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In a letter to the newly established bilingual journal *Fáinne an Lae* in August 1898, the appropriately named “Fear na Cathrach” (the City Man) professed his belief that the success of a modern literature in Irish depended on its capacity to engage with the buzz of city life:

Ní féidir do theanga na hÉireann stad go mbéarfaidh lucht na tuaithe ar éirimíbh agus ar intinníbh brostuighthe na gcathrach, agus ní fuláir dúinn iad sain do bheith againn i litridheacht na haimsire seo. Más mian linn aon litridheacht do bheith againn feasda, caithfear brigh agus neart agus fuinneamh nua do chur inti. Ní has an dtuaith a thiocthas an spiorad nua so. . . . Is mire agus is buirbe go mór tonn-tuille beathadh na cathrach ’ná sruthlán mall meirbhshiubhlach na beathadh tuatha.[1]

(The language of Ireland cannot cease to exist until country folk possess the hasty aptitudes and spirits of the cities, and we must funnel this into the literature of today. If we want to have any type of literature henceforth, we must add life and strength and energy to it. This new spirit will not come from the countryside. . . . The tidal wave of city life is far quicker and fiercer than the languid slothful streamlet of country living.)[2]

The proposal of “Fear na Cathrach” was swiftly called into question by “Fear na Tuatha” (the Country Man), who argued that the Irish language belonged to the rural populations and “was not compatible with the indifference and the lethargy of city men.”[3] This spirited commitment to rural culture was shared by most authors writing in both English and Irish during the period—with notable exceptions. Founded in 1893, the Gaelic League strove to reestablish the spoken language and also to cultivate “a modern literature in Irish.”[4] Yet despite heated debates regarding the form, dialect, and font that this new literature should adopt, the possibility of the urban milieu as an appropriate subject matter was not readily entertained. Gaelic Leaguers viewed the Irish language as inextricably linked to the Gaeltacht regions and looked to the west as a blueprint for an authentic national identity: Irish-speaking, Catholic, rural, and traditional. That this belief took root is clear. Writing over fifty years later, the modernist poet Máirtín Ó Direáin commented that his native tongue was not adequately furnished to tackle the social mores of city life: “Caithfear gortghlanadh is forbairt a dhéanamh uirthi fós sula mbeidh sí i ngleic leis [an saol cathartha]” (The language still must be overhauled and developed before it can come to grips with it [city life]).[5]

Although Gaelic Leaguers may have pushed the conviction of “Fear na Cathrach” that “city life does not oppose the spirit of any language” to the periphery of their philosophy, the specter of urban life haunted much of the Gaelic literature produced around the turn of the century.[6] With widespread depopulation and emigration occurring throughout Ireland, the city seemed to

symbolize everything that threatened the aims of the League. In an editorial in *Fáinne an Lae* in 1898, for example, Dublin was scorned as “cathair mhór an Bhéarla agus namha do’n Ghaedhilg” (the city of English and the enemy of Irish).[7] The industrial centers of England and the United States proved more contentious still, depicted in the various periodicals and organs of the League as dystopian landscapes plagued by materialism and ungodliness that actively corrupted and Anglicized wide-eyed young emigrants.

From the mid-nineteenth century in European literature, the city had emerged as a key trope—as the environment upon which the anxieties of the modern isolated self were projected. Within the context of the Gaelic Revival, representations of the city were so confined to anti-emigration texts that depictions of the urban were typically assumed to carry such a thrust. Philip O’Leary notes that anti-emigration stories generally “did little but sketch dreadful monitory parables of the dangers facing the emigrant, particularly the Irish-speaking emigrant, in the ferment of the urban, usually American melting pot.”[8] Much of such literature was certainly simplistic, propagandist, and even predictable. This article, however, considers how our understanding of what Tom Garvin views as the “evil-city-versus-virtuous-village” polarity within Gaelic League discourse demands more complex exploration.[9] It first examines representations of the exilic city in a number of works by the largely urban-based Gaelic Leaguers in Ireland and then considers how Irish-speaking expatriates in the United States assimilated and responded to these stark representations of their landscapes. Many of the fictional and prose renderings of the city by American-based writers appear to be largely negative and thus supportive of the anti-emigration movement. But a closer reading of these texts demonstrates how these authors’ perceptions of the urban are colored by their complicated bicultural identities—identities that could, in some cases, be in conflict with the anti-emigration movement.

Fighting the “Emigration Terror” at Home

From the beginning of the twentieth century in Ireland, the anti-emigration short story became its own literary genre, appearing in various Irish-language and English-language publications alike, most notably *Ireland’s Own* and the *Irish Homestead*. Such a degree of attention devoted to emigration was well-founded; between 1881 and 1910, over three quarters of a million people left Ireland, a disproportionate number of whom hailed from Irish-speaking regions.[10] Numerous protectionist tactics were advanced to curtail what Patrick Pearse referred to as the “emigration terror.”[11] New forms of land distribution were promoted,[12] and advertisements seeking employment for young Irish speakers appeared in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, the mouthpiece of the League. The organization’s Industrial Committee also promoted self-sufficient industries in Irish-speaking areas.[13] Many in the League aligned themselves with the Anti-Emigration Society,[14] founded in 1903 to combat the “emigration evil in Ireland, especially in the Irish-speaking districts.”[15] But as Kerby Miller observes, despite these practical measures post-Famine emigrants often left eagerly, in many cases motivated by personal ambition as much as by economic necessity.[16]

As part of a multipronged effort to curb the tide of emigration, fiction was mustered into the service of the movement. Many of these cautionary anti-emigration works trace the journey of the tempted youth who is reprimanded and comes to realize that emigration is a betrayal of Ireland. Indeed, two of the most popular and often-cited anti-emigration tales of this period—the novelette *An Cneamhaire* (The Rogue) by Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh (also known as Agnes Farrelly) and the popular drama *An Deoraidhe: Dráma i n-aghaidh Imtheachda thar Sáile* (The Exile: A Drama against Emigration) by Lorcán Ua Tuathail—follow the same narrative pattern. America threatens to lure away the female protagonist, but luckily her selfish road to emigration is interrupted by the presence of a “Returned Yank,” who warns her of the true plight of emigrants abroad and convinces her to remain in Ireland.[17]

More adventurous writers who dared to depict the American city, whether or not they had ever actually experienced life abroad, typically set out to chart the physical and moral decline brought about by urban life. Such stories clearly appealed to the judges in Gaelic League literary competitions, who awarded Máirtín Ó Ceallaigh’s “Mustar an Bhodaigh” (The Arrogant Lout) an Oireachtas prize in 1909.[18] After arriving in New York, the female protagonist Eibhlín is literally suffocated by the harsh working conditions at the laundry where she finds work. Her horrific surroundings are juxtaposed to the bucolic community she left behind:

’Sé an áit oibhre a bhí aici ná árus mór dorcha i n-íochtar an tighé sé troighthe fé an tsráid. Do ghoill easpaidh aeir uirthi is d’imthigh an luisne ó n-a leacannaibh. Bhíodh tuirse an domhain uirthi gach tráthnóna is ní bhíodh aon ghreann aici. Ní bhíodh aon rinne ag na crosbhóithribh san Domhnach is ní bhíodh na daoine ag spaisdeoireacht cois trágha mar bhídis i mBaile na Cathrach. Ní fhaca sí duille glas ná fiú an tráithín féin ó d’fhág sí a máthair, is níor áirigh sí éin ag déanamh ceoil. Bhí droch-bhlas ar an mbiadh a bhí le n-ithe is ní raibh braon leamhnachta le fághail. Chuaidh sí i laigeacht is i mbreóiteacht is níor fhéad sí a cuid oibre a dhéanamh.[19]

(Her workplace was a big dark hall in a basement, six feet under the street. The lack of air unsettled her and the glow faded from her cheeks. She was exhausted every evening and never laughed. There were no dances at the crossroad on Sunday, and people didn’t go for walks along the beach like they did in Baile na Cathrach. She didn’t see a green leaf, nor even a piece of straw, since she left home and she never heard any birds making music. The food was nauseating and there wasn’t a drop of fresh milk to be had. She grew weaker and sicker until she could no longer do her work.)

Eibhlín meets her tragic death shortly after arriving in the New World; her fate reinforces the common literary and cultural motif epitomized by the custom of the American wake, which equated emigration with death. Such stories often conclude with an anti-emigration plea that draws on the proverb “ní cathair mar a tuairisg í” (the city is not as they say) to warn readers

against falling victim to deceitful letters from Irish American émigrés filled with false promises of material wealth and financial gain.[20]

Less noble than the fate of death, however, was the moral corruption of Anglicization, as well as the mental deterioration induced by city life. In Pádraic Ó Conaire's 1907 short story "Nóra Mharcais Bhig" (Nora, Daughter of Little Marcus), published with the subtitle "Fíor-scéal a bhaineas leis an imirce" (A True Story about Emigration), the protagonist Nóra grows "aosta críonna i n-aon lá amháin" (old and elderly in one day) and struggles with her dual personality engendered by life in London.[21] The threat posed by the city to women's moral purity is apparent in Nóra's gradual descent to alcoholism, and, although only implied, to prostitution.[22]

The fate of substance abuse and sexual deviance is generally reserved for women. In Seán Ó Ceallaigh's short story "Éamonn Óg Ó Néill" the female protagonist Máire befriends a young Irish girl on the boat to America who, like Ó Conaire's Nóra, is deceived into entering the sex trade as soon as she reaches New York.[23] Máire is so traumatized that she is sent to live with the nuns, taking her last breath just as her beloved arrives in Chicago to save her.[24] The eponymous female protagonist in Máire Ní Cheallaigh's story "Máire Ní Bhriain" suffers the same fate, and in both tales the mourning male partner emerges as a tragic hero who subsequently dedicates his life to fighting the evils of emigration.[25] The overrepresentation of women's victimhood in these stories undoubtedly relates to the high rates of female emigration from Ireland at the time—and its perceived threat to the body politic of the nation.[26] These stories are thus more than merely anti-emigration diatribes. Aiming to quash any expression of female sexuality symbolized by the modern city, they also chastise young women who challenge the patriarchal system by yearning for an independent existence abroad.

Given that these Irish short stories were largely written by urban-based and middle-class Revivalists attracted to the market for anti-emigration writing, they are, not unexpectedly, filled with contradictions. Sceilg (Seán Ua Ceallaigh, 1872–1957) won a monetary Oireachtas prize for his harrowing anti-emigration short story in 1905,[27] yet two years previously he had acknowledged that emigrants fared better in America than in West Kerry.[28] James Joyce wrote the story "Eveline" in *Dubliners* in 1904 in response to an offer of £1 from George Russell, editor of the *Irish Homestead*, for a "simple, rural? livemaking? pathos?" story.[29] The young female protagonist flirts with the idea of emigrating to Argentina at a time when "going to Buenos Ayres" was a euphemism for taking up the life of prostitution.[30] However, Eveline's decision not to emigrate, but to remain in Dublin with her abusive father, flouts the anticipated anti-emigration narrative by thwarting romanticized conceptions of restorative "simple" community life in Ireland. Ó Conaire's "Nóra Mharcais Bhig" also frustrates any such prescriptive message. When Nóra returns to Connemara to get her life back on track, the local priest ignores a more supportive London clergyman's request to care for her. Even her father casts her out and in the story's final scene attempts to obliterate Nóra's name from his boat.[31] Far from offering spiritual regeneration, the west of Ireland greets the returned emigrant with callous rejection.

The Ambiguous Role of the “Returned Yank”

O’Leary, Catherine Nash, Ann Schofield, and others observe that the returned and contaminated Irish emigrant—the “Returned Yank” or “Poncán”—is an overtly negative literary figure.[32] By contrast we see the “conversion motif” in Swedish American literature, where the vagabond emigrant returns from the United States to become a more patriotic and devoted Swedish citizen.[33] Schofield suggests that in the Irish context the “Returned Yank” became, rather, a figure onto which the trauma of mass emigration was projected; returnees are characteristically condemned, mocked, even dehumanized. In Ní Fhaircheallaigh’s novelette *An Cneamhaire*, that figure’s crudeness and grotesque appearance cause children to run from him in terror: “Fear tanaidh, fad-lámhach, cam-shúileach do bhí ann” (He was a thin, long-armed, crooked-eyed man).[34] Yet ironically this vulgar returned Yank supplies the protagonist with the dowry she needs to evade emigration. That the ample financial assets of the Yank contradicted dire Anti-Emigration Society reports that life was “seven times worse” in America (“is seacht measa é thall i n-America”) did not seem to raise concern.[35] Negative portrayals of the emigrant reflected the fiery rhetoric of Pearse and others.[36] Rejecting the “forced exile” narrative, Pearse suggested that most emigrants left “for fun and fancy”:

Let us plainly tell the emigrant that he is a traitor to the Irish State, and if he knew but all, a fool into the bargain. . . . We believe, moreover, that in a vast number of instances the emigrant, far from being a martyr, is a mere weakling and a coward who emigrates mainly because he is too lazy or too proud to do what he regards as “menial” work at home—on the far side of the Atlantic he is much less squeamish.[37]

Such condemnation of the self-indulgent and materialistic instincts of “An Poncán” contradicted reports about the dire conditions of American-bound emigrants and masked a key reality: the Gaelic League relied on the monetary support of the diaspora. For many within the movement, America was perceived as “Tír na nDólar” (the Land of Dollars), and the League repeatedly enlisted the backing of Irish expatriates to validate and fund its anti-emigration diatribes.[38] In 1900 the literary contest of the Oireachtas ran a competition, ironically sponsored by the New York Gaelic Society, for the best essay discussing emigration.[39] In 1903, shortly after its foundation, the Anti-Emigration League sent a memo to several Irish American newspapers and periodicals asking Irish Americans to “furnish evidence of the hardship and suffering of our people.”[40] An appeal for similar reports featured in the bilingual New York-based literary periodical *An Gaodhal*. [41]

Irish America Weighs In

But how did the Irish American communities respond to this vilification by the Gaelic League? The Anti-Emigration Society argued that the Irish in America had a “great responsibility in this

crisis,” and not unexpectedly, some correspondents rejected such attacks.[42] An editorial in the *Irish American Weekly*, for example, questioned the motives of the Anti-Emigration Society given “the hopeless despair that appears to have seized on the whole population.”[43] However, a literate body of active Gaelic Leaguers throughout the United States supported the movement by contributing articles to various Irish-language periodicals. Such journalism reveals not only how emigrants viewed their circumstance, but also how they pandered to their intended audience.

The Gaelic Revival movement among the diaspora was often more pioneering than it was at home. The first American Philo-Celtic Society was founded in Boston in 1873, almost four years before the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in Dublin. The bilingual New York-based literary journal *An Gaodhal* appeared in 1881, a year before its Irish counterpart *The Gaelic Journal*. Donncha Ó Súillea bháin notes that the London branch of the organization advanced many of the more progressive League initiatives, and Fionnuala Uí Fhlannagáin and William Mahon argue that from the late nineteenth century Irish Americans were more active in collecting and printing Gaelic material than the Irish.[44] The widespread availability of Irish print material in the United States—for example in “Gaelic Departments” of newspapers such as Boston’s *Irish Echo*, the *New York Irish American*, and the *Chicago Citizen*—encouraged many emigrants previously without access to Irish-language texts to develop literacy in their native tongue.

As they vented their frustrations at conditions in their adopted homeland, many of these emigrants engaged in Irish-language writing supporting viewpoints nourished by the Gaelic League. Two prominent American Gaelic Leaguers—William J. Balfe, head of the Hartford Gaelic School, and Pádraig Ó hÉigeartaigh (or Patrick F. Hagerty) of the Springfield Irish Language Society—responded to the Anti-Emigration League’s call by contributing shocking reports of hardships facing new emigrants in their respective adoptive American cities.[45] In *An Claidheamh Soluis* in 1909 Pádraig Ua Déaghdhaigh lamented the number of homeless Irishmen in New York whose families in Ireland were oblivious to their plight:

Is iomdha buachaill croidheamhal a bhainfeadh casadh as camán i bpáirc an chluiche ag siubhal sráideanna na cathrach so toisg easbaibh oibre, ’n-a gcodladh is na páirceannabh puibhlidhe, snuadh an bháis ar a n-éadan, gan luid ar a ndromaibh, gan stoca ar a gcosaibh, agus feasóg míosa ag fás ar a ngiallaibh, gan rásúr chum a mbeárrtha imtheacht leó féin ar nós leathartaigh lá geimhridh.[46]

(There are plenty of hearty men who would surely hit a fine hurl on the pitch who are walking the streets of this city for want of work, sleeping in the public parks with the look of death on them, without a rag on their body or socks on their feet, and with a thick beard on their jaws for want of a razor; wandering about on winter days like sluggish creatures.)

Kerry-born Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh (or Michael O'Reilly, 1865–1942) was one of the first writers based in America to produce a fictional account alerting readers to the dangers of emigration. In the short story “Duine de sna Míltibh” (1902), Séamus ignores his parents and his girlfriend’s pleas, instead setting off for New York to make his fortune before returning home.[47] He is, however, tragically consumed by the foreign city:

Tráthnóna an tríomhadh lae dhó i Nuadh Eabhroc, bhí sé ’n-a shuidhe ar stól sa pháirc agus thuit sé ’n-a chodladh, mar bhí sé tabhartha, lag, fann, tar éis a bheith ag siubhal gan stad ar feadh an lae, agus bhí an ghrian ag taitneamh anuas go te air agus bhí leacacha na sráide chomh te le teinteán. Bhí a chosa cloguighthe, an t-allus ag sileadh le na gruadhnaibh, a aghaidh loisgthe ó’n ngréin, a theanga a sgoilteadh leis an dtart, agus bhí sé gan biadh le breis is ceithre huaire fichead.[48]

(The evening of his third day in New York, he was sitting on a stool in the park and he fell asleep because he was worn out, weak, and faint after having walked for the entire day. The sun was radiating heat down on him and the street pavements were as hot as fire. His feet were covered in blisters, the sweat was running down his cheeks, his face was burnt from the sun, his tongue was splitting with the thirst. He had not eaten in over twenty-four hours.)

Unlike many tales that provide a somewhat imprecise or vague representation of the American city, the story conveys the author’s first-hand knowledge of the urban landscape. Addressing Irish readers, Ó Raghallaigh compares New York public parks with Phoenix Park in Dublin and details aspects of the city’s law when Séamus is arrested and spends two weeks in prison for sleeping in the park.[49] After release and a short-lived period of contentment—“[ní] raibh éin tír mar Aimeirice” (there is no place like America)—his life is cut short by a fatal fall at a poorly paid construction-site job.[50] His companions are indifferent to his plight, for as the narrator observes, “is beag an tsuim do chuirtear i mbás duine i Nuadh Eabhroc” (a person’s death does not attract much attention in New York).[51] Ó Raghallaigh reinforces the sense of the callousness and anomie of urban life in the story’s title, “Duine de sna Míltibh” (One Person among Thousands).

Although this work echoes the anti-emigration theme of contemporary Irish fiction, Ó Raghallaigh also contributed different sorts of stories to New York’s *An Gaodhal* during the same period. Unlike the anti-emigration-laden rhetoric of his writing for Irish audiences, these Irish American stories focus on the author’s youth on Kerry’s Iveragh peninsula and his hopes for Irish independence. That none contain anti-urban or anti-American themes suggests that “Duine de sna Míltibh” was written specifically for Irish readers. Indeed, Ó Raghallaigh’s Kerry-based stories in *An Gaodhal* are conceived through the insider-outsider perspective of an urban lens to recreate scenes from rural life in Ireland for *An Gaodhal*’s American audience. The author reminds his readers that “there were neither automobiles nor steamboats” in Kerry during his youth and emphasizes the pitch-blackness of the rough sea on stormy nights.[52]

Such imagery offers a stark contrast to the bright lights and bustling streets familiar to his New York readers.

In truth, the tragic migration tale related in “Duine de sna Míltibh” shares little with the author’s own life trajectory. Having emigrated to New York in 1886, Ó Raghallaigh established himself in the city as an exemplary Gaelic scholar.[53] He became president of the St. Brendan’s Branch of the Gaelic League, editor of John Devoy’s the *Gaelic American*, and a founding member of the Friends of Irish Freedom.[54] Indeed, Séamus’s awe of the social life he observes in New York may relate to the author’s own experiences of hosting large Irish-language entertainments.[55]

Keeping the Faith in America: Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg and Pádraig Ó hÉigeartaigh

The work of the still unknown California-based writer “Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg,” whose prose pieces appeared in *Fáinne an Lae*, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, and *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, also appears to function as ancillary literature to the anti-emigration movement. But his work offers more complex insights into how expatriates themselves received its agenda and responded to the negative portrayal of the “Poncán.” Hailing from the village of Baile Bhúirne, Co. Cork, Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg wrote a pair of stories about two brothers whose fate in the New World was shaped by the degree of their loyalty to their native tongue.[56] In “Sgeul Thomáis na Claise agus a Chuid Béurla” (The Story of Tomás of Clash and His English), the young emigrant, who prides himself on his proficiency in English, arrives in New York to find that his uncle Mícheál Ó Buachalla has transformed his identity, becoming a Freemason and changing his name to M. D. Johnson:

D’iompaign sé air fad amoch ’na Shasanach. Téidheann sé féin, agus a bhean ’as a chlann gach Domhnach ag tríall ar theampall Sasanach atá ’san chathair so. Agus go deimhin duit-se, ní’l aon chreideamh ag muintir na h-eaglaise sin, chomh beag a’s ’tá ag bonn mo bhróige, . . . agus is é bun a’s bárr a g-criostamhlachta an fhuath atá aco go léir do’n g-creideamh Catoilice, agus go mór-mhór do Chatoilicibh ó Éirinn.[57]

(He completely transformed into an Englishman. He and his wife and his children go to the English temple in this city every Sunday. And I’m telling you, the people of that church don’t have any religion, as much as the sole of my shoe does. . . . The ins and outs of their religion is their hatred for Catholicism, especially Catholics from Ireland.)

While running unsuccessfully for mayor, however, Johnson attends Catholic mass and sponsors a local orphanage in his attempt to secure the Irish vote. Tomás follows the path of his thwarted uncle and against his better instincts works on a vineyard for a wealthy landowner who was

“chomh dubh le muic i gcoinne Catholice” (as black as a pig in opposition to Catholics).[58] The nephew’s abandonment of his religion appears to seal his fate, for although he marries, his wife dies young. On his own deathbed Tomás decides to return to his Catholic faith, but his unhinged son attempts to murder the priest called to perform the last rites. The story thus suggests that shedding nationality, faith, and language produces a hereditary degeneration, for Tomás’s devilish son (“an t-áidhbheirseoir mic”) drinks and gambles away his father’s money, ending his life in a lunatic asylum in “Napá” (the Napa Valley).[59] Such a negative portrayal of second-generation Americans accords with Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg’s criticism of the “native-born Irish Americans”—those of Irish lineage whom he critiques in other writings. For example, in one article he openly mocks the pageantry of Irish American politicians who wore shamrocks “chomh mór led’ dhorn” (as big as your fist) on St. Patrick’s Day, but forgot or willfully ignored the cause for the rest of the year.[60] The simultaneously published short story about Tomás’s brother, “Sgéal Sheagháin na Claise” (The Story of Seán of Clash), offers a far different tale of emigration. Unlike Tomás, proud of his fluency in English, his brother Seaghán fails miserably in his studies and arrives in New York without a word of that language. The local priest Father Seaghán Paor takes Seaghán under his wing and insists that if he first learns to read and write in Irish, his mind will be opened to the languages of the world. Within a fortnight, Seaghán masters literacy in his native tongue and subsequently acquires perfect English: “is aige do bhí an Sacsbhéarla gan aon bhearna ann” (he had English without a single gap).[61] Elected to Congress after only seven years in New York, Seaghán’s success, in contrast to his brother Tomás’s early death, is attributed to his loyalty to his faith, homeland, and language. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg’s story complicates the conventional image of “An Poncán.” Although critical of those Irish emigrants who renounce their past, this emigrant writer views the urban city of exile not as hazard to Irish identity, but rather as a place where immigrants can choose to retain and develop their heritage.[62]

Because he used a pen name, Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg’s identity remains unknown, but references to fellow Gaelic Leaguers indicate that the author was active in the San Francisco Bay area. He brought a traditional Irish emphasis on place-names to his American writing.[63] Some of this fiction, reminiscent of the period’s popular American dime-novel genre, contains entertaining descriptions of searching for gold in Missoula while trying to avoid the “fir dhearga” (i.e., Native Americans).[64] But Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg adapted the Irish language to fit the new urban surroundings he now inhabited. Drawing on the tradition of *dinnseanchas* (lore of place), he Gaelicized urban place-names encountered by emigrants, showing that their language could be applied to American life—and indeed had transformative properties to combat the negative elements associated with the urban industrial setting of Irish anti-emigration authors. Thus Los Angeles became “Cathair na n-Aingeal” (the City of Angels),[65] Oakland was “Talamh na Daraidhe” (the City of Oak),[66] and the town of Total Wreck in Arizona became “Scriosta ar Fad” (Completely Destroyed).[67] This transformation of American placenames reoccurs in texts by a variety of authors, such as the epic poems of Eoin Ó Cathail (1840–1928) who resided in “Uisge-Glasda, Misigan” (Pentwater, Michigan). The Kerry song and folklore collector Pádraig Feiritéar (1856–1924), who emigrated to New York in the 1880s, similarly rendered Chelsea, Massachusetts, as “Calcsuidhe, Stát Mórchrúachan”—apparently based on the etymology of London’s Chelsea and on his understanding that the Native American meaning of Massachusetts was “Big Mountain.”[68]

The Springfield-based poet and writer Pádraig Ó hÉigearthaigh (1871–1936) provided anti-emigration accounts similar to Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg’s, mocking his Massachusetts neighbors who imitated the English mannerisms of their American counterparts. But whereas Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg’s identity remains unknown, Ó hÉigearthaigh is familiar to both scholars and school children through his lament “Ochón, a Dhonncha,” written in 1905 after the drowning of his young son. The poem has been praised by various critics, most notably Seán Ó Tuama, for evoking the deep-rooted sense of place, or “ómós áite,” in Irish literature.[69] In the first verse the narrator laments that his young son will be buried in the hostile soil of America, not in the poet’s own birthplace on the Iveragh peninsula:

Ochón! a Dhonncha, mo mhíle cogarach, fén bhfód so sínte; fód an doichill ’na luí ar do cholainn bhig, mo loma-sceimhle! Dá mbeadh an codladh so i gCill na Dromad ort nó in uaigh san Iarthar mo bhrón do bhogfadh, cé gur mhór mo dhochar, is ní bheinn id’ dhiaidh air.

(My sorrow, Donncha, my thousand-cherished, under this sod stretched, this mean sod lying on your little body—my utter fright! If the sleep were on you in Cill na Dromad or some grave in the West it would ease my sorrow, though great the affliction, and I’d not complain.)[70]

Despite the critical attention paid to the lament, scholars have too often neglected the author’s other writing—even assuming he had produced but one poem during his lifetime. Ó hÉigearthaigh, however, was a committed American-based author supporting the anti-emigration movement; his prose writings explore the urban context of New England with which he was most familiar. Although he wrote a number of earlier short satirical pieces denouncing Irish immigrants in Springfield for adopting Americanisms and shaking off their own cultural identity upon arrival, his first foray into the genre was the 1903 short story “Tadhg Ua Séaghdha,” published in *Banba* under the pen name “Carraig Eadhna.”[71] Writing in the first person, the narrator notices a young mother with her children in the train station on Christmas Eve and recognizes her Irish features: “gnúis Ghae dealach, gnúis gur fhág brón agus droch-úsáid rian uirthi go doimhin” (a Gaelic face, a face that had been deeply scarred by sorrow and maltreatment).[72] The hurried city dwellers, or “locht an fhuadair,” too preoccupied by purchasing their last-minute Christmas presents, ignore the young mother’s suffering.[73] Having been deceived by her employers, the penniless woman is forced to send her young son out to sell newspapers. When he notices a threatening Salvation Army man approach the child, the narrator buys all the boy’s papers, thus ensuring that the vulnerable family will not have to rely on Salvation Army aid for Christmas dinner.

The story frames the narrator’s prosperity—his ability to buy the newspapers from the destitute woman’s child—as heroic, but significantly, the reader learns earlier that the man was himself exhausted after spending three months away from his family and suffering terrible working conditions. That preface thus undercuts criticism from readers who might associate the protagonist’s charity with that of the much-loathed figure, the prosperous Yank. Hellish aspects

of city life flood the story: the destitute woman's husband was killed "ar na car-raibh" (on the trains), the narrator struggles to hear anything amid the sound and noises of the street cars, and the looming figure of the seedy Salvation Army man implies a threat to the young mother's chastity.[74]

Ó hÉigearthaigh's later anti-emigration writing for *An Claidheamh Soluis*, edited by Pearse, initially seems equally critical of city life.[75] The column "Ó'n Domhan Thiar" (From the World Out West) ran from April through November 1908 and included sensational headlines such as "Ocras ar Pháistigh Sgoile," "Teine Uathbhásach," "Gorta," and "Obair Gann" ("Hungry School Children," "Awful Fire," "Famine," "Want of Work"). Ó hÉigearthaigh describes the United States in the darkest of terms as a land of inequality, inflationary costs, and poverty. The New York poor, lacking work and food, survive winters by lying down in rows on iron grates over hotel kitchens and are plagued by vicious tax collectors resembling those in Ireland.[76] Addressing Irish readers considering emigration, he reports that the American poor lucky enough not to be evicted from their homes live in low-income areas and are beset by house fires that have killed over two hundred children.

Ó hÉigearthaigh even declares that industrialization in New England had wiped out the entire bird population: "Is dócha gur sgannruigh fead agus fothram na dtraenach iad nó gur chuir deatach na muilte chun báis iad, mar a chuireas aer na muilte chun báis cuid mhaith againn féin" (They must have been scared away by the whistle and thud of the trains or suffocated by the smoke of the mills, which too, has suffocated a great many of us).[77] This absence of birdsong in the city becomes a recurring motif of anti-urban and anti-emigration literature, illustrating Ó hÉigearthaigh's acquaintance with such works and reminding us of his column's propagandist aims. Sending home his anti-emigration message, Ó hÉigearthaigh hopes that no Irishman is "chomh baoth agus a chuimhneach ar theacht anall i mbliadhna" (as foolish as to think of coming over this year).[78]

Yet despite the author's animus toward urban life, contradictions arise within these anti-emigration harangues. Indeed, in one of the early columns Ó hÉigearthaigh lauds domestic servants from Ireland, whom he presents as virtuous, faithful, and hardworking citizens, contributing more to American society than any other social class.[79] This praise of such dedicated young emigrants challenges the moral tone of popular short stories that admonish the treachery of female emigration. Ó hÉigearthaigh contradicts widespread American stereotypes of the irresponsible "Bridget" figure who "darted from one American kitchen to another, usually shattering the crockery as she went." [80] He notes that, contrary to common belief, domestic servants resist the vices of urban life despite their constant contact with such temptation:

Dubhairt fear liom a chomhnuigh i Nuadh-Eabhrac go bhfeaca sé le n-a shúilibh cinn daoine—fir agus mná—do bhíodh tar éis na hoidhche roimhe sin do chaitheamh le hólachán agus le ragairne ag teicheadh isteach ins na cúl-shráideannaibh le corp náire roimhe na cailínibh seo do bhíodh ag dul ag éisteacht Aifrinn a chúig a chlog ar maidin Dé Domhnaigh.[81]

(A man who lives in New York told me that he saw with his own eyes a group of men and women who had spent the night before drinking and partying running down a side street in shame away from these girls who were on their way to 5 a.m. Sunday Mass.)

Throughout this journalism, Ó hÉigearthaigh conveys attachment toward his adopted home by signing off each week from Springfield. Indeed, his pride in American culture is often overt. He admires President Theodore Roosevelt (who had expressed interest in the Gaelic Revival), details his annual participation in Memorial Day celebrations, and praises urban American neighborhoods that unite in times of need.[82] Ó hÉigearthaigh's praise of America extends to language attainment, for he attacks the teaching methods of the Gaelic League, arguing that U.S. schools are more dedicated to the Irish cause than those in Ireland.[83] He is also critical of the overemphasis on dialectical purity among Irish writers, perhaps because of his own commitment to working with speakers from all of the provinces.[84] Although Gaelic Leaguers feared that emigration would lead to a total loss of the language, some immigrants claimed that they had in fact developed a fuller grasp of the various dialects following their contact with other Irish speakers in America.[85]

Like his fictional character "Seaghán na Claise," Ó hÉigearthaigh arrived in the United States as a twelve-year-old monoglot Irish speaker and learned to read and write Irish only in his new home. After setting up the Springfield Society for the Preservation of the Irish language in 1897, he helped establish at least ten Gaelic schools in the New England area and pioneered one of the most successful series of *feiseanna* in the United States. The Feis program included examinations in the language, competitions in the traditional arts, and the hosting of literary contests that attracted Irish-language writing from across the United States, Ireland, and England. The Feis began as a small two-day affair in 1904, but by 1910 it had become a weeklong festival.[86] Although the event functioned as a fund raiser for the Gaelic League in Ireland, the various dancing, singing, and story telling contests also provided a social outlet for Springfield's large Irish-speaking community. It is hard to know, however, what that community would have made of Ó hÉigearthaigh's anti-emigration writings had they been available to it. (When Séamus Ó Muircheartaigh from West Kerry wrote a piece warning emigrants not to come to Butte, Montana, because of dangerous conditions in the mines, he received threats from the local community and subsequently resettled in San Francisco.[87])

Ó hÉigearthaigh's work for local-news sources differs sharply from his anti-urban, anti-emigration pieces printed in Ireland. In a letter to the *Springfield Republican* in 1901, Ó hÉigearthaigh outlined his conviction that "the language is still capable of performing the functions required of the most modern languages." [88] Another piece for the *Irish American Weekly* in 1910 boasts of the prevalence of Irish in his adopted city, which he refers to as "Gaedhealtacht Springfield," and promises visitors that they would hear nothing but Irish: "Gheobhaidh sé blas gach cúige ann acht ní bhlaifidh sé an cúigeachas. Beidh binn glór na Gaedhilge 'inn a chluasaibh ag luidhe dó is t-oidhche agus gan amhras ag éirighe ar maidin dó"

(He will get a taste of every province but will taste no provincialism. The sweet sound of Irish will buzz in his ears as he goes to bed and again, without doubt, as he gets up in the morning).[89] Evidence also suggests that Ó hÉigearthaigh and the Springfield Gaelic Leaguers recruited young native Irish speakers from the homeland to teach at the newly established language schools in New England—even as the same organization’s leaders sent anti-emigration reports back home.[90]

An Urban, American Gaeltacht?

A number of scholars, most notably Ríona Nic Congáil, Bríona Nic Dhiarmada, O’Leary, and Caitríona Ó Tórna have pointed to the utopian impulses motivating the Gaelic League’s goal of restoring the Irish language.[91] Nic Dhiarmada notes that “in the late nineteenth century, the revival and restoration of the Irish language itself became an important part of the utopian project of cultural nationalism and can be read as a form of nostalgia in its earlier formulation, expressed as a desire to go home.”[92] However, an overemphasis on this strand of utopianism—representing a wish to return to a precolonial, pre-industrial, rural past—arguably obscures the complex range of views held by Gaelic Leaguers. Such an emphasis underestimates how Irish emigrants viewed the language as a safeguard against cultural losses in their new home.

In an intriguing article from the column “Ó’n Domhan Thiar,” Ó hÉigearthaigh describes his own utopian hopes of establishing an Irish-speaking city in Butte, Montana, which at the turn of the century had one of the largest Irish populations in the United States:

Ní fios cá stadfar le cúis na teangan i mButte má leantar di mar atáthar breis agus bliadhain. Tá na sagairt agus na tuathaigh, an saidhbhir agus an daidhbhir ag obair air a son nó go baidheamhail léi. Éireannaigh is eadh dhá dtrian a bhfuil ’sa gcathair. Cá bhfios dúinn ná beadh Cathair Ghaedhealach againn annsúd sul a stadfaidhe. “Rómansaidheacht!” ars’ an fear ciallmhar. B’fhéidir sin, acht is beag an táiream a dhéanas lucht na céille móire ar dhíogras an duine, agus is beag an chabhair an táiream san dá gcuirfeadh trí chéad duine atá lán de dhíogras rómpa cathair do Ghaeddealughadh.[93]

(Who knows how far the language cause will spread in Butte if they continue as they have for over a year! The clergy and the laypeople and the rich and the poor are all working for the language, or supportive of it. Two-thirds of the city are Irish. Who knows, we might have a Gaeltacht city here before their work is done. “Romanticization,” says the sensible man. Maybe, but people with great sense will not inspire the diligence of people, and they are of little relevance if three hundred diligent people can set out to Gaelicize the city.)

Ó hÉigearthaigh may have been inspired by the existence of German-speaking towns across the United States, but he also drew from the concept of “Éire Mhór” (Big Ireland), a term used by Mícheál Ó Lócháin, editor of *An Gaodhal*, to refer to the Irish language movement in the United States from 1893.[94] This utopian vision of an urban Gaeltacht, in which speakers of all dialects happily mingled together, was certainly at odds with the accepted outlook of more nativist Gaelic Leaguers in Ireland who rejected the city as a suitable environment for the language to grow.

The utopian vision shared by Leaguers is generally presented too reductively as a naïve, conservative vision that would be achieved by erecting a “balla cosanta” (defensive wall) around Ireland, incubating Gaelic culture from any outside, polluting influences. Pádraic Ó Conaire is often quoted as exclaiming that he would build a “wall thirty cubits high, the same as Tibet, . . . a wall of brass around it. I wouldn’t let in an idea. Not an idea, mind you—from the outside world.”[95] But far from being simply a close-minded idea, the strength of the “balla cosanta” metaphor rests on a belief that the language itself could function as a protective shield. Patrick F. Kavanagh noted that “there is no stronger rampart behind which nationality can entrench itself than a native language”—a conviction inspiring Gaels overseas who found themselves outside the geographical protection of the “Gaeltacht.”[96]

Thus the Irish nation could be relocated anywhere on earth without losing its cultural and spiritual meaning. During a speech delivered at the New York Feis in 1907, Ó hÉigearthaigh reminded his listeners that “is í an teanga gléas comhraic agus cosanta na h-aighe; is í teora an naisiúin í is cuma cé an áit ar thalamh Dé go lonnuigeann locht a labhartha” (The language is the weapon and shield of the mind, it is the border of the nation no matter where on God’s Earth her speakers are located).[97] Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg echoed this sentiment, claiming “nuair a bhéidh an teanga Gaedhealach, béidh an croidhe agus an inntinn agus an inchinn Gaedhealach” (when the language is Gaelic, the heart and mind and brain will be Gaelic too).[98] Such convictions undoubtedly encouraged Gaelic Leaguers in the United States to support the language revival for themselves and future generations.[99] Nor was Ó hÉigearthaigh the only Leaguer to envision Butte as a Gaelic center. Séamus Ó Muircheartaigh, who lived in Montana between 1906 and 1911, claimed that “Butte could surely be called the Gaelic city of the Rockies in my time.”[100]

The transformative powers of the American city were also recognized by some in Ireland. In Conán Maol’s 1909 short story “Fear na Féasóige Deirge” two Kerry men on a train notice a peculiar-looking young man who appears to be following their conversation. He approaches the travelers and confesses that he was eavesdropping: “Saghas Gaedhilgeóra is eadh mé” (I’m a kind of Gaelilgeoir). When he tells them—in well-articulated Irish—that he was born and raised far from Ireland, the Kerry men are incredulous and mock him:

“Och! cuir uait anois,” arsa Cormac, “is amhlaidh taoi ag iarraidh an dubh do chur i n-a gheal orainn.” “Ní h-eadh i n-aon chor, geallaim díbh. Thall i Springfield i nAimeirce do rugadh mé,

agus tá mo shaoghal go dtí so caithte ann. Beag iongnadh gan deallramh Gaedhilgeóra ionnam fé mar a dubhairis-se ó chianibh,” ar seisean le Cormac.” “Gabh mo leathscéal,” arsa Cormac, “ní le neart tarcuisne dubhairt an méid sin ar chuma ar bith.” [101]

(“Oh! Get away out of that now,” said Cormac, “you’re trying to pull the wool over our eyes.” “I’m not at all, I promise. I was born in Springfield in America and I’ve spent my life there until now. It’s no surprise that I don’t look like a Gaeilgeoir as you just said yourself,” he said to Cormac. “My apologies,” said Cormac, “I didn’t say that as an insult at all.”)

Despite their initial mockery, the Kerry men are in awe of this “Yank” when they realize that he learned Irish from Pádraig Ó hÉigeartaigh in Springfield, Massachusetts. Cónán Maol’s story is an anomaly among the many tales in which the “Returned Yank” appears as a figure of contempt. But it suggests that although America was generally viewed as a threat to the movement, some recognized that the Irish language could be adapted to city life—and that the American city could, on occasion, be a Gaelicizing force.

American-based Gaelic Leaguers sympathized with the organization’s anti-emigration agenda, producing literature and journalism about declining morality and a loss of cultural identity among young emigrants. But these writers also drew from their own experiences, conveying how the Irish culture could find a home in urban environs abroad. In these writings the American city did not necessarily function as de-Gaelicizing influence, but could, rather, provide a new setting in which the Irish language would thrive.

NOTES

1. Fear na Cathrach, “Gaedhilge na Cathrach,” *Fáinne an Lae* (hereafter cited as FAL), 16 July 1898, 25.

2. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

3. “Ní sí maith a dhóthain do’n neamhshuim agus do’n spadántacht atá ar fhearaihb na cathrach.” See Fear na Tuatha, “Gaedhilge na Cathrach,” FAL, 13 Aug. 1898. For an account of the debate between “Fear na Cathrach” and “Fear na Tuatha,” see Brian Ó Conchubhair, *Fin de Siècle na Gaeilge: Darwin, an Athbheochan agus Smaointeoireacht na hEorpa* (Indreabhán: An Clóchomhar/Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2009), 135–37.

4. Bunreacht Chonradh na Gaedhilge/Constitution of the Gaelic League (Dublin: Oct. 1896).

5. Máirtín Ó Direáin, *Feamainn Bhealtaine* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar Teoranta, 1961), 86.

6. “Ní chuireann beatha na cathrach i n-aghaidh spioraide aon teangadh.” See Fear na Cathrach, “Gaedhilge na Cathrach,” 25.

7. FAL, 20 Aug. 1898.

8. Philip O’Leary, *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881–1921: Ideology and Innovation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press), 146.

9. A term used by Tom Garvin to describe the agenda of Gaelic Leaguer Canon Peadar Ua Laoghaire in “Priests and Patriots: Irish Separatism and Fear of the Modern, 1890–1914,” *Irish Historical Studies* 25:97 (May 1986): 67–81.

10. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 582; Pádraig Ó Treabhair, “An Imirce Éireannach: Léargas na Staire,” in *Ar an gCoigríoch: Díolaim Litríochta ar Scéal na hImirce*, ed. Aisling Ní Dhonnchadha and Máirín Nic Eoin (Indreabhán: Cló Iar Chonnachta, 2008), 26.

11. Patrick Pearse, “Gleo na gCath,” *An Claidheamh Soluis* (hereafter cited as ACS), 25 April 1903, 3.

12. “Imtheacht na nGaedheal thar Lear,” ACS, 11 April 1903, 4.

13. John Walsh, *Contests and Contexts: The Irish Language and Ireland’s Socioeconomic Development* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 78–79.

14. Douglas Hyde, then president of the Gaelic League, was a signatory to the Anti-Emigration Society’s “Appeal to the Irish in America,” *Irish Examiner*, 21 March 1904, 6. As O’Leary notes however, Pearse may have been less enthusiastic about the Society’s “business-like programme,” *Prose Literature*, 142.

15. “Around the Country,” *Kerry People*, 25 July 1903.

16. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 345.

17. See Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh, *An Cneamhaire* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Cló Chumann, 1903); Lorcán Ua Tuathail, *An Deoraidhe: Dráma i nAghaidh Imtheachda Thar Sáile* (Dublin: Connradh na Gaedhilge, 1905).
18. O’Leary, *Prose Literature*, 148.
19. Máirtín Ó Ceallaigh, “Mustar an Bhodaigh,” ACS, 31 Oct. 1909, 5.
20. The proverb “ní cathair mar a tuairisg í” is commonly used in the modern-day sense to suggest that “it’s not all it’s cracked up to be.”
21. Pádraic Ó Conaire, “Nóra Mharcais Bhig,” ACS, 12, 19, 26 Jan.; 2 Feb. 1907.
22. Ó Conaire, “Nóra Mharcais Bhig,” 19 Jan. 1907, 6.
23. Seán Ua Ceallaigh, “Éamonn Óg Ó Neill,” ACS, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 March; 6, 13 April 1907.
24. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1907, 6.
25. Máire Ní Cheallaigh, “Máire Ní Bhriain,” ACS, 28 Feb. and 21 March 1903.
26. The majority of emigrants who left Ireland between 1885 and 1920 were unmarried women traveling alone. This pattern was unique within Europe. See Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: Women’s Emigration from Ireland, 1885–1920* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 2; Hasia R. Diner, *Erin’s Daughters in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), xiv. The Anti-Emigration Society aimed specifically to warn young girls of the “folly of indiscriminate emigration.” See “Founded a Society to Keep Them From Coming to America,” *Saint Paul Globe*, 13 Sept. 1903.
27. O’Leary, *Prose Literature*, 148.
28. Seán Ua Ceallaigh, “Feiseanna Chiarraidhe,” ACS, 4 June 1904, 1.

29. Quoted in Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality, and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 57.

30. *Ibid.*, 70.

31. Ó Conaire, “Nóra Mharcais Bhig,” 6.

32. See Philip O’Leary, “Yank Outsiders: Irish Americans in Gaelic Fiction and Drama of the Irish Free State, 1922–1939,” in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, ed. Charles Fanning (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 253–65; Philip O’Leary, “Castles of Gold: American and Americans in the Fiction of Séamus Ó Grianna,” *Éire-Ireland* 21:2 (Summer 1986): 70–84; Catherine Nash, *Of Irish Descent: Origin Stories, Genealogy, and the Politics of Belonging* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008); and Ann Schofield, “The Returned Yank as Site of Memory in Irish Popular Culture,” *Journal of American Studies* 47:4 (2013): 175–95.

33. H. Arnold Barton, “From Swede to Swedish American, or Vice Versa: The Conversion Motif in the Literature of Swedish America,” *Scandinavian Studies* 70:1 (1998): 26–38.

34. Ní Fhaircheallaigh, *An Cneamhaire*, 8.

35. Peadar Ua Laoghaire, “Abhaile—Má Fhéadaim É!” in *Sgothbhualadh* (Baile Átha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin, 1920), 63.

36. See also Séamus Ó Dubhghaill, “Óráid Shéamuis Uí Dhubhghaill sa Tuaith,” ACS, 25 July 1903.

37. Patrick Pearse, “Gleo na gCath,” ACS, 18 July 1903, 9.

38. This is a term used by Úna Ní Bhroiméil in her discussion of the Gaelic League’s missions to the United States from 1906 to 1914. See Ní Bhroiméil, “Worlds Apart—The Gaelic League and America, 1906–1914,” in *Explorations: Centenary Essays*, ed. Liam Irwin (Limerick: Mary Immaculate College, 1998), 146.

39. Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin, *Scéal an Oireachtais, 1897–1924* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar, 1984), 158.

40. “The Anti Emigration Society,” *Irish World*, 26 Dec. 1903. See also “A Circular Letter of ‘The Anti-Emigration Society’ appealing to the Irish in America to discourage further emigration from Ireland,” March 1904 (Sweetman Family Papers, MS 47,583/8, National Library of Ireland).

41. “Anti-Emigration Society,” *An Gaodhal*, Oct. 1903, 339.

42. “Appeal to the Irish in America,” *Irish Examiner*, 21 March 1904.

43. “The Emigration Drain,” *Irish American Weekly*, 4 July 1903.

44. Donncha Ó Súilleabháin, *Conradh na Gaeilge i Londain 1894–1917* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1989), 2; Fionnuala Uí Fhlannagáin, *Mícheál Ó Lócháin agus An Gaodhal* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta, 1990), 54; William Mahon, “Ar Thóir na Gaeilge: Tionscadal Lámhscríbhinní an Philo-Celtic Society (Bostún), 1873–1893,” in *Litríocht na Gaeilge Ar Fud an Domhain*, ed. Ríona Nic Congáil et al. (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Teoranta, 2015), 155.

45. W. J. Balfe, “Emigration to America—A Warning to Irish Girls,” *Connaught Telegraph*, 29 Aug. 1903; “Emigration to America,” *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Sept. 1903.

46. Pádraig Ua Déaghdaigh, “Litir Aniar,” ACS, 6 Feb. 1909, 6.

47. Micheál Ó Raghallaigh, “Duine de sna Míltibh,” *Banba*, March and May 1902, 62–63, 80–81.

48. Ó Raghallaigh, “Duine de sna Míltibh,” 17 March 1902, 63.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. Ó Raghallaigh, “Duine de sna Míltibh,” 3 May 1902, 81.

52. “Ní raibh an t-automobile ann san am úd ná an trucail-ghaile acht chomh beag.” Ó Raghallaigh, “Cóiste gan Chapail/The Horseless Carriage,” *An Gaodhal*, Dec. 1902, 389. See also: “Fógradh na Mná-Síge,” *An Gaodhal*, July 1901, “Ní raibh aon trucail-ghaile (steam car) i g-Ciarraidhe san am sin,” 212.

53. United States Census Bureau, *Fifteenth Census of Population for the United States Census, 1930*, individual return consulted at <https://www.familysearch.org>.

54. *Ulster Herald*, 19 Sept. 1942.

55. For example, Ó Raghallaigh hosted the Irish-language play “Seaghán Ruadh” written by B. O’Keeney in 1903, which drew crowds of over 1,000 people in Manhattan. “Seaghán Ruadh,” *Donegal News*, 24 March 1906.

56. See also O’Leary, *Prose Literature*, 147, 150.

57. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Sgéul Thomáis na Claise agus a Chuid Béurla,” *FAL*, 10 March 1900, 74. This story was also republished in *Gaelic Journal/ Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, April 1901.

58. *Ibid.*, 17 March 1900, 82.

59. *Ibid.*, 31 March 1900, 99.

60. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Oscar na Fichead Sinnsire; nó Sgorui dheacht do bhí i dTeach na Gaedhilge, Tráthnóna Domhnaigh Cincíse,” *ACS*, 9 Aug. 1902, 370. For criticism of second-generation Irish immigrants who neglect their religion, see Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Bodaigh na Tuatha,” *ACS*, 7 June 1902, 255.

61. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Sgéal Sheagháin na Claise,” *FAL*, 7 April 1900, 106.

62. Such a view also appears in the writing of American-born author and poet Denis A. McCarthy (1871–1931). In a scathing article for *An Gaodhal*, he denounced “that detestable ‘twang’ which has made the name of ‘returned Yank’ an abomination.” However, McCarthy

presumably did not seem to think this label of “Returned Yank” was applicable to himself. As he notes in the final line of his article, “the United States seems only to vulgarise some Irish emigrants.” See Denis A. McCarthy, “The ‘Twang’ of the Returned Yank,” *An Gaodhal*, May 1903, 137.

63. See “Oscar na Féinne ’ghá Chur i gCompráid leis an Athair Ó Floinn; nó Oscar na Ficeadh Sinnsire,” ACS, 12 July; 2, 9 Aug. 1902.

64. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Gléas Solais Dhomhnaill Uí Súiliobháin,” ACS, 21 Feb. 1903, 6.

65. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Sgéul Thomáis na Claise agus a Chuid Béurla,” 17 March 1900, 82.

66. See “An Nós gur Bhuaidh Oscar Mac Oisín Cuid an Ghaishidhigh ó Gholl Mac Móirne,” ACS, 4, 11, 18, 25 April 1903.

67. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “Gléas Solais Dhomhnaill Uí Súiliobháin,” ACS, 21 Feb. 1903, 834.

68. “Ábhar Ilghnéitheach ó Iarthar Duibhneach,” ca. 1889 (Patrick Ferriter Manuscripts, MS 1, 490, University College Dublin Special Collections).

69. Seán Ó Tuama, “Stability and Ambivalence: Aspects of the Sense of the Place and Religion in Irish Literature,” in *Ireland: Towards a Sense of the Place*, ed. Joe Lee (Cork: Cork University Press 1985), 21–33. For a comprehensive discussion of the publication history of “Ochón, a Dhonncha” and the extraliterary influences behind Patrick Pearse’s edition, see Síobhra Aiken, “‘An Dán is Deise agus is Fileata San Nua-Ghaedhilg’: Eagarthóireacht Phádraig Mhic Phiarais ar an Dán dar Tús ‘Ochón a Dhonnchadh’ le Pádraig Ó hÉigearthaigh” *Comhar Taighde* 2 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.18669/ct.2016.01>.

70. Pádraig Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Ochón, A Dhonncha/My Sorrow, Donncha,” trans. Thomas Kinsella, in *Leabhar na hAthghabhála/Poems of Repossession*, ed. Louis de Paor (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnacht and Northumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2016), 30–31.

71. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Tadhg Ua Séaghdha,” *Banba*, April 1903.

72. Ibid., 166.

73. Ibid.

74. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Tadhg Ua Séaghdha,” 167.

75. Pearse, editor of *An Claidheamh Soluis*, assured readers in advance of its publication that the column would “not be a tout for emigrants.” See “Gleo na gCath,” ACS, 9 Nov. 1907, 6.

76. “Bíonn na bochtáin sínte ’n-a srathannaibh ar ghrátaibh iarainn os cionn cisteanacha na dtighthe ósta’ le teacht slán ón bhfuacht.” Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Gorta,” ACS, 25 April 1908, 6.

77. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Níl Ceol Níos Binne, Dar Liom Féin, ná Ceileabhar Éan i nGéagaibh Crainn,” ACS, 6 June 1908, 5.

78. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Obair Gann,” ACS, 18 April 1908, 6.

79. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Na Cailíní Gaedhealacha,” ACS, 25 April 1908, 6.

80. Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, xiii.

81. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Na Cailíní Gaedhealacha,” ACS, 25 April 1908, 6.

82. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Jim Crowe,” ACS, 2 May 1908, 5; “An Deichmheadh Lá Ficheadh de Bhealtaine,” ACS, 20 June 1908, 5; “Sé toradh na carthannachta so agus an misnigh atá san Aimeriocánach go bhfuil tosnuighte aca cheana féin ar an gcathair do thógaint arís,” “Carthannacht,” ACS, 16 May 1908, 5.

83. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “An Taobh Eile,” ACS, 25 July 1908, 5.

84. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Cúigeachas na Sgrídhneoirí,” ACS, 30 Bealtaine 1908, 5; “Feis Springfield,” *Gaelic American*, 24 Sept. 1910, 4.

85. See, for example, Leath ar Leath, “Sgéula Ón Oileán Úr,” *FAL*, 30 April 1898.

86. “Next Sunday’s Gaelic Feis,” *Springfield Republican*, 24 Oct. 1904; “Gaelic League Envoys in Springfield,” *Butte Independent*, 11 Nov. 1910.

87. Diarmaid Breathnach, Máire Ní Mhurchú, and Fiontar, Dublin City University, “Séamus Ó Muircheartaigh (1877–1927),” *Beathaisnéis*, <http://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=342>. For more on the Butte Irish-language community, see Ciara Ní Riain, “Seán ‘Irish’ Ó Súilleabháin: Ó Inis Fearn Ard go Butte, Montana,” in Nic Congáil et al., *Litríocht na Gaeilge*, 233–58.

88. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “His Faith in the Gaelic Revival,” *Springfield Republican*, 4 Sept. 1901.

89. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “Macht nuighthe ar an n-Gaedhilge,” *Irish American Weekly*, 24 Sept. 1910.

90. Séamus Ó Muircheartaigh (1877–1927), who emigrated to Springfield in 1898, noted in his column in *The Leader* that he “had come to America to teach Gaelic.” See *Imirceach Ó Éirinn—An Spailpín Fánach*, directed and written by Breandán Feirtéar (TG4, 10 Dec. 2005); and *The Leader* (San Francisco), 11 Sept. 1926.

91. Ríona Nic Congáil, *Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh agus an Fhis Útóipeach Ghaelach: Anailís ar a Saol agus a Saothar* (Baile Átha Cliath: Leabhair Comhar, 2010); Ríona Nic Congáil, “‘Life and the Dream’: Utopian Impulses within the Irish Language Revival,” *Utopian Studies* 23:2 (2012): 430–49; Bríona Nic Dhiarmada, “Aspects of Utopia, Anti-Utopia, and Nostalgia in Irish-Language Texts,” *Utopian Studies* 18:3 (2007): 365–78; O’Leary, *Prose Literature*, 135; Caitríona Ó Torna, *Cruthú na Gaeltachta 1893–1922* (Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life, 2005), 153–59.

92. Nic Dhiarmada, “Aspects of Utopia, Anti-Utopia,” 368.

93. Ó hÉigearthaigh, “I Montana,” *ACS*, 8 Aug. 1908, 5. For Butte, see David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875–1925* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 3.

94. See, for example, Mícheál Ó Lócháin, “The Gaelic League,” *An Gaodhal*, Sept. 1893. It is worth noting that Ó Lócháin did not see emigration from Ireland to the United States as a

negative phenomenon. See Máirín Nic Eoin, “Idir Pobal agus Gréasán: Gnéithe de Litríocht na Gaeilge i Meiriceá sa Naoú hAois Déag” (unpublished essay, 2013), 37–38.

95. Negley Farson, *The Way of the Transgressor* (London: Gollancz, 1947), 358. Ó Conaire’s comment has arguably been misunderstood, given that his eccentric statement was made regarding the Free State’s commitment to the Irish language in the 1920s. And it is no coincidence that his outcry echoes the words of philosopher Bishop Berkeley, who speculated about the benefits of building “a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom.” Significantly, Berkeley was never an advocate of a closed economy; his question was in the spirit of discussion, not unlike that of Ó Conaire, who finished his eccentric claim by asserting that once the wall had been built, he would “open Ireland after fifty years.”

96. P. F. Kavanagh, *Ireland’s Defence: Her Language* (Gaelic League Pamphlets, No. 23, 1901), quoted in O’Leary, *Prose Literature*, 20.

97. “Feis Cumainn na Gaedhilge: Óráid Phádraig Uí Éigceartaigh,” *Gaelic American*, 20 April 1907, 3.

98. Mac Mic Mháiréide Ní Thaidhg, “An Chuma is Fearn; nó Cad Iad na Neidhthe is Oireamhnaighe do Dhéanamh chum Aos Óg na hÉireann do Choimeád ’san mBaile,” ACS, 6 Dec. 1902, 639.

99. For an example of American-based Gaelic Leaguers urging their members to speak the language with their children, see “Springfield Gaels,” FAL, 7 July 1900.

100. *The Leader* (San Francisco), 19 Sept. 1925.

101. Conán Maol [Pádraig Ó Séaghdha], “Fear na Féasóige Deirge,” *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, Aug. 1909, 367.