The Rose and Irish Identity

The Rose and Irish Identity:

Seeding, Blooming, Piercing, and Withering

Edited by

NK Harrington

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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This book first published 2021

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-6990-X
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-6990-4

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PREFACE

It seems like this work started in another world. At some point in that old world, Aaron Thornburg of Eastern Oregon University and Douglas Byrd of Portland Community College agreed to host an American Conference for Irish Studies event in Portland, Oregon. Having been a long time member of ACIS, I got a call one day asking if I wanted to participate. I could not have asked to work with better people than I did. Aaron and Doug were always gentlemen and did a great job organizing the event. I only hope the same can be said about me.

ACIS was, and is, the community that I was hoping to find when I got into academia. I like to think that our little Portland conference went as well as all the other ACIS events in which I had participated. We had speakers from as far away as Ireland, as close as Portland, and with subjects that touched upon a wide variety of topics.

Donna Potts, our treasurer, was instrumental in getting anything done. Agreeing to work with numbers while being a poet inspires me. Sarah Townsend, our president, is the glue that makes ACIS a community. Lee Milligan made some of the best looking propaganda that I've ever seen for an academic event. I was delighted to see Charlotte Headrick, Matt Horton, Matt Spangler, Brian McCabe, Nolan Goetzinger, Holly Smith, James Walsh (both of them), Miles Dungan, John Borgonovo, and a dozen other names that make the event worth it each year.

When it came to making this a book, as I mentioned, it started in another world with all these people around me. Things were not perfect in this other world, but the assumptions that we all used basic facts seemed to be a forgone conclusion. Questions about the value of literature, history, poetry, and archaeology have come into a sharper focus as these subjects have become attacked politically and COVID started to close the doors to universities. These issues made it difficult for everyone involved with this work. Hopefully, this book will represent a small way to show appreciation not just to the contributors and those that could not contribute but for any of those interested in Irish culture and academics in general.

INTRODUCTION

The Portland International Rose Test Garden was an attempt to save European hybrid roses from extinction during World War I. Though Portland was already known as the City of Roses, this garden's existence solidified the nickname. More than a century later, Portland might be better known by one of its other nicknames, Little Beirut. This nickname was supposedly given to the city when President George HW Bush described Portland's notable protesters, part of a long tradition of dissent that has continued for months after the police killing of George Floyd.

Ireland also has a traditional association with the rose. Probably the most famous example of this is *The Rose Tree* by William Butler Yeats, in which he imagines a conversation between James Connolly and Pádraig Pearse before the Easter Rising. However, the association goes back far earlier, at least to the sixteenth century, when revolutionaries sometimes used the black rose as a metaphor for Irish independence.

Just as Portland attempted to save the rose from European conflict, Ireland might serve as a basis to save Portland. Portland is currently grappling with its past: removing Native Americans, excluding African Americans from the state, demanding Chinese exclusion laws, participating in the internment of Japanese, and other legacies that have become more apparent in the current zeitgeist. Ireland is no stranger to reconciling different people into its history and narrative. Ireland's ancient legends place the first Irish as the fifth of five waves of invaders to the island. Long after the time of legend, the Vikings married into the Irish, exchanged customs, and became one with the Irish people. The Normans followed and were later famously said to have become "more Irish than the Irish." British settlers speaking another language with new traditions followed. Currently, the "New Irish," people from outside Europe, have found homes on the island. Not all of these settlements have been seamless transitions, and there are notable issues in the North that are still being dealt with. Nonetheless, Ireland has, in the main, been able to cultivate a broad definition of what it means to be Irish. In 2019 when the Irish, represented by the American Conference of Irish Studies-West, descended on Portland, it seemed like a good time to remember the rose that tied us together. A year later, it seems like a good time to reflect on how the rose symbolizes both Portland and Ireland and how we can learn from each other.

The rose serves as a basis for this book. The first chapter serves to remind us that just as the rose has been seeded and nurtured in Portland, the seeds planted by Ireland in the United States affect us today. The patriotic parades and celebrations of the mostly Catholic Irish in Butte are a well-known example of this transplantation that Margaret Walsh explores. Just as important but often not as celebrated, Angeline Kearns Blain and Michael Blain explore the Anglo-Irish and their participation in the imperial project that seeded Europeans into the West.

The rose is best known for its mature look, with an elaborate flower and prickly thorns. The second chapter looks at what the seeds planted by the Irish had produced. NK Harrington comments literally on how a blooming plant can affect a population. John Borgonovo, who has written extensively about the Irish Revolution, comments on the full bloom of the revolution in Cork. Angelica Rose DeYott looks at the more prickly legacy of sexism and judicial prejudice in Ireland, a legacy we are dealing with today.

Finally, the rose withers and becomes a symbol. Here Maria Szasz commemorates the late Lyra McKee, a journalist in Ireland, who became a symbol for current struggles for equity. James Walsh examines memorializing a forgotten Irish community in Colorado. Brian McCabe looks at the legacy of Belfast's Padraic Fiacc, a poet capable of beauty and the ability to shock. Rob Kearny contributed a piece about America running on rags, mummies, and Seamus Heaney. It may not be the most likely metaphor for a withering rose, but it all works.

John Borgonovo said that "Irish studies is a part of a larger theme of immigrant culture. In an age of xenophobia, hatred, and fear, the Irish experience can provide a touchstone for other cultures struggling to assimilate into a new society." I do not pretend that this collection of works alone can do this, but hopefully, it will be a seed.

CHAPTER ONE

SEEDING

"Monstrous Parades" and "Patriotic Celebrations": Dynamic Cultural Identities of the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Butte Irish

Margaret Walsh

Introduction

In his seminal book *The Butte Irish*, David Emmons describes Butte's extraordinary Saint Patrick's Day parade of 1915. Emmons depicts this particular parade, the first St. Patrick's Day since the Great War began, as weaving through the German and Austrian neighborhoods of Butte. The large contingent of Irish participants marched alongside a smaller cohort of German immigrants: "In this annual festival of an Irish saint…German, Irish, and American flags were carried, prompting one Butte newspaper to report…'for the first time in the history of the world, perhaps, 'the flags of three nations were flown on St. Patrick's Day." Emmons points out that the following year, 1916, was the first time in over a decade that Butte's St. Patrick's Day festivities were canceled from the adverse reactions to 1915's overt expression of the Irish-German alliance.[1]

From the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, parades and public celebrations, especially St. Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July, reveal the Irish community's interests in Butte. Just as public reactions led the Butte Irish to redefine their relationship with their German neighbors for 1915's parade and then again after it, both St. Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July show a fluid ethnic identity within the Irish community, trending towards a blended Irish American identity as opposed to solely an Irish or American identity.

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[1] David M. Emmons. *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925.* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 348.

Many scholars have written about the Irish in Butte and Irish American communities in general. This paper attempts to build upon their work by arguing that the Butte Irish used these celebrations to continuously revise their ethnic identity over time. This community trended towards a hybrid Irish-American (as opposed to solely an Irish or American) identity.

Catherine Dowling's piece on Irish nationalism in Butte is vital for questions about cultural identity in public spaces. Examining schools and parades, Dowling recognizes the presence of both Irish and American identities but seems to favor the idea that some Butte families, especially women, "abandoned the traditions and memories of their homeland and more readily concentrated on becoming Americans."[2] Looking carefully at St. Patrick's Day and Fourth of July complicates Dowling's narrative as they reveal a more dynamic process of identity formation involving retention and blending, rather than a linear story of abandoning Irish traditions over American ones.

Social Context for the Establishment of the Butte Irish Community

In the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, the mining industry prompted droves of itinerant mine workers from various backgrounds—including Irish—to move to Butte. As Butte's mining industry proved profitable, these miners made their homes in Butte more permanent. Dowling notes that the fact that families from Ireland would reunite and settle together strengthened the Butte community.[3] By 1900, not only were they the largest ethnic community in Butte, but their proportion of Butte's population was higher than the Irish population in any other city in the United States. For this reason, Butte offers a good case study for examining Irish immigrant identities and cultural allegiances in the United States.

Irish social organizations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, allowed the Butte Irish community to maintain their Irish identity in a new country. While branches of these organizations existed in cities all over America, Butte's Irish social organizations seemed particularly active and enthusiastic.[4] Through their shared heritage, these groups created a cohesive Irish community in Butte. Some of these organizations functioned as social

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[2] Catherine Dowling. "Irish-American Nationalism in Butte, 1900-1916." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 39, no. 2 (1989): 50-63, 59.
[3] Ibid., 55.
[4] David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 13, 6.

clubs, while others more actively focused on Irish political issues.[5] Hosting lectures and fundraisers in support of Irish nationalism, the interest of Butte's Irish in Irish politics gave them coherence and urgency. One way Irish Americans maintained close relationships with their families who remained in Ireland was through consistent communication and political advocacy.[6]

Various Irish community organizations held lectures in which guest speakers would discuss relevant political news from Ireland. In 1921, the Ladies Auxiliary Ancient Order of Hibernians extended an invitation to a lecture of a woman who "is a very close friend of the leaders of the Republic of Ireland,"[7] proving the value that the Butte Irish placed on connections to Ireland and the current events there. A later lecture invitation from the Ancient Order of Hibernians boasted a speaker named Reverend MM English who spoke," on his recent experiences in Ireland and how to protect against the British atrocities in that country." The invitation was signed "Yours for the Irish Republic."[8] These invitations and lectures illustrate the level of involvement that the Butte Irish maintained in Ireland's politics.

The Irish in Butte also adopted an American identity. The following excerpt from a letter asking for money in support of the newly independent Irish nation encapsulates this duality: "As true Americans we owe it to Ireland to come to her aid in this crucial hour…No true American can fail to respond to the appeal made by President De Valera on behalf of the Irish people, wherein he so eloquently says: 'Americans of Irish blood you will not refuse to renew your filial ties…She is your Motherland as well as ours.'"[9] Cultural identity was likely a point of confusion in the Butte Irish community. This letter's use of "true American" inspires a sense of belonging as authentic Americans, which was reassuring to the Butte Irish. This letter, sent to an immigrant community that had escaped Ireland's political turmoil, also conveys a message of obligation. The Irish American hybrid

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[5] Catherine Dowling. "Irish-American Nationalism in Butte," 55.
[6] Henry Childs Merwin. "The Irish in American Life." *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 77, 1896, 289-301.
[7] Lecture Invitation from L.A.A.O.H to R.E.L.A, Apr. 3, 1921, Reel 1, Butte Irish Collection, Mss 112, Archives and Special Collections, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, The University of Montana-Missoula, 1983.
[8] Lecture Invitation from A.O.H to R.E.L.A, Sep. 23, 1920, Reel 1, Butte Irish Collection, Mss 112, Archives and Special Collections, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, The University of Montana-Missoula, 1983.
[9] Financial Appeal to Butte Irish, Nov. 15 1919, Reel 1, Butte Irish Collection, Mss 112, Archives and Special Collections, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, The University of Montana-Missoula, 1983.

identity was felt within the Butte Irish community and used by outsiders, such as Eamon De Valera, as an emotional appeal for the Irish cause.

Eamon De Valera, the newly independent Republic of Ireland's president, not only wrote to Butte but also visited the city in late July of 1919. The massive crowds greeting him illustrate the cultural hybridity experienced within the Butte Irish community and seen by outsiders. In an *Anaconda Standard* article written directly by De Valera, he compared the injustices of British imperialism to Germany's wrongs in the Great War. He asked for "justice that will look upon Britain as scrutinizingly as it did on Germany," reflecting both the anger in Ireland against Britain and the change in opinion toward Germany following the Great War.[10] The ability to bring justice to Ireland, De Valera believed, was in the hands of the American people. American values, like freedom and independence, were a potential weapon against the imperialistic British. This is evidenced by De Valera's appeals for support, in which he dubbed Americans as "natural leaders in the cause of human liberty." He proclaimed that "The cause which American public opinion aligns itself behind today as being just, the whole world will accept and support tomorrow."[11] Articles such as these acknowledge the duality of Butte Irish identity.

De Valera's appeals show an outsider's perception that Irish Americans were in a unique position of influence. For Irish Americans themselves, such as the Butte Irish community, there were clear parallels between American and Irish independence. One article in the *Standard* praises De Valera as a leader for Irish freedom by declaring, "The *Standard* fails to see any difference between George Washington and Eamon De Valera."[12] George Washington, a war-time leader against Britain and the United States' first president, was synonymous with American values. Bestowing this same heroic, near-legendary status on De Valera, in another fight against Britain, reflects their desire to connect the revolutionary destinies of both nations and is representative of the hybridized identity of the Butte Irish community.

Saint Patrick's Day in Butte

Within Ireland, Saint Patrick's Day was a religious and agricultural celebration marking the midpoint of springtime. It was also when many

[10] "On All Things For Which Britain Arraigned Germany Irish People Arraign Britain, Says De Valera." *Anaconda Standard,* Jul. 26, 1919.
[11] "Irish Question is World Issue De Valera Says." *Anaconda Standard*, Jul. 26, 1919.
[12] "De Valera." *Anaconda Standard*, Jul. 26, 1919.

farmers planted their potato crops.[13] Irish Americans adopted St. Patrick's Day as a means of celebrating their ethnic heritage and an opportunity to display symbols of Irishness. In Butte, the holiday grew more elaborate each year, starting in the late nineteenth century. At the height of its magnificence, Butte's St. Patrick's Day involved numerous public events over the course of multiple days. Irish social organizations in Butte planned these exciting St. Patrick's Day events. One 1919 letter asked for all Irish societies in Butte to make their "monstrous parade" a success.[14] Events hosted by Irish born or first-generation Irish Americans, the authentically Irish, sold out of tickets quickly.[15] Not only were the St. Patrick's Day parades of Butte exuberant and well attended, but they also contained intriguing and conflicting expressions of identity.

Acts and symbols of American patriotism such as songs and flags appeared prominently alongside icons of Irish identity in many of Butte's St. Patrick's Day celebrations. St. Patrick's Day in Butte was also, therefore, an opportunity to pledge allegiance to America. As Dowling observes, "Elaborate displays of Irishness, both in rhetoric and action, were inseparable from conspicuous demonstrations of their loyalty to the United States."[16] Contrary to Dowling's argument, this did not mean that American patriotism replaced the fervor of Irish pride. Irish and American identities coexisted, blending into a hybrid identity, and trending more towards one identity or the other depending on the political or social circumstances of the time.

One example of this hybridity is in the music of St. Patrick's Day. Performers from Irish societies played Irish tunes alongside American songs. Dowling notes this pattern, finding that "No St. Patrick's Day celebration was complete without a rendering of 'You're a Grand Old Flag ' and the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'"[17] A notable example of this phenomenon occurred in 1886 when St. Patrick's Day mass music featured both "Killarney" and "Yankee Doodle."[18] As part of a Catholic mass, this American patriotism was private, suggesting a truly independent choice to play American songs on an Irish holiday, rather than an obligatory display.

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[13] Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland*, (Cork: The Mercia Press, 1972), 65-66.
[14] Call for a Monstrous Parade, 20 January, 1919, Reel 1, Butte Irish Collection, Mss 112, Archives and Special Collections, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, The University of Montana-Missoula, 1983.
[15] "Irish Women Will Sponsor Banquet." *Montana Standard*, Mar. 11, 1934.
[16] Catherine Dowling. "Irish-American Nationalism in Butte," 58.
[17] Ibid., 58.
[18] "Ireland's Patron Saint: How St. Patrick's Day Was Celebrated in Butte." *Butte Daily Miner*. Mar. 18, 1886.

Through the orations on St. Patrick's Day, the Butte Irish community furthered the Irish cause from their position in a free country. The orations before Irish independence reflect a prominent focus on Irish political causes. The community used the holiday to inspire non-Irish support. The *Butte Daily Miner* described St. Patrick's Day 1886, "as a day which helped their common cause and awakened new interest in Irish affairs in the breasts of those fellow citizens to whom the Emerald Isle is not endeared by ties of birth or ancestry."[19] One speech from a local priest, Father Tremblay, asked for prayers for "the fate of the Irish church."[20] The events on St. Patrick's Day reflected an appreciation for American ideals while simultaneously hoping for Ireland's escape from political oppression, cultural suppression, and religious persecution.

The decorations displayed at the various St. Patrick's Day events also contained both American and Irish symbols. In 1886, the *Daily Miner* described a banquet hall decorated with "the green flags of Erin blending harmoniously with the red, white and blue banners and streamers of Uncle Sam."[21] The description of Ireland's (Erin's) union with America, or Uncle Sam, couples these nations. This symbolic language and the decorations in the banquet hall are representative of the community's hybrid identity as children of Erin and Uncle Sam.

While St. Patrick's Day was a holiday celebrating national pride, the public celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in Butte repeatedly show the presence of an American identity. In fact, in an effort to boost morale during World War II, the city of Butte decided to forgo their 1942 St. Patrick's Day festivities and instead solely focus their celebration on America. The *Standard* reported that the Irish community kept Ireland in their minds but devoted "their first and main thoughts to winning the war, fighting for a country that gave them freedom."[22] This active choice reveals a fluid identity, where they hold their Irish ancestry close but allow their American citizenship to dominate during a time of global unrest.

The prominence of American identity on St. Patrick's Day can be attributed not only to embracing American ideals or culture but also to aspirations that the Butte Irish community had for the Republic of Ireland. Henry Childs Merwin wrote that "the Irish… have always exhibited a certain shame at being Irish instead of American."[23] The enthusiasm

[19] "Ireland's Patron Saint: How St. Patrick's Day Was Celebrated in Butte." *Butte Daily Miner*.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] "Sullivans Not to Celebrate Today." *Montana Standard.* Mar. 17, 1942.
[23] Henry Childs Merwin. "The Irish in American Life," 290.

displayed on St. Patrick's Day in Butte refutes his point. In 1938, the *Standard* nostalgically described the thoughts of the Butte Irish turning "to the beautiful isle over which there now floats a flag of freedom,"[24] which represents the hope felt in Butte on St. Patrick's Day and an appreciation for freedom, which evokes America with gratitude as well.

Fourth of July in Butte

The Fourth of July is a time to remember the values that Americans fought for in the Revolutionary War. Even before Montana received statehood status in 1889, the Territory celebrated July 4th heartily. The *Daily Miner* described Butte's 1883 celebrations as "the most extensive and beautiful ever witnessed in the Territory." [25] An advertisement from the same year described a day filled with music, speeches, and dancing. The schedule included a sunrise salute with thirty-eight guns and a reading of the Declaration of Independence.[26] The fireworks display was titled "Goddess of Liberty."[27]

More actively than St. Patrick's Day, the Fourth of July shows the constant renegotiation of identity among the Butte Irish community to match the political climate. One form that July 4th celebrations in Butte often took was as both an opportunity to fundraise for Irish republicanism and to review American history as an inspiration for Irish independence from the British. One 1886 *Daily Miner* article declared that "the enthusiasm engendered by the Fourth of July should help along the Irish cause. The desire for freedom is contagious."[28] The use of the Fourth of July as a fundraising opportunity for the cause of Irish freedom illustrates the active expression of dual identity within the Butte Irish community.

A large piece on July 4th from the *Daily Miner* in 1885 reflects on England's wrongdoings using direct quotes from a speech given on that day. One of the main points of this article was the continued importance of freedom of religion and civil liberties in America. The piece described America as a place of refuge from tyranny, but also as a place of power, exerting "influence…over the destiny of other nations."[29] The idea that

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[24] "St. Patrick's Day." *Montana Standard*, Mar. 17, 1938.
[25] "Local News." *Butte Daily Miner*, Jun. 26, 1883.
[26] "July Fourth: How the Nation's Day Was Celebrated." *Butte Daily Miner*, Jul. 7, 1885.
[27] "Local News." *Butte Daily Miner*.
[28] "Meeting of the Territorial Democratic Committee." *Butte Daily Miner,* Jul. 7, 1886.
[29] "July Fourth: How the Nation's Day Was Celebrated." *Butte Daily Miner*.

America has the power to impact the future of other nations conveyed a sense of hope to the Butte Irish community as they thought of their oppressed homeland. Newspaper articles such as this one that demonized tyranny on the Fourth of July suggest that the Irish community in Butte embraced the holiday so fervently in part because it was an opportunity to ascribe American values onto the Irish cause.

As Irish social organizations performed in parades and hosted picnics and dances on the Fourth of July, the community claimed the hybrid identity as Irish American. As Dowling points out, "Patriotic displays became a common feature of public life in the Irish community. The RELA Fife and Drum Corps, the AOH Fife and Bugle Corps, and the Meagher Guards took part prominently in the Fourth of July parades."[30] The Irish bands became a valuable part of the Fourth of July celebrations, with bands such as the Emmet Guard Band performing twice in the programming for the year 1886.[31] In the same program were picnics, hosted by many different Irish social organizations. The Irish social organizations 'participation in Fourth of July festivities shows a seamless blending of Irish and American communities and traditions.

Conclusion

The Butte Irish community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was not purely Irish, nor was it completely American. The community shifted its allegiances to adopt a more overtly American or Irish identity depending on the cultural and political context. Before Irish independence, the Butte Irish community used both St. Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July to raise money for the Irish republican cause, to support America in times of war, and also to speak publicly about Irish and American issues. Dowling argues that Irish culture in Butte was damaged because families showed preference to American traditions and schools instructed children how to be more American. However the evidence suggests that it was possible for the Butte Irish to hold two different cultural identities simultaneously.

Today's Butte Irish community maintains this pattern. In 2019, St. Patrick's Day mass featured both American and Irish flags. The homily, from an Irish-born priest, spoke of preserving Irish language and religion, using American resources and universities. In the parade through nearby

[30] Catherine Dowling. "Irish-American Nationalism in Butte," 58.
[31] "To-day's Celebration: A Revised Programme of the Day's Festivities in Butte." *Butte Daily Miner,* Jul. 5, 1886.

Anaconda, the Ancient Order of Hibernian's Pipe and Drum band performed "America, The Beautiful" as they marched past Irish Copper King Marcus Daly's home. Although most Butte Irish are now many generations removed from their Irish heritage, Irish and American identities are still equally important and compatible to the community.

THE ANGLO-IRISH IMPERIAL TRADITION AND BANDON, OREGON

ANGELINE KEARNS BLAIN
AND MICHAEL BLAIN

Introduction

This essay argues that Anglo-Irish immigrants played a direct role in the imperial project to settle the American West (1700-1800s), drawing upon their extensive involvement in colonizing Ireland (1600-1700s). We think these experiences constitute a powerful cultural tradition of imperialism that continues to inspire and shape contemporary US imperialism and its endless wars. Our recent book, *Progressive Violence: Theorizing the War on Terror*, has elaborated some of these ideas in more detail.[1] In this book, we review the extant historical and sociological research on the Anglo colonization of Ireland and America and present the results of a genealogy of the imperial practices involved. We contend that these practices and discourses constitute an imperial tradition that continues to inspire and shape contemporary US relations with the rest of the world. The final section of this presents a case study of George "Lord" Bennett (1830-1900), who migrated from Bandon, Ireland to southwest Oregon in the late nineteenth century and helped found Bandon, Oregon. We think Bennett is a paradigmatic case of an Anglo-Irish settler-colonial and imperial agent who has been neglected by researchers in the field of Irish-American Studies.[2] We conclude that Irish Studies needs to approach the Irish

[1] Michael Blain and Angeline Kearns Blain, *Progressive Violence: Theorizing the War on Terror*, Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought (New York: Routledge, 2018).

[2] What makes Bennett a special case is he was also a published author of a history of Bandon, Ireland and Bandon Oregon. The 1862 and 1869 editions of the Bandon, Ireland history are available at Google Books. It has been reissued recently and

American experience from a perspective of imperialism, an analytic framework that differentiates imperialists like Bennett and the Gaelic Irish forced to immigrate by circumstances beyond their control.

As observed by Kennedy in a review of the new *Cambridge History of Ireland, VIII, 1730-1880*, Ireland's relationship to the British Empire is an exciting new area of research, particularly the role of "the Irish as agents of Empire." Many Catholic Irishman "believed in the British Empire." Many Irish immigrants saw themselves as "Irish Europeans, cosmopolitans and citizens of the world" contributing through imperial service in some way "to human progress and civilization." Kennedy refers to on-going research on this topic that "considers both the impact of imperial culture and forms of governance on Ireland as well as the role of the Irish as agents of Empire."[3] One influential prince of the church, Cardinal Paul Cullen (Dublin from 1852), spread the idea of the "Roman Catholic" church as a "spiritual empire."

Research on "settler colonialism" as active agents of Empire is an established paradigm in the historical-sociology of imperialism. Eighteenth century Irish emigration represented the largest transfer of non-African peoples to North America.[4] Ulster Presbyterians, in particular, played an important role in this transfer; upon arrival, they sought to differentiate themselves from later nineteenth century largely Catholic immigrations by identifying as "Scots-Irish."

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described by one reviewer, as a testament to "Protestant Triumphalism;" see George Bennett, *The History of Bandon* (Cork, Ireland: Henry and Coghlan, Printers and Publishers, 1862); George Bennett, *The History of Bandon and the Other Principal Towns in the West Riding of Cork, Enlarged Edition* (Cork, Ireland: Henry and Coghlan, Printers and Publishers, 1869). Available on request from the authors, Angeline Kearns Blain and Michael Blain, "The Second Implantation of Munster: George "Lord" Bennett of Bandon, Ireland, and the "White" Settlement of Bandon, Oregon," in *Moving Forward into the Past: Three Means of Reading History* American Conference of Irish Studies, West, September 27 San Francisco, California, 2013.

[3] Catriona Kennedy, "The Cambridge Histories: Review of The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume III, 1730-1880," *Irish Literary Supplement* 39, no. 1 (Fall 2019): 11-12.

[4] Kennedy, 2019; also Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples 'History of the United States* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2014).

Settler Colonialism

Research on settler colonialism is an emerging paradigm in the historical-sociology of imperialism and its social effects.[5] A discussion of this analytical construct can set the stage for the case study of George "Lord" Bennett (1830-1900) and the settlement and founding of Bandon, Oregon. Bennett will be presented below as an ideal-type Anglo-Irish settler-colonial. Elkins and Petersen[6] have formulated an ideal-type construct of "settler-colonialism" that has two main features:

1) "[A] structure of governance marked by negotiation and struggle involving the metropole, local government, the settler population:" Examples would be the relations London or Dublin have with local governments in Ulster, Cork, and Bandon, Ireland. Or the US federal or Oregon state governments and new territories such as southwest Oregon, Coos Bay, or Bandon, Oregon. The degree of involvement of settlers in the governance of colonies could be high or low. Settler populations refer to the Scots-Irish or Anglo-Irish implanted in Ulster or Munster Ireland, or the Northwest American territory. As we shall see in the case of George "Lord" Bennett that follows, his ancestors were implanted in the West of Ireland as part of the Anglo-Protestant implantation of Munster and Cork, Ireland. They played a direct role in developing the "Walled Town of Bandon, Ireland."

2) "[I]ndigenous community, and institution of settler privilege:" The settlers excluded the indigenous Irish people in Ireland by means of walls and violent practices. They were treated as "savages," "Papists," and "Jacobins." Following the French Revolution and the emergence of an Irish Republic movement, they were also treated as "terrorists." The institutions of settler privilege included practices of segregation and laws that legitimated the sequestration, internment, and extermination of the surrounding indigenous population.

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[5] See Julian Go. *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press. Kindle Edition, 2011). Lorenzo Veracini, "'Settler Colonialism': Career of a Concept," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 2 (June 2013): 313-33; also Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey. "Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 1, 2002: 109-27.

[6] Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, "Introduction, Settler Colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses," in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, ed. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1-20, 4.

Bennett's background and knowledge as a colonialist from Bandon, Ireland, would influence his emergence as a leader in the founding of Bandon, Oregon. He put his legal and administrative experience to use in founding the new Bandon town and its negotiations with the state of Oregon and US government agencies and officials in the area.

Anglo-Irish Imperialism

The Roman-Latin imperial tradition reflects the etymology of Anglo imperialism's language and its latter-day deployments in the colonization of Ireland and North America (1500).[7] Imperialism is a practical activity that acquired its own distinctive vocabulary. There was a need to need to name its principal social institutions, social types involved:

- Roman, Latin *imperium* and *colōnia* = English Empire and colony
- Roman, Latin *imperator* and *colōnus* = English "imperial majesty" and colonist

Additional terminology in the field of Anglo imperialism includes "plantation" and "planter," and "settlement" and "settler." In future reiterations, this discourse cloaked itself in a dense symbolic fog of geopolitical rationality and Manichean victimage rhetoric such as "good struggling against evil," "civilization against savagery," or "reason against extremism."[8]

Since the seventeenth century colonization of Ireland and North America, British imperialists have been predominantly White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant (WASP) in cultural background. Not all immigrants to Ireland and America have been poor or indentured slaves in bondage or arrived on the Famine Ships. Some have been "planters" who invested energy and capital into the "plantation" strategy of settler colonialism in Ireland and North America. They were predominantly English and Scottish Protestants in background.[9] The colonization and settlement of the North

[7] Source: *Oxford English Dictionary*; see Blain and Blain, 2018: Table 2.1, 20-22.

[8] See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993, 309-10). On ritual victimage and its Manichean structure, see Michael Blain, *Power, Discourse and Victimage Ritual in the War on Terror* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 47-68.

[9] On the ethnic background of the people who were implanted in Ireland in the 1600s, see Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 91; on the ethnic and religious background of the settlers of the American western frontier, see Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

American "western frontier" in the nineteenth century was associated with a struggle among Protestants over the definition of American nationalism. Haselby argues that this struggle pitted New England "national evangelizers" against "Frontier Revivalists." At the turn of the twentieth century, WASP missionaries continued to play leading roles in US imperial activities in Asia, particularly in organizing opposition in the US Congress to the British opium trade in China, playing leadership roles in pushing the US Congress to pass anti-opium legislation that led to the passage of the Harrison Act 1914.[10]

Roy Foster's (1988) history of modern Ireland documents the details of the indigenous Irish in 1600 and their "Wild Shamrock Manners" and the "New English Implantation."

"Wild Shamrock Manners"

Roy Foster's history of modern Ireland documents the details of the Anglo-Protestant colonization of Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries, English beliefs about the indigenous Irish populations "Wild Shamrock Manners" and the "New English Implantation," and the emergence of a colonial plantation system.[11]

There were three components of Irish society in 1600: Gaelic Irish, the Old English, and an emerging new group of implanted "New English." Estimates of the size of the Irish population in 1600 was about one million people living mostly in rural areas. Urban society was defined against threats from outside, systems of walls, and culturally defined by Anglicization and civility. The English had contradictory beliefs about the Gaelic Irish as "savages" that justified brutal campaigns of Elizabethan warfare targeting the indigenous Gaelic Irish people." The strength of the English reactions against Ireland's lack of 'civility'" Foster thinks, "stemmed partly from Protestantism, partly from English nationalism, and partly from the spice of attraction mixed with the repulsion roused by what John Derricke called "their wild shamrock manners."

New English writers such as Edmund Spenser tried to find classical Roman and barbarian parallels (Scythians being a favorite). According to Foster's account, Gaelic society was evaluated by the "standard of outlandish reference" and comparison to contemporary observations of

[10] Richard Brown, "The Opium Trade and Opium Policies in India, China, Britain, and the United States: Historical Comparisons and Theoretical Interpretations," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 30, no. 3 (2002): 623-56.

[11] Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Group, 1988).

American Indians and Africans. "The English saw the world of cattle-raids, Brehons, and poets as arrogantly archaic and deliberately mystifying: a world at once bogus and perverse, which could only be civilized by means of plantation."[12] The final solution would have to be extirpation, Elizabethan warfare, scorched earth policy. Since the 1530s, there were numerous massacres, much brutality, and spoliation of indigenous people's resources.[13] Descriptions of the Irish as "beasts" and "vermin" were common by the end of the 1500s. The English imperialists denied that it was a war of "conquest." They countered that just a few "unnatural and barbarous rebels" needed to be "rooted out." Mountjoy argued that the Irish population as a whole needed to be transferred, rendering Ireland "a razed table upon which the Elizabethan state could transcribe a neat pattern of plantations." By 1600 the concept had emerged that the Irish were "savages" who had to be civilized or extirpated had taken root. Essex's massacre on Rathlin Island at the time bears this out.[14]

Later, Oliver Cromwell's murderous military campaign (1649-50) followed the same pattern. This campaign involved the violent usurpation of Irish lands and their removal to the West of Ireland. Resistance to the Cromwellian campaign resulted in spectacular victimage rituals, massacres, and public executions of the indigenous population. Cromwell orchestrated the actions of his famously "well-disciplined" Anglo-Protestant army to deliberately engage in these outrageous acts. As a matter of strategic and tactical calculation, he perpetrated the infamous massacre at Wexford in 1649. Protestant militias organized from the growing Anglo-Irish population loyal to the crown also played prominent roles in supporting of these repressions. George Bennett's history of Bandon, Ireland, testifies to the calculated character of these acts of violent victimage. He was very proud of his ancestor's role in perpetuating these atrocities. As we shall see, a similar pattern of victimage ritual, war, and massacre, executions, and torture, occurs during the settlement of southwest Oregon in the late 1800s.[15]

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[12] Foster, 32.
[13] Foster, 34.
[14] Foster, 35.
[15] As Schwartz confirms in his history of the Rogue River war in SW Oregon, E. A. Schwartz, *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850-1980* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); this violence spilled over from massive genocide perpetrated by immigrants in California, see also Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2016).

"New English" Implantation

The New English implants were landowners introduced by the Tudors in several transportation ventures beginning in the 1520s-1570s in Ireland and America. Foster describes Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, as an ideal-type personification of the English imperialist and exemplar of "Anglo-Irishness:"

> …In the early 1600s north Armagh and south-east Antrim were already "landscaped" into village patterns by the building of Big Houses — a process that would dictate much of the shape of rural Ireland. Already in Munster the ambitious planter Richard Boyle had tried to mould the countryside round Lismore to the English fashion: a "lordly mansion", surrounded by a stocked deer-park, selected fruit-orchards, fish-ponds, stud-farms, eyries, a meticulously constructed rabbit-warren.[16]

Boyle was an entrepreneur who built a great fortune. Based in Cork, he was influential in London and was occupied by relations with the Crown and his peers, who resented Dublin officials as much as the Irish and Old English. He was devoted to passing on "planter culture" to his children, and cultivating new estates and making money. According to Foster, Boyle had the "insecurity and self-congratulation of the parvenu" coupled with the frontier's garrison values.

The sixteenth century settlement in Munster and elsewhere was tenacious. Foster argues that these projects were parts of "a large-scale undertaking, involving major population movement and the large-scale resources of the state." Foster continues that by 1602, "renewal plans were in the air; by 1622 there were probably 12,000 new residents in the colonized Munster lands." The percent change was dramatic in the 1600s. The percentage of British settlers in Ireland by the 1600s was around 1%; by the early 1700s it was 27%.[17]

Emigration to America

The eighteenth century Irish emigration to America was tied to the political-economy that had emerged in Ulster." If the Catholic world represented one Ireland outside the Ascendancy Pale," Foster asserts, "Ulster epitomized another."[18] The linen industry was essential to the political-economy of

[16] Foster, 7.
[17] Foster, 13.
[18] Foster, 211.

Ulster. Moreover, by this date, the Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster had developed a heightened sense of persecution due to the Anglo Episcopalian ascendency in Ireland and had developed a strong identification with American discontents with the English by the 1770s. Around Belfast, urban society reflected these deep divisions: "Belfast merchants and manufacturers were an articulate, cosmopolitan-minded class. In Armagh, by contrast, there were deep spatial and cultural divisions between the two protestant communities and Catholics. Protestants were located around the thriving commercial center, Catholics at the periphery. Members of the Church of Ireland monopolized the professions; Catholics did laboring work; Presbyterians were occupied in manufacturing and trade."[19] The flow of Ulster families to North America increased economic uncertainty. Economic uncertainty and fears of draconian measures in response to rural violence caused a "rush to the boats."

There were many reasons for their readiness to immigrate to America on the part of Ulster Scots. Moving, settling, and subduing the land was a traditional practice. Trade with America was on-going, facilitating the move. There were ships bound for America conveniently docked in Ulster ports. There was also the promise of cheap land to settle. The rate of emigration increased in the late 1720s. It is estimated that several thousand Irish people immigrated to America at the time. The rate picked up speed by the 1760s, when about 20,000 departed from Ulster ports. Estimates are that at least 30,000 left between 1770 and 1774 from Ulster ports. Two-fifths or up to 250,000 of total American immigrants during the colonial period arrived from Ulster, and the Ulster Scots stood out. Emigration was well organized before the Famine of 1740-41. It is estimated that the number of Irish people in the US population was 470,000, most of them from Ulster.

Oregon Genocide

Britain's colonization of Ireland parallels its colonization of North America. Dunbar-Ortiz argues that the Ulster-Scots were the foot soldiers and shock troops of Western movement in the colonization of Ireland and North America.[20] By 1630, the British had implanted thousands of Protestant

[19] Foster, 215.

[20] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples 'History of the United States* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2014); also Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Loaded: A Disarming History of the 2nd Amendment* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2017). Dunbar-Ortiz's cultural analysis owes much to Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration*