hardwick on Anglicans, as well as work by the present editors.<sup>37</sup> Another exception is the study of religious networks and anti-slavery, notably Catherine Hall’s study of Baptist missionaries in the West Indies.<sup>38</sup>

#### IRELAND AND IMPERIAL RELIGIOUS NETWORKS

Within this new body of imperial religious history, specialist studies of Irish religious networks have been slow to emerge. Nor are the Irish

dramatically better served by academic treatments of their role in the British Empire more generally. Excepting Cook's and Crosbie's respective treatments of the Irish networks in India (see above), what exists are predominately studies of the Irish in a particular zone of settlement, for example the numerous studies of the Irish in North America or such influential works as Patrick O'Farrell's oft-reprinted *The Irish in Australia*.<sup>39</sup> Over several scholarly generations a rich literature has been built up – one that considers the fate of the overseas Irish in particular places, from the miners of Butte, Montana, to the bandits of the high veldt and almost everywhere in between.<sup>40</sup> We have a clear understanding of both the emigrant experience, most notably via the work of David Fitzpatrick and Angela McCarthy, respectively, and the mechanisms of emigration, including most recently Richard Reid's study of Irish assisted emigration to Australia down to 1870. Our understanding of the context of Ireland's religious diaspora has been enhanced by S. Karly Kehoe's work on Scottish Catholics and their transnational religious associations.<sup>41</sup> What is largely lacking, however, are studies that consider the Irish on an imperial or global scale: what exists is mostly concerned with the Irish in particular places (Australia, the United States, Argentina) or with the movement of the Irish between home and a particular place (Irish migration to New Zealand or New South Wales). There are a handful of exceptions, most notably Malcolm Campbell's *Ireland's New Worlds*, which, uniquely for a single-author monograph, considers Irish immigrants in more than one extra-European jurisdiction, in this case the United States and Australia.<sup>42</sup> Campbell's book is one of the few, in fact, to bridge the gap between the United States and the British World (James Belich's *Replenishing the Earth* is another), reminding the reader that, for the Irish, Greater Ireland was greater than the Empire and that nineteenth-century borders were distinctly permeable.

The two most prominent attempts to survey Ireland's imperial experience, Kevin Kenny's volume in *The Oxford History of the British Empire* and Stephen Howe's *Ireland and Empire*, are useful but limited, not least when it comes to the history of religion. Both are primarily concerned with the impact of the British Empire on Ireland (and Irish complicity in empire) and hardly at all with the Irish in the British Empire, Anglo-world, or Greater Ireland. In his own chapter, Kenny does consider the imperial Irish themselves, but to a great extent his essay (and Howe's book) are overshadowed by the long-standing and increasingly fruitless debate about whether Ireland was or was not an oppressed colony, and was or was not complicit in colonizing and oppressing others. Kenny

also discusses the great Irish missionary movement, but he divides his attention almost equally between the settler empire and the much later Irish missionary efforts elsewhere in the imperial world. Astonishingly, he manages not to mention the most important of all Irish missionary organizers, Cardinal Paul Cullen of Dublin. For his part, Stephen Howe's purpose is not so much to examine the Irish experience of empire as the Irish use and misuse of ideas of colonialism, postcolonialism, and the like: it is, he tells us, a "discourse of discourses."<sup>43</sup> It also takes almost no interest in the religious aspects of empire, with Howe confessing to a "secularist's blind-spot" concerning the role of religion.<sup>44</sup> There is also Daniel Murphy's extraordinary and extraordinarily detailed compendium of Irish education abroad, from the Druids to nearly the modern day. The posthumous publication of a life's work, it is by turns fascinating, old-fashioned, indigestible, and indispensable.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, religion in general, and Irish religion in particular, remains one of the last variables to be effectively integrated into the understanding of imperial networks and diasporas.

Even Roman Catholic historiography has not been entirely successful in placing the Irish Catholic religious experience in a global context. To its cost traditionally isolated from non-Catholic scholarship and scholars, Catholic historiography has also proven to be surprisingly national in focus. Although relations with Rome are inevitably important – and central to works such as Anne Cunningham's *The Rome Connection: Australia, Ireland and the Empire, 1865–1885* or Christopher Dowd's exhaustive two-volume study *Rome in Australia* – Catholic history is tightly focused within national boundaries.<sup>46</sup> Rome simply replaces London as the imperial metropole. Thus, with a few exceptions, the genuinely rich historiography of settler Catholicism largely fails to link colonial Catholic experience to the Greater Ireland of which it was conspicuously a part.<sup>47</sup>

The historiography of the other Irish denominations is even less developed, in part because the Protestant churches largely lack the historiographical tradition of the Catholics, and in part because the history of Irish Protestantism is badly served in Ireland itself, let alone in Ireland's diaspora. What studies do exist – for example Tom Frame's recent *Anglicans in Australia*, or the multi-author collections separately concerned with Methodists and Presbyterians in Atlantic Canada – do not, or do not usually, ignore the Irish contribution, but nor do they focus on it.<sup>48</sup> All too often, important Irish Protestant networks can only be seen in glimpses in wider studies with secular concerns. The powerful group

of Trinity College-educated Irish Anglicans in late Victorian Melbourne is only one example of what must be many such little known or unknown networks.<sup>49</sup> It is frustrating that the only book-length attempt to survey Irish Protestantism on a global basis is focused on one of the smallest Irish denominations, the Methodists.<sup>50</sup> Worse, the scholarship of all the Christian denominations tends not to raise its gaze beyond the particular denomination, seeing other churches, when it sees them at all, as rivals or enemies or simply as other. But the Irish were present in all major colonial and American denominations, and their religious history in Greater Ireland is best served by an attention to religion as such, and not just to denomination or church.

Such an approach can pay dividends in that it can open up the myriad ways in which the Irish participated in the settler worlds of the nineteenth century. This can be seen in the introduction to a special issue of *Britain and the World* concerned entirely with the Irish imperial experience, where Karly Kehoe and Michael Vance suggest that the Irish were adroit participants in the pathways opened up by imperial expansion.<sup>51</sup> They also argue that multiple identities were the norm rather than the exception throughout the British and Irish diasporas. For many the Empire provided abundant scope for a more capacious view of British identity as well as new hybrid identities, such as Anglo-Irish, Irish American, and Scotch Irish, that were facilitated by pre-existing loyalties of faith and confession. They note: “the maintenance and expansion of the empire and the cementing of the idea of greater Britain did not and could not exclude Ireland or the Irish.”<sup>52</sup> We would go further and suggest that the identity of the Irish in all the worlds they settled did not and could not exclude religion.

#### GREATER IRELAND

This collection is built around a phrase that has been used, in different ways, to refer to the Irish beyond Ireland. But what was “the Greater Ireland”? It seems reasonable to suggest that, as a term in general use, “Greater Ireland” gained some of its currency by simple extension of the term “Greater Britain,” originally popularized by Charles Wentworth Dilke in the 1860s.<sup>53</sup> As Duncan Bell points out, “Greater Britain” was a flexible term and, while nearly always pro-imperial in sentiment, was also embraced by religious enthusiasts for empire as a way of promoting intangible aspects of the imperial bond. These spiritual aspirations tended to be felt most ardently by British Protestants in the second half

of the nineteenth century, for whom Greater Britain was as much a religious as a political ideal.<sup>54</sup> Although all the British churches made use of this idea at different times, the term proved particularly useful for evangelical Anglicans engaged in the work of colonial missions – so much so that the Colonial and Continental Church Society entitled its regular missionary journal the *Greater Britain Messenger*. It is significant that Anglicans should have felt most comfortable with the idea of Greater Britain because, as Bell also points out, the term carried with it the baggage of Anglo – and Anglican – hegemony, which causes many Irish, even today, to reject the term “British Isles” for the islands that make up Great Britain and Ireland.

The idea of Greater Ireland nevertheless long predates Dilke and his project for the British overseas. A small number of medieval sources identify a land found to the west of Ireland as *Hibernia major* (Ireland the Great) in Latin or *Írland hið mikla* (Greater Ireland) in Old Norse. These are sometimes said to support the claims for the Irish St Brendan and his companions to be numbered among the pre-Columban voyagers to North America.<sup>55</sup> The early twelfth-century Icelandic *Landnámabók* (Book of settlements) refers to “‘White Men’s Land,’ which some people call ‘Greater Ireland’ said to be a six day sail west from Ireland,” a place generally identified with Newfoundland.<sup>56</sup> Long before archaeological discoveries gave scientific credence to Viking settlements not just in Newfoundland but also in mainland North America, “Greater Ireland” became a handy way to refer to the Irish emigrant community and to mythic claims for a greater Irish nation beyond the British imperial sway.

Claims for Greater Ireland and for the Irish discovery of North America became more bombastic in the writing of the post-Famine generation. In 1878, Father Hugh Quigley asserted with absolute confidence that not only did the Irish discover North America, led by St Brendan, but that the Scandinavians admitted that when the Vikings arrived there they found the Irish already in situ and that this was why they called it “Great Ireland.”<sup>57</sup> References to “the greater Ireland beyond the sea” become more numerous after 1890 and might well have found their way into pub talk in Dublin on 16 June 1904, just as Joyce supposed.<sup>58</sup> It was usually assumed that “the greater Ireland” referred to the Irish in the United States but the Irish elsewhere also made a claim to the title. An Australian newspaper, reporting on a speech given by William Redmond in Wexford in 1884, claimed that Parnell had a million Irishmen in Australia who supported his movement and that the struggle for Irish independence could count on “the moral and material aid of the greater

Ireland in America and Australia.”<sup>59</sup> The military muscle of Greater Ireland was also said to be bolstered by spiritual force. In an 1887 lecture on the “Unbroken Catholicity of the Irish Race,” delivered at St Kilian’s Hall, Bendigo, Victoria, the lecturer asserted: “The beautiful ‘Green Isle’ of the western seas has become absorbed in a ‘Greater Ireland,’ the bounds of which embrace the homes of Ireland’s children all the world over.”<sup>60</sup> Other commentators extended the conceit to include other diasporic peoples of the British Isles. The French wit Max O’Rell (Léon Paul Blouet, 1848–1903) suggested that England should not call its colonies “Greater Britain” since so many were governed by Scots, who were so prevalent in New Zealand that the latter might better be called “Greater Scotland,” and the United States “Greater Ireland” for good measure.<sup>61</sup>

Like “Greater Britain” the idea of “Greater Ireland” (usually with capital letters) could be perceived as having a hegemonic political and religious subtext. By 1920, a writer for the *Harvard Crimson* objected to the activities of “Irish propagandists and interfering sympathizers” who suggested that Greater Ireland was co-terminous with the United States.<sup>62</sup> Looking forward in time, some modern Irish unionists regard “Greater Ireland” as a more sinister version of “United Ireland,” which attempts to turn an accident of geography – the fact that Ireland is an island – into a political destiny: that Ireland should be one nation rather than two.<sup>63</sup> Overall, the term has proven to be most useful to promoters of Irish identity overseas, especially those who sought to foster diplomatic ties with the countries to which the Irish had moved in such numbers.<sup>64</sup>

The heyday of “Greater Ireland” as a cultural conceit coincided with the most energetic period of Irish emigration. According to Declan Kiberd, references to the overseas diasporic Irish peter out in Ireland itself in the 1960s, though commercial and political considerations have ensured that the concept has not been allowed to fade away entirely. Not long after assuming office in 1990, President Mary Robinson, as a symbolic gesture of inclusion, lit a lamp in Áras an Uachtaráin, her official residence, in memory of Greater Ireland.<sup>65</sup> President Robinson here paid tribute to the expectation, fully enshrined in successive Irish citizenship acts,<sup>66</sup> that Mother Ireland would continue to keep a light burning in loving expectation of the return of those who had fled the country into exile. Even more recently, the Irish government declared 2013 the year of “The Gathering,” when an island that “populated the globe with approximately 70 million O’Sullivans, Murphys and Walshes, not to mention

the roughly one million Irish-born people who are currently living abroad” invited her sons and daughters “home” to spend their money.<sup>67</sup>

Just as those who thought of “The Gathering” in terms of O’Sullivans, Murphys, and Walshes, and not Carsons, Molyneauxs, and Walkers, those who favoured the term “Greater Ireland” were also inclined to define it in religiously exclusive terms. At the second annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1926, Laurence J. Kenny expressed his historical aspirations for a spiritual Greater Ireland, a new apostolic age that would spread Irish Catholicism across the world and turn the United States into a Catholic country. The address is worth quoting at length, as it neatly illustrates the essentially denominational understanding of the Irish diaspora on the part of many Catholics:

Ireland’s destiny is not hidden among the mysteries of the future. It stands out luminous in the records of the past. There was first of all a golden age when all the island rang with child-like praise of God and Mary, when half the people were consecrated to the virgin life, and when every foot of ground entombed a saint. Then came an iron age, when rack and sword and pike sent up to heaven an army of Christian martyrs whose numbers are known to the omniscient God alone. In our day its destiny is clear as the sun and the moon and the stars in the heavens: this is the age of apostles. From Armagh to Baltimore, from Los Angeles to Auckland, from Melbourne to Manila, from Zanzibar to Sierra Leone, from the Cape of Good Hope to Riga, are, from the right hand of the chair of Peter, the sons of Innisfall are the heralds of the pure and true gospel: verily, their sound has gone forth to the ends of the earth. Is America to be *Irland it Mikla*, a Greater Ireland?<sup>68</sup>

A footnote to this passage explains that the bishops of all the dioceses named – from Armagh to Zanzibar – were natives of Ireland, with the exception of the Russian-born bishop of Riga, Edward O’Rourke (1876–1943), whose family claimed Irish as well as Russian and German imperial titles.

Despite Kenny’s assumptions, the Irish experience of spiritual empire was not as simple as Catholic triumphalism: as Leigh-Ann Coffey notes in this volume (chap. 2), the magazine of the Church of Ireland found it convenient to refer to the “imperial Irish” when discussing Protestant emigrants not only abroad but also marooned at home, seemingly

without feeling the need to explain to readers what this term implied.<sup>69</sup> Yet an exclusively Irish Catholic spiritual empire continued to be promoted well into the twentieth century, as with the 1952 publication of J.J. O’Kelly’s book *Ireland’s Spiritual Empire: Saint Patrick as a World Figure*. An Irish-language enthusiast and uncompromising nationalist, O’Kelly (1872–1957) edited the *Catholic Bulletin*, was deputy chairman of the first Dáil, and ultimately served as president of both the Gaelic League (1919–22) and Sinn Féin (1926–31). O’Kelly’s writings probably represent a high point in Irish nationalist identification with Catholic expansion overseas, especially in the United States and the British settler colonies. He explains his purpose in the Introduction, which states that he intended, echoing Dilke, to “follow [Ireland’s] sons and daughters abroad in humble appreciation of the unwavering self-sacrifice through which they have been bringing light into the world’s dark places almost since the days of the Apostles.”<sup>70</sup> He goes on to enumerate the Irish missionary achievement first in Europe and then in the New World, tracking their global progress in the West Indies, Canada, and the United States in the eighteenth century; Australasia and southern Africa in the nineteenth century; and Africa, India, and the Far East in the twentieth century. Chapter by chapter, century by century, continent by continent, O’Kelly records the expansion of dedications to St Patrick that marked the boundaries of Ireland’s spiritual domains.

Regrettably, the Irish in the British World and the United States were no more unified or uniform than were those who remained at home. Just as the Irish in Ireland were divided by politics, religion, class, or region, so too were the Irish abroad. To a degree, this is suggested by the very fragility of umbrella terms such as “Greater Ireland.” Nonetheless, the term serves to remind us that the transported allegiances of the Irish overseas underwent multiple transformations in the course of time and travel and that these metamorphoses were reflected in religious institutions and practices, just as they were for the other peoples of the British Isles. Recently, some historians have begun to refer to the idea of Greater Ireland as a way of capturing how this distinctiveness was maintained by the overseas Irish population. The Scottish geographer Adrian Mulligan, for example, adopts the term “Greater Ireland” as a way of referring to the Irish diaspora and the role it played in a transnational dialogue on Irish nationalism, which was as much a global as an insular conversation.<sup>71</sup> Paul Arthur’s review of studies by Donald Akenson on the Irish in South Africa and New Zealand is entitled “Our Greater Ireland beyond the Seas.”<sup>72</sup> Perhaps there is an irony here, given that Akenson’s

body of work has so energetically repudiated the nostalgic romanticism of diasporic narratives of Irish identity and the troubled roots of religious nationalism.<sup>73</sup>

In this book, then, we use Greater Ireland not simply as a synonym for the Irish diaspora: it is not merely the collection of places to which the Irish migrated. Rather, Greater Ireland was a shared cultural space in which a sense of home and shared identity jostled with the varying challenges of the host societies and the inherited divisions of the Irish themselves. That identification with Ireland endured longer with some groups than with others, in some places more than others, does not vitiate the observation that the son of Irish migrants in Boston often thought of himself as Irish in much the same way as did the granddaughter of Irish migrants in Ballarat. Greater Ireland was protean, but it was real to the people who would have recognized their residence in it. One of the purposes of gathering the chapters published here is to demonstrate this.

#### RELIGION AND GREATER IRELAND

This collection brings together scholars with an interest in the global experience of one particular ethnic collectivity within the Union Kingdom – that of the Irish and their religious connections.<sup>74</sup> This is a bold plan because of the people of Ireland's mythic reputation as the origin of, and source for, the relentless religious hostilities in the British Union. As Vincent Comerford notes, the Irish appear to have been one of the few European peoples, certainly one of the few modern nation-states, who have failed to generate an effective collectivity abroad, principally because of the persistence of religious hostilities that have acted to blur and restrict the creation of a pan-Irish diasporic identity. The chapters in this collection address, in different ways, this fundamental paradox of the identity of the Irish overseas. They attempt to assess the extent to which religion both facilitated and prevented the generation of new religious nationalisms in colonies of settlement.

The chapters that follow explore the idea of religion and Greater Ireland by following the Irish to as many of their multiple and varied destinations as possible. In chapter 1, Comerford sets the stage, not only drawing attention to the dangers and temptations of Irish emigration history and concepts such as diaspora but also stressing that, if it is necessary to consider Irish history in light of Greater Ireland, it is equally necessary to consider Greater Ireland in light of events in Ireland. He also usefully reminds us that, whatever their differences, Irish Christians

also enjoyed substantial commonalities. Staying in Ireland, Leigh-Ann Coffey, in chapter 2, asks how the Church of Ireland coped with the catastrophe of southern Irish independence and the sudden position of their church as a tiny, threatened, and unpopular minority. Many left, but Coffey tells the fascinating story of how some who stayed adopted the identity of “Imperial Irish” to replace the suddenly anachronistic “unionist.” Elements of the Church of Ireland began to see Ireland itself as mission territory; even St Patrick was co-opted as a proto-Protestant imperialist.

The rest of the volume follows the Irish overseas. This policy inevitably orphans the Irish who migrated only across the Irish Sea to England, Scotland, or Wales. England was always the most popular destination for the Irish, while the links between Scotland and Ireland were enduring and reciprocal. Just as Scots Presbyterians had an extraordinary impact on Ireland and, in time, Greater Ireland, so too were both Scotland and Scottish Catholicism profoundly changed by the mass emigration of Irish Catholics from the 1840s. Scotland was in some ways on the frontiers, or borderlands, of Greater Ireland, with flashpoints ranging from the sectarian rivalries of Scottish football to the provocative tour (at the height of the Irish War of Independence) of Daniel Mannix, who was both the Catholic archbishop of Melbourne and a noisy Irish nationalist. English cities such as Liverpool were shaped by migration and sectarianism. That this volume omits Britain’s Irish is in no sense a denial of their importance; rather, it is a testament to the complexity of the United Kingdom and, consequently, to the editorial decision that a proper treatment of the Irish in both Greater Ireland and Great Britain would be impossible within the confines of a single volume.

The sheer scale and breadth of Irish migration also made it impossible to provide studies of every aspect or site of their expansion around the globe. Such an approach would in any case duplicate some outstanding scholarship, particularly as it relates to Irish in the North Atlantic world. Nevertheless, there are obvious gaps, where treatment of the Irish religious experience in, say, the Caribbean or Argentina or Western Australia would have proved illuminating. The sheer size of Australia leaves scope for consideration of the Irish in, say, Queensland or the Northern Territory. The emphasis here on South Eastern Australia reflects the dominance of those colonies (and later states) in terms of economy and demography as well as the weight of Irish numbers. Even so, in chapter 12, Eric Richards draws heavily on the experience of South Australia. We also regret not being able to include a consideration of

Irish Jews, such as the Rabbi A.P. Bender, who, in the 1890s, helped found the Cape Town Irish Association with a Catholic bishop and a lapsed Church of Ireland priest.<sup>75</sup> The story of Irish Judaism in the Irish diaspora remains to be told.

Although women are by no means ignored, focused treatment is largely limited to Myrtle Hill's chapter 10, which looks at Presbyterian female missionaries. Another book could be filled with chapters on Irish women of all denominations, both clerical and lay. In particular, Catholicism's Greater Ireland would have been impossible without the thousands of Irish women who served as religious in its schools, orphanages, and hospitals. James Joyce's sister Margaret (the model for "Eveline" in *Dubliners*) was one such woman, training for imperial service at St Brigid's Missionary College in Callan, County Kilkenny, before becoming a Sister of Mercy in New Zealand, where she taught music until her death in Christchurch in 1964. Some two thousand other women hoping to pursue a similar path also attended St Brigid's from the 1880s to the 1950s.<sup>76</sup> Many thousands of others made their way directly from Ireland or were recruited from the emigrant Irish or their descendants. Their comparative absence from this book is in no way a denial of their importance in Greater Ireland.

As a glance at the table of contents will show, *Religion and Greater Ireland* is primarily concerned with Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in the British World. This is because it was largely in the settler empire that the Irish were forced to negotiate not only the hybrid identities consequent upon emigration but also their ambiguous status as one of the four constituent nations of the imperial power. Nevertheless, it is clearly impossible, and certainly undesirable, entirely to omit the United States of America. Thus, Mimi Cowan's chapter 8 offers a close study of the peculiar challenges faced by the immigrant Irish, mostly Catholic, in nineteenth-century Chicago as they were forced to traverse not only the ethnic complexity of an American metropolis but also the difficulties and opportunities of municipal democracy in the perpetually fraught area of schooling. So too in chapter 6, Rankin Sherling examines how late eighteenth-century Irish Presbyterians created a North Atlantic world that was permeable to both people and theological conflict, with personnel and religious passions passing in both directions.

In chapter 4, Mark McGowan considers the fate of Irish Catholics as a "double minority" in Canada, outnumbered by both Protestants and francophone Catholics. He traces how the Irish came to dominate the Catholic Church outside Quebec, not least by ensuring that new Catholic

migrants from outside the British World were educated in English and, thus, inculcated into a distinctively Irish Catholicism. In chapter 5, Carolyn Lambert provides a detailed discussion of the most Irish of all the settler colonies, the island of Newfoundland. A dominion in its own right, Newfoundland's Irish Catholics slowly gained the confidence to develop an Irish Newfoundland consciousness and patriotism that, like its Canadian cousin, would manifest itself in widespread support for the imperial war effort in 1914. In chapter 7, Mike McLaughlin's examination of the temperance movement in Canada demonstrates the enduring power of religion not only in the application of social controls but also in the creation of a distinctively Irish Catholic Canadian identity. He also draws attention not only to similar Irish Catholic efforts in Australia but also to Irish Protestant temperance campaigns such as that of the Reverend Rutherford Waddell in New Zealand, who, in chapter 15, is considered in detail by John Stenhouse. Further afield, in chapter 11 Colin Barr examines Irish Catholicism in the least popular and most Protestant of the settler colonies, the Cape of Good Hope. There, racial complexities and low Catholic numbers have done much to obscure Irish Catholics from historical view, despite the fact that the Roman Catholics of southern Africa were fully integrated into Catholicism's Greater Ireland.

Although the focus of *Religion and Greater Ireland* is the settler empire (and the United States), Asia is not neglected. In chapter 9, Barry Crosbie traces the slow and steady increase of Irish Catholic religious networks as the East India Company, and later the Raj, came to recognize that a reliance on Catholic soldiers implied the necessity of an institutional Catholic church. It did not take the authorities long to decide that they preferred Irish priests to any European alternative. In chapter 10, Myrtle Hill draws our attention to the activities of Irish women in the larger missionary activities of British Presbyterianism in mission fields from India to China. According to Hill, this helped create "an Ulster Presbyterian female imperial identity."

But *Religion and Greater Ireland* has an unapologetic southern bias. As Eric Richards points out in chapter 12, in which he discusses emigration in Australia, the works of Bruce Elliott, Don Akenson, and others provide detailed studies of Irish religious settlement in Canada that cannot be matched in the southern British World. The study of Irish religious networks in Australia and New Zealand is given considerable augmentation not only through Richards's fresh study of the impact

of Irish religion on emigration (and of emigration on Irish religion) in Australia, but also by Jeff Kildea's chapter 16, on the extraordinary eruption of sectarianism in Australian politics in 1920; Kevin Molloy's chapter 3, on the networks of religious publishing and book importation from Ireland to the Australian colonies; Dianne Hall's chapter 14, on several Irish Protestant "clusters" in rural New South Wales; and Michael Gladwin's chapter 13, on the crucial Irish contribution to antipodean Anglicanism. New Zealand is represented by John Stenhouse in chapter 15, which offers a case study of the extraordinary Ulster Presbyterian minister Rutherford Waddell, who had to negotiate the religious and social complexities of a Dunedin that also hosted a militant Irish Catholic bishop. As Stenhouse usefully reminds us, New Zealand's history is inseparable from religion in general and, at least in Otago, Irish religion in particular.

A full religious history of the Irish diaspora is beyond the aspirations of this book. But *Religion and Greater Ireland* does hope to shine a light on an important vehicle for the global transformation of the Irish people overseas – a light that will do full justice to the geographical reach, cultural diversity, and perversity of the Irish religious experience in Greater Ireland.

#### NOTES

- 1 "We'll put force against force, says the citizen. We have our greater Ireland beyond the sea. They were driven out of house and home in the black 47" (Joyce, *Ulysses*, 316).
- 2 For reflections on the meaning of "diaspora," see R.V. Comerford (chap. 1, this volume) and Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*. Akenson champions the thesis that the extent of the differences between different Irish religious groups has been exaggerated and that more united the Irish overseas than divided them. See Akenson, *Small Differences*.
- 3 Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration*, 6, fig.2.
- 4 Bartlett and Jeffery, *Military History of Ireland*, 12.
- 5 For one aspect of Hennessey's colonial career, see Howell and Lambert, "Sir John Pope Hennessey," 228–56.
- 6 Redmond Barry (1813–80). See Galbally, *Redmond Barry*.
- 7 Frederick York St. Leger (1833–1901). See Shaw, *Some Beginnings*.
- 8 Ridden, "Making Good Citizens"; Laidlaw, "Richard Bourke," 113–44.
- 9 See Baker, *Timothy Warren Anglin*.

- 10 J.L. McCracken, *New Light at the Cape of Good Hope*.
- 11 Akenson, *Small Differences*, 43, fig. 5.
- 12 Bronwen Walter, Breda Gray, Linda Almeida Dowling, Sarah Morgan, "A study of the existing sources of information and analysis about Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad," (n.p.: Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, 2002), 26–7, table 2.2, available at <http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/taskforcestudy.pdf> (viewed 23 May 2015).
- 13 Population and Migration Estimates, Central Statistics Office of Ireland, statistical release, 29 August 2013.
- 14 Cory Miller, "How Many Irish People Live Abroad: A Globalirish.Ie Fact Sheet," available at <http://www.globalirish.ie/issues/how-many-irish-people-live-abroad-an-ean-factsheet/> (viewed 23 May 2015). The population of the island of Ireland in 2012 was 6.4 million (4.6 million in the Republic of Ireland and 1.8 million in Northern Ireland).
- 15 For a recent review of nineteenth-century origins of Irish religious nationalism, see Coakley, "Religious Roots."
- 16 For illuminating approaches to the issue of religion and nationalism, see Van der Veer, "Moral State," 15–43; Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*; Van der Veer and Lehmann, *Nation and Religion*.
- 17 For the suggestion that religion is most likely to be intensified when imbricated or intertwined with nationalism, citing the case of Protestants in Northern Ireland, see Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism." See also, Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*.
- 18 For cited figures and dates of religions in Ireland, see Dudley Edwards, *Atlas of Irish History*, 104–22 (and 123–49 for the Irish abroad).
- 19 For an account of the dismantling of the English confessional state that gives extensive consideration to its religious character, see Clark, *English Society*, 501–64.
- 20 For the perspective of the Church of England on these events, see Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, esp. chaps. 4–5.
- 21 See Brown, "Judgments of Solomon," 320.
- 22 Mackenzie, "Irish, Scottish, Welsh."
- 23 Lester, *Imperial Networks*.
- 24 Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*.
- 25 Cook, *Imperial Affinities*; Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*. Barst, "Pushing the Envelope"; Belchem, "Priests, Publicans and the Irish Poor."
- 26 Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*; Deacon, Russell, and Woollacott, *Transnational Lives*; Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain Letters*; Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*; Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives*; Maxwell-Stewart and Hood, *Pack of Thieves*; Townsend, "Reconstructed Lives."

- 27 Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*.
- 28 Stuart Ward, "Review of Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914 by Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson," *Reviews in History*, available at <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1000>, Review no. 1000 (2010) (viewed 24 May 2015).
- 29 Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*; Dubow, *Commonwealth of Knowledge*; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*; Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*.
- 30 For a definitive history, see Freeman, *Development of Social Network Analysis*. Freeman dates the beginning of social network analysis to the 1930s.
- 31 Drayton, "Knowledge and Empire"; Duguid, "Networks and Knowledge."
- 32 Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis."
- 33 For examples, see citations in Borgatti et al., "Network Analysis."
- 34 Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives*.
- 35 Susanne Lachenicht, "Religious Networks," Oxford Bibliographies. Last modified: 28 January 2013, DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199730414-0151. Available at <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>.
- 36 Gilley, "Roman Catholic Church," 206.
- 37 Hempton, *Methodism*; Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*; Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora*; Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*; Hardwick, "Anglican Church Expansion"; Hardwick, *Anglican British World*.
- 38 Hall, *Civilizing Subjects*.
- 39 O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*.
- 40 Emmons, *Butte Irish*; Van Onselen, *Masked Raiders*.
- 41 Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*; McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand*; Reid, *Farewell my Children*; Kehoe, "Catholic Identity in the Diaspora"; Kehoe, "Unionism, Nationalism."
- 42 Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*.
- 43 Howe, *Ireland and Empire*, 5.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 45 Murphy, *Irish Emigrant Education*.
- 46 Cunningham, *Roman Connection*; Dowd, *Rome in Australia*.
- 47 One conspicuous exception is Gilley's "Roman Catholic Church."
- 48 Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*; Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism*; Scobie and Rawlyk, *Contribution of Presbyterianism*.
- 49 The influence on Melbourne of self-consciously Irish Anglicans trained in Dublin is quite astonishing, and little remarked upon. A glimpse can be caught in Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties*.

- 50 Taggart, *Irish in World Methodism*.
- 51 Kehoe and Vance, “Hiberno-British World.”
- 52 *Ibid.*, 151.
- 53 Dilke, *Greater Britain*; Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*.
- 54 Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain*; Bell, “Unity and Difference.”
- 55 Belief in the Irish claim for the discovery of North America, usually linked to the voyages of St Brendan, was common coin in Irish American writing of the post-famine generation. See, for example, Quigley, *Irish Race in California*. For discussion, see Fanning, *Irish Voice in America*, 141.
- 56 Pálsson and Edwards, *Book of Settlements*, 61.
- 57 Quigley, *Irish Race in California*, 91–2.
- 58 For an extensive collection of references, see Van Mierlo, “Greater Ireland beyond the Sea”. The Google Books Ngram viewer shows that “Greater Ireland” first appears in its corpus of printed words in the late 1840s, peaked in popularity in the early 1890s, and faded away, along with “Greater Britain,” thereafter.
- 59 *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 26 April 1884.
- 60 *Bendigo Advertiser*, 23 November 1887.
- 61 O’Rell, *John Bull & Co*, 53. This was widely reported in the Australian press. See, for example, *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier, South Australia), 9 January 1895.
- 62 “Greater Ireland,” *Harvard Crimson*, 14 December 1920, available at <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1920/12/14/greater-ireland-pirish-propagandists-and-interfering/> (viewed 23 May 2015).
- 63 Henry C.H. Hill, “One Ireland, One Vote,” 22 September 2012, available at <http://www.openunionism.com/> (viewed 23 May 2015).
- 64 Hackett, “Greater Ireland.”
- 65 Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, 608. See Eavan Boland’s poem, “The Emigrant Irish”: “Like oil lamps, we put them out the back – of our houses, of our minds.” Boland, *Collected Poems*, 129
- 66 The 1935 act gave citizenship to any who had been born in Ireland; the 1956 act to any who could claim descent from at least one Irish grandparent. For discussion, see Shanahan, “Scripted Debates,” 90.
- 67 “The Gathering Ireland 2013,” <http://www.thegatheringireland.com/About/What-it-means-to-be-Irish.aspx#.UovRl6VRw5Q> (viewed 19 November 2013).
- 68 Kenny, “America,” 423.
- 69 Coffey, chap 2, this volume.
- 70 O’Kelly, *Ireland’s Spiritual Empire*, 5.
- 71 Mulligan, “Forgotten ‘Greater Ireland.’”

- 72 Arthur, "Our Greater Ireland."
- 73 Akenson, *God's Peoples*; Akenson, *Church of Ireland*; Akenson, *Small Differences*; Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*.
- 74 Kehoe and Vance, "Hiberno-British World," 149–51.
- 75 Shaw, *Some Beginnings*, 7.
- 76 For St Brigid's Missionary College, see Barr and Luminiello, "Leader of the Virgin Choir of Erin."



PART ONE

Irish Global Networks



## I

# Deference, Accommodation, and Conflict in Irish Confessional Relations<sup>1</sup>

R.V. COMERFORD

When, in 1993, D.H. Akenson devoted a book to exploring the concept of the Irish diaspora, one of his crucial points was that emigration from Ireland should be considered on a global basis rather than in terms of the Irish in just one or two host countries.<sup>2</sup> His use of the metaphor of the Fabergé egg is a telling rhetorical device, not because Irish emigration, even in the round, has a specifically strong aesthetic appeal, but because the invocation of a strikingly integral artefact enabled Akenson to drive home the point about the integral character of his subject. The present volume exemplifies the value of that insight and illustrates the extent to which it has been vindicated. Progress in scholarship will continue to be made largely on the basis of empirical research on individual countries, regions, or urban areas, as most of the chapters in this volume indicate, but the scholarly terms of reference have been globalized, and it will no longer be possible to indulge in generalizations not informed by the wider perspective.

Less easy to remedy than the former want of a global perspective on destinations may be the lack of an inclusive perspective on the people leaving Ireland. For James Joyce's *Citizen*, invoked by Hilary Carey and Colin Barr in this book's Introduction,<sup>3</sup> as for so many of his real-life counterparts, Greater Ireland constitutes an ethnicity, Catholic and nationalist. By contrast, the core assumption of *Religion and Greater Ireland* is that Greater Ireland is inhabited by those of all denominations and political allegiances who are, or have been, of Ireland. This all-embracing approach, like the awareness of global reach, has been advanced particularly forcefully by Akenson and now has a commanding hold at the academic level.<sup>4</sup>