

Introduction

Between seven and eight million men and women left Ireland over the course of the nineteenth century.¹ For a country whose population has never been more than eight and a half million, that is a mind-boggling statistic, and one that might easily obscure individual emigrant lives. Historians have therefore tended to tackle Irish emigration in two disparate but complementary ways: some from the top down, with sophisticated statistical analysis, others from the bottom up, with recourse to the authentic voices of emigrants themselves. They have succeeded in breaking down that intimidating number by establishing broad patterns of who departed and when, where from and where to, and the gender and class balances amongst them. They have documented and contextualised the experiences of individual migrants as gleaned from thousands of surviving letters and memoirs.² Consequently we know a great deal about 'the Irish diaspora' and its often profound impact on the countries to which it spread.

Yet the great blind spot of migration history is the effect a significant national diaspora has on the sending society.³ After all, the country most affected by nineteenth-century Irish emigration was not the United States, where the largest proportion of emigrants went, nor Australia, which had a higher ratio of immigrants from Ireland among its population than from any other country, but Ireland itself, from where all of them ultimately came. This study proposes to improve our understanding of the phenomenon of Irish emigration by concentrating on Ireland rather than its diaspora, and within those parameters to look at a significant and hitherto overlooked aspect of the two-way relationship between the sending society and the outflow. Specifically, it seeks to ascertain and compare how the Irish

Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican churches responded to sustained emigration from their congregations during the nineteenth century, and in turn how they were affected by it, and, just as importantly, how they *believed* themselves to be affected by it. The book therefore knits together two of the most significant themes in the social and cultural history of modern Ireland – mass emigration and religious change – and aims to provide fresh insight into both.

There is a reasonable popular assumption that Irish emigration on a significant scale began only in the nineteenth century. Many regard the Great Famine as Ireland's mass migration 'year zero', while others might be aware that the economic slump after the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 prompted consistent outward movement. Although there is some truth to both points, emigration from Ireland before 1815 was by no means negligible, and each of the three major churches in Ireland consequently had at least some involvement in it. As Professor Kerby Miller has noted, migration during this period did not proportionally reflect the religious composition of the Irish population.⁴ Absolute figures for the long eighteenth century are unreliable and in much dispute.⁵ However, it is widely agreed that the Presbyterian Church's members, a minority within the wider population, formed by some distance the greatest proportion of migrants in the century and a half up to 1815, perhaps as much as three-fifths of the total. Thus, the Presbyterian Church has unsurprisingly left the largest trace of its engagement with the phenomenon during this period. The growing secondary literature on the 'Ulster Scots', who became 'Scotch Irish' when translated across the Atlantic, recognises the extent to which religious ministers in Ireland had a conflicted view of the exodus, occasionally encouraging it from the pulpit as the right course for individuals whom they regarded as religiously persecuted, and at other times expressing dismay at the economic consequences for the home church.⁶ Their Church of Ireland counterparts, whose parishioners migrated in much smaller numbers, forming perhaps a fifth of the total, viewed emigration in more positive terms, as a necessary safety valve for the poor or adventurous among them. Indeed, their strongest feeling on the matter may have been a self-interested disdain for the declared religious motives of the Presbyterians for emigrating – which included objections to paying the Church of Ireland tithe – even if later Anglican historians tended to look back on this exodus as a loss to 'the Protestant interest'.⁷ Attitudes

to emigration within the Catholic Church, to which about another fifth to a quarter of eighteenth-century migrants nominally belonged, are more difficult to discern. If Miller's assertion that the majority of these early Catholic migrants were 'rootless' holds true, however, then it seems unlikely that their removal caused their clergy a great deal of practical trouble or mental anguish.⁸

Outward migration in the nineteenth century was a different matter. By 1815, Ireland's population had expanded to almost seven million, more than double what it had been only a century before, and emigration had reached similarly unprecedented levels. Three distinct phases of nineteenth-century Irish emigration can be discerned. Firstly, it has been estimated that in the thirty years prior to the potato blight, even as the home population continued to increase, as many as one and a half million people emigrated, mainly to North America and Great Britain.⁹ Then, between 1846 and 1855, another two and half million left in a torrent of crisis migration unleashed by the Great Famine. Finally, there came a further four million, more considered, departures in the six decades leading up to the Great War, at which point shipping, and therefore emigration, was curtailed.¹⁰ Significant gaps in demographic data mean the religious breakdown of this enormous outflow is impossible to state with confidence. Statistics from the primary destination countries – the United States, Britain, British North America (Canada), the Australian colonies, and New Zealand – are only of limited help, since the religious profession of immigrants tended to go unrecorded by officials.¹¹ Moreover, before 1861, Ireland's decennial censuses, the accuracy of which were often questionable, recorded religious affiliation only once, in the 1830s. Those figures, released in 1834, suggest the Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian proportions of the population were approximately 80.9%, 10.7%, and 8.1% respectively. In 1861, the ratio had changed to 77.7%, 12%, and 9%, and by 1901 the figures were 74.2%, 13% and 9.9%.

These statistics suggest three pertinent points. Firstly, while they clearly indicate an overwhelmingly Catholic exodus that steadily reduced the Catholic ratio of the population, it must be acknowledged, as Professor Donald Akenson has robustly contended, that throughout the century Protestants represented 'at least as large a proportion [of the outflow] as they were of the home population.'¹² This assertion is borne out by the quantities behind the above percentages, which show significant falls in the absolute number, as distinct from the relative proportions of each church's adherents.¹³ Secondly,

the census religious figures, or rather their intermittent nature, denote that in the mid-century period of the most intense outward movement, the precise religious make up of the static population, let alone of the mobile Irish born, was in doubt, leaving room for heated sectarian disputes over mass emigration's effect on Irish religious demography, as we shall see. Thirdly, these figures show that the three churches considered here account for between 97% and 99% of the island's population over the course of the nineteenth century.

This last point goes some way to explaining why the other dissenting or non-conformist (i.e. non-Anglican, established) Protestant churches in Ireland do not form part of the analysis that follows. According to that year's census, by 1901 there were just 125,000 Irish residents who attended churches outside the three major denominations (up from 21,808 in 1834, and 77,000 in 1861).¹⁴ Baptists, Quakers, Methodists and the rest were a tiny, if fluctuating, share of the Irish population throughout the nineteenth century, and their clergy were consequently very few in number.¹⁵ To be sure, these people left Ireland in large proportions relative to their absolute numbers, and had done so from the late seventeenth century onward, contributing disproportionately to the early spread of those faiths across the globe, but in doing so they were undermined at home. Irish Baptists, who arrived with Cromwell and began returning to England or leaving for North America (attracted by better land opportunities) within a matter of decades, saw their share of the population reduced to only about 500 persons by 1800. Various waves of revivalism swelled their numbers tenfold during the ensuing century, but emigration remained a steady drain on Baptist congregations during that time, particularly outside of Ulster.¹⁶ The emigration of Irish Quakers had a similar effect. They were a key source of migrants to the Pennsylvania colony from its foundation in 1682, and were therefore part of an active transatlantic religious network well into the nineteenth century. However, by 1901 there were fewer than 3,000 of them left behind in Ireland.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the high levels of emigration, legitimate questions as to the extent to which such tiny religious bodies might provide sufficient depth of evidence for a multi-faceted comparison with the larger churches in Ireland have prompted their exclusion from this study.

Methodists, as the largest of the minor denominations, were a trickier proposition. By 1901 there were 62,000 Methodists in Ireland and they had contributed not insignificantly towards Irish emigration figures. Their own Church conference minutes record some 38,500

Methodists departing Ireland, mainly for North America, between 1830 and 1900.¹⁸ By 1870, there were said to be more Irish Methodists in the United States than in Ireland.¹⁹ For that reason, some of the same practices and attitudes relating to emigration can be discerned in Methodist clergy as in those of the three major churches. While the Methodist Church, again, does not form a full comparison with the Presbyterian, Anglican and Catholic churches in this book, peppered throughout the footnotes the reader can find references from secondary and occasionally primary sources which demonstrate some key points of crossover. Also confined to the margins of the analysis are fraternal associations, including the pan-Protestant Orange Order founded in Ulster in 1796, the Catholic Ancient Order of Hibernians, begun in the United States in 1836 and the Limerick founded Catholic Young Men's Society, founded in 1849. Belonging to these organisations may have been predicated on religious affiliation, as historians have shown, and while their reach may have extended across the diaspora and homeland,²⁰ and their structures may have been employed in the transfer of migrants, their membership, both lay and clerical, is also largely accounted for in that of the three major churches. Thus, confining the book to three churches and to the nineteenth century allows a deeper comparative approach and reflects the fact that the focus is on Ireland, rather than the destination countries

This book's focus on the sending society has some precedents as far as migration history goes. A number of historians of nineteenth-century Irish emigration have taken care to establish the 'push factors' in Irish society that may have influenced departures, as well as some of the ways in which the mass exodus subsequently changed Ireland. However, the focus, as elsewhere, has tended to be on economics.²¹ Most agree that a fundamental lack of economic opportunity at home was the key determinant of outward migration, and that the loss of population had discernible consequences for the development, or more often, lack of development of the Irish economy.²² Fewer studies have assessed how other elements of Irish culture and society affected or were affected by the mass population movement. Arnold Schrier's pioneering *Ireland and the American Emigration* was a worthy attempt to do just that, but it was, as the author himself later noted, a preliminary treatment, leaving much work still to be done.²³ A few inroads have since been made into this territory. There have been useful demographic studies of how emigration shaped Irish social

and family structure, and the unique emigration patterns of Irish women (and what has been termed the ‘defeminisation of the Irish countryside’) have begun to be explored.²⁴

However, historians of nineteenth-century migration have yet to come to grips with the variety of ways in which the churches in Ireland engaged with the issue. This oversight is especially puzzling when one considers the central significance of religion within Irish history more generally, and the extent to which historians of the diaspora have examined the religious dimension of migrant life in their various destinations; for instance the churches’ roles in helping immigrants to settle and to prosper, if not always to assimilate, has been a major theme in Irish diaspora studies.²⁵ The relevant literature that does exist tends to be of a limited nature, often following Schrier’s lead in identifying a particular strain of post-famine anti-emigration rhetoric among Catholic priests, primarily from provincial newspaper sources.²⁶ Even then, such accounts fail to explore the contradiction that lay at the heart of this apparently clear cut condemnation, namely that significant numbers of Catholic clergy were actively involved in the emigration process. This involvement itself has been subject to fitful inquiry. David Fitzpatrick has discussed some of the practical facilitation priests offered to would-be emigrants, while Gerard Moran has pointed toward clergy-led schemes of colonisation, as well as clerical reaction to landlord-financed migration, in his synthesis of material on assisted emigration.²⁷ Perhaps most relevant is Oliver MacDonagh’s succinct examination of aspects of the practical and rhetorical responses of the Catholic clergy during the Famine, although in limiting his study to a period of crisis, MacDonagh arguably captured an unrepresentative, or at least incomplete, snapshot.²⁸

Kerby Miller’s corpus of work, particularly *Emigrants and Exiles*, offered a more nuanced and convincing take on Catholic clerical conceptions of migration. Miller argues that Catholic priests, alongside ‘strong farmers’ and nationalist politicians, contributed to a traditionalist ‘explanation’ of emigration as ‘exile’ which suited each of their particular bourgeois ends, and which manifested itself in the mentality of Irish migrants, as evidenced in surviving correspondence and emigrant literature and song.²⁹ Plausible efforts have been made to question the extent to which this culture of ‘exile’ really does come through in emigrant letters,³⁰ though they do not invalidate the idea that what Miller calls ‘Catholic spokesmen’ may have attempted to paint emigration in those terms. In the present context, however,

there are a number of potential problems with Miller's approach, not least of which is his sometimes misleading conflation of priests and Nationalist politicians under the one 'Catholic spokesmen' label. Of further concern is the impression that, in one Catholic historian's critique, 'a vast amount of material is being poured into a mould', the end product of which is the 'exile' motif. As another astute commentator in Irish migration studies has noted, 'if 'exile' is a discourse, then it is only one of a number of possible discourses'.³¹ At least as important, arguably, were the clergy's more overtly religious interpretations of mass emigration as the work of Divine Providence.

Two further lacunae stand out from *Emigrants and Exiles* but are by no means unique to Miller. The first is the absence of any adequate understanding of what Fitzpatrick has rightly identified as the church's primary purpose in relation to the outflow; 'to exhort and minister to the streams of emigrants'.³² While many historians have hypothesised that a concern for the religious welfare of the departed may have coloured clerical condemnation of the exodus, there has been little substantiating analysis of the pastoral response of the Irish Catholic Church to the mass out-movement of their congregations.³³ Examination of what the *Freeman's Journal* termed 'priests for the emigrants' has instead been the almost exclusive preserve of ecclesiastical historians, often moonlighting clergy, who have arguably treated the subject of the pastoral response of the Catholic Church with excessive empathy.³⁴ In addition, while the church's concern for the temporal and most especially the moral welfare of emigrants has been better served, particularly in the realm of women's history, it nonetheless requires fresh contextualisation.³⁵ The final omission in *Emigrants and Exiles* – although it is one that Miller has begun to address in other contexts – is the failure to consider the corresponding rhetorical, practical and pastoral responses to emigration on the part of the Irish Protestant churches.³⁶ This is matched by a more general neglect of nineteenth-century, and especially post-Famine, Irish Protestant emigration, which, as we have seen, can be both blamed on and discredited by the religious statistics.³⁷ The nineteenth-century exodus was overwhelmingly Catholic, but the logic of dealing also with the two main Protestant communions, representing over a fifth of the population, is inescapable: any issues relating to emigration which confronted the Catholic Church would surely have been felt just as acutely by the two main Protestant churches, lending an illuminating comparative perspective, while the consequences of mass

emigration for the increasingly fractious relationship between Protestant and Catholic in Ireland are likely to have promoted considerable comment.

If historians of Irish emigration therefore have an incomplete understanding of the Irish churches' engagement with the matter, what of religious historians' grasp on migration? The most prolific and influential historian of nineteenth-century Irish Catholicism, Emmet Larkin, has recognised the significance of emigration to the church in two discrete, but not wholly unconnected ways. In his three major *American Historical Review* essays, gathered together in *The historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, emigration is posited as a key enabling factor for what he termed the 'devotional revolution', a phrase that has come to serve as shorthand for the transformation of the post-Famine Catholic Church into one of near-universal religious practice and 'Ultramontane' or Rome-centred conformity. As well as improving the priest-to-people ratio dramatically, Larkin argued, Famine deaths and continued mass emigration left behind the relatively less poor and already more devout sections of society, which created ideal conditions in which to impose even greater Ultramontane orthodoxy.³⁸ Meanwhile, in his multi-volume 'mosaic' history of the nineteenth-century church – which is largely treated as an epistolary conversation between bishops – Larkin noted the high degree of concern in the early 1860s over the renewed exodus, and echoed Edward Norman in the view that such concern prompted a deeper episcopal involvement in temporal matters.³⁹ Desmond Bowen slightly demurred from that line in the case of Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin and reputed architect of the devotional revolution, suggesting that Cullen cared about emigration only insofar as he could use it to embarrass the government.⁴⁰ This at least presents one possible resolution of the seeming contradiction between Larkin's two conclusions – that the church was fearful of emigration even as it was apparently strengthened by it – but more scrutiny of that point is certainly required.

Historians of nineteenth-century Irish Protestantism, fewer as they are, have come to less solid conclusions about emigration. David Hempton and Myrtle Hill are among those who have emphasised the importance of transatlantic links – nourished by successive waves of emigration – to the development of evangelicalism in Ireland, while Alan Acheson's survey history of the Church of Ireland notes the increasing sense of gloom in the post-disestablish-

ment church, particularly outside Ulster, as continued emigration left many parishes with only scores of parishioners where there had once been hundreds.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the significance of emigration for inter-denominational relations has only been hinted at. Bowen suggests that evangelical attempts to foster a 'Second Reformation' in the middle decades of the century may have been partially thwarted by emigration, while also endorsing Larkin's view that, in the longer term, the Catholic Church benefited from the exodus of many of its own adherents.⁴² These assertions, likewise, need to be more rigorously examined.

The work which follows, then, straddles two of the most significant themes in modern Irish history: emigration and religion. This combination means that the book can also be located within two further, emerging bodies of work. The first and slightly older of these might be summarised as 'religion and empire' and concerns the nineteenth-century diffusion of European religious denominations across the globe, and in particular how the 'home' churches helped with, were affected by, and felt about the process.⁴³ By engaging with this scholarship, much of it naturally coming from historians of Britain and its empire, a second set of familiar questions about the ambiguous relationship between Ireland and that empire also necessarily arise.⁴⁴ Most aspects of this relationship have still to be addressed in substantive terms, although scholars are increasingly engaged in doing so, many employing innovative biographical and network analysis approaches.⁴⁵ Here, in exploring different, providential iterations of the Irish 'spiritual empire' as it related to mass emigration and as it was understood by Irish clergy, it is hoped to make a contribution to both of these ongoing discussions.

There are, therefore, a number of key questions to be addressed, and the following five chapters do so thematically. In essence, two interrelated sets of tensions, one primarily concerning emigrants themselves, the other the status of the churches, will be explored. Firstly, clergy in each church, who very often had an important social as well as a spiritual function to carry out in their communities, faced a conflict when it came to a communicant's proposed departure to pastures new. While they may have recognised migration as being in an individual's best economic interest, they could equally regard it as hazardous to their moral and religious wellbeing. Secondly, with regard to their own institutions, clergymen may have found themselves torn between wanting to keep their own congregations intact and their home church

strong – particularly in relation to the other Irish denominations – and wanting to see their particular brand of Christianity expanded abroad by means of emigration. This double dichotomy therefore dictates the structure of the book. Part I, comprising the first three chapters, will address the churches' responses to emigration, both in theory and in practice. Part II, comprising the final two chapters, will assess how emigration impacted on the churches – and the churches' self-conceptions – both in relation to their status in Ireland, and in terms of their ability to spread their influence abroad.

Chapter One deals with the theoretical positions of the clergy of each denomination in relation to emigration and how they changed over the course of the century, as the character of emigration itself altered. Although Oliver MacDonagh has noted the danger of glibly categorising clergymen into 'pro-' or 'anti-emigration' camps, and stated that 'the Catholic Church in Ireland never, as a church, defined for itself an attitude towards emigration' – an assertion equally applicable to the Protestant churches – an attempt is made to discern the broadest swathes of opinion within each communion.⁴⁶ This forms a necessary basis for the wider themes of the book. As the chapter shows, the economic utility of emigration was hotly debated by clergymen, and their stated views on the matter must be understood in order to place their actions properly into context. The chapter uses evidence from contemporary pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals – particularly a vastly underused corpus of religious periodicals – while also having recourse to parliamentary papers, and, in particular, the content analysis of extensive clerical testimony before the 1830s Poor inquiry.

Chapter Two explores the extent of practical clerical involvement in the temporal aspects of emigration. This includes attempts to prevent or limit it, a variety of facilitation services informally offered by parish clergymen, church-backed moves to safeguard emigrant welfare, clerical advice-giving and clerically planned schemes of migration. These are examined with due regard to the patterns of opinion set out in the previous chapter and with the intention of assessing the extent to which clergymen were able to impose their views on the emigration process. The chapter relies for evidence on careful use of literary sources, the accounts of visitors to and travellers in Ireland, clerically authored pamphlets, parliamentary reports and manuscript material from religious archives.

Chapter Three is an extensive, comparative survey of each of the three churches' practical religious involvement in the lives of emigrants, and

in particular, the systematic provision of clergy by the home churches to emigrant communities. It examines the motivations for such provision, explores the structures put in place to achieve it, and assesses their efficacy. This follows on from some of the concerns over moral and spiritual decay among emigrants touched upon in the previous chapter, exploring how they were addressed, while also providing a basis for understanding a number of issues in subsequent chapters. A wide range of sources employed include religious records, particularly the incredibly rich collections of the Irish College in Rome, emigrants' letters, contemporary pamphlets, missionary periodicals and the chronicles of mission societies themselves.

Chapter Four begins the examination of the impact of emigration on the churches by exploring the consequences and potential consequences of mass population loss for each communion. Tied in with increasing inter-denominational animosity, this primarily post-Famine discourse was a heated one, which featured ever-evolving providential interpretations of the exodus and its supposed long-term repercussions. The chapter asks how clergy believed continued emigration would help or hinder their own and the other churches' respective positions, both in Ireland and the wider world. In doing so, it draws on an extensive body of controversial mission literature, religious periodicals, pamphlets, newspapers and archival material.

Chapter Five continues the theme of specifically religious interpretations of the outflow by addressing a commonly referenced but only rarely scrutinised belief in emigration as a divinely dictated mission to spread Christianity across the globe, and consequent conceptions of an Irish 'spiritual empire'. Primarily a Catholic phenomenon, the chapter will assess its extent and nature and determine whether it was the compensatory invention of spokesmen unable to prevent emigration, the cold theodicy of those who cared little for the fate of emigrants themselves, a development with real and tangible consequences for the Irish church or a complicated mixture of all three. It will also ask whether an equivalent and specifically Irish Protestant narrative in relation to lay emigration can be located. The chapter utilises newspapers and periodicals, contemporary books and pamphlets, clerical memoirs and biographies and archival material.

A few explanatory notes on the book may finally be in order. Although the sub-title refers to 'the churches', it will be evident that the focus is primarily on the actions and opinions of male religious personnel, and that, at times, the Catholic Church receives consider-

ably more attention than the Presbyterian Church and the Church of Ireland. There are sound reasons for this. The authorship of the bulk of the source material, much of it printed and published copy, was unsurprisingly male. Nuns, the remarkable exception of Sister Mary Frances Cusack, the ‘Nun of Kenmare’ aside, seem to have gone about things in a much quieter fashion. The fact of an overwhelmingly Catholic exodus, moreover, simply means that Catholics often had more to say on the matter than their Protestant contemporaries. Finally, while the chronological parameters of the project are left deliberately fuzzy in the title, it must be noted that, broadly, the study begins with Napoleon’s exile in 1815, when Irish men and women could again choose a similar fate. It ends in the new century, with 1902, the year of a definitive statement by the Catholic bishops on emigration and of a number of retrospectives on the previous century’s migration. These dates also allow a fresh analysis of the bold assertion of the first serious historian of Irish migration, William Adams, that ‘in 1815 Irish clergy of all denominations united in opposing emigration.’⁴⁷ What follows is an overdue qualification of that suspiciously sweeping statement. It is also an important contribution to Irish migration and religious history in its own right, which confirms the cultural importance of population change in modern Ireland, highlights the wide extent to which these changes were interpreted as providential and shows that, even if clerical denunciations of emigration were largely ineffectual, mass emigration had a significant part to play in both the internal tensions and the external ambitions of the Irish churches.

Notes

- 1 Figures adapted from David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801–1921* (Dundalk, 1984).
- 2 For statistical analysis see Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration, passim*; David Fitzpatrick, ‘Irish emigration in the later nineteenth century’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxii:86 (Sept. 1980), 126–43; D. H. Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Belfast, 1993); S. H. Cousens, ‘The regional variation in emigration from Ireland between 1821 and 1841’ in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37 (Dec. 1965), 15–30; J. H. Johnson, ‘The distribution of Irish emigration in the decade before the great famine’ in *Irish Geography*, xxi (1990), 78–87; J. H. Johnson, ‘The context of migration: the example of Ireland in the nineteenth century’ in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, xv:3 (1990), 575–600;

- Cormac Ó Gráda, 'A note on nineteenth-century Irish emigration statistics' in *Population Studies*, xxix:1 (Mar. 1975), 143–9. For use of emigrants' correspondence see Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985); David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork, 1995); Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850–1900* (Minnesota, 1958); Kerby A. Miller, Arnold Schrier, Bruce Bolling and David N. Doyle, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815* (Oxford, 2003); Patrick O'Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825–1929* (Belfast, 1984); Ruth-Ann M. Harris, "'Come all you courageously": Irish women in America write home' in *Éire-Ireland*, xxxvi:1 (Summer 2001), 166–84; E. R. R. Green, 'Ulster emigrants' letters' in E. R. R. Green (ed.), *Essays in Scotch-Irish History* (London, 1969), pp. 87–103; David Fitzpatrick, "'That beloved country, that nothing else resembles": connotations of Irishness in Irish-Australasian letters, 1841–1915' in *I.H.S.*, xxvii:108 (Nov. 1991), 324–51; Angela McCarthy, *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration, 1921–65: 'For Spirit and Adventure'* (Manchester, 2007); Trevor Parkhill, 'Philadelphia here I come: a study of the letters of Ulster immigrants in Pennsylvania, 1750–1875' in H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood, Jr (eds), *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (London, 1997), pp. 118–33; Ronald A. Wells, *Ulster Migration to America. Letters from Three Irish Families* (New York, 1991).
- 3 The effect on the sending society has, however, become a significant theme in contemporary migration studies. See, as a starting point, Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (London, 2001).
 - 4 Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p. 137.
 - 5 Estimates of the number of transatlantic migrants in the eighteenth century range from a low of 65,000 to a higher range of 250,000–400,000, with David Doyle's figures for the religious breakdown among them perhaps the best on offer. D. N. Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760–1820* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 52–74; Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007* (London, 2008), p. 123.
 - 6 Miller *et al.*, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, p. 5, p. 436; Deirdre M. Mageean, 'Emigration from Irish ports' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xiii:1 (1993), p. 9; Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764* (Oxford, 2001), p. 87.
 - 7 Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland: from the Revolution to the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland* (London, 1840), pp. 331–2; Thomas Olden, *The Church of Ireland* (London, 1892), p. 383; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 150–1.

- 8 Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 140–1.
- 9 W. E. Vaughan and A. J. Fitzpatrick (eds), *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821–1971* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 2–3; Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 162.
- 10 Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration*, p. 3.
- 11 Donald Akenson has shown, however, that census and other data from some of these states – Canada and Australasia – can be employed to give rough approximations of the denominational distribution of Irish immigrants. See Akenson, *Irish Diaspora, passim* and Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922, An International Perspective* (Montreal, 1988), pp. 42–86.
- 12 Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, p. 52.
- 13 Between 1834 and 1901 Catholics lost 30% of their numbers while the two main Protestant churches each declined by 19%. Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dundalk, 1985), p. 3.
- 14 Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-century Ireland*, p. 5. It must be noted that the 1834 figure included an unspecified number of Methodists still affiliated with the Church of Ireland.
- 15 ‘The rest’ includes various Congregational, Unitarian and Independent churches whose memberships were in the low thousands. Unlike Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists, they have received scant attention from historians of nineteenth-century Ireland. Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-century Ireland*, pp. 5–6.
- 16 Miller *et al.*, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, pp. 20–1, pp. 155–6; Robert E. Johnson, *A Global Introduction to Baptist Churches* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 111.
- 17 Quakers dwindled not merely because of emigration but also because of an increasing propensity to limit their family size. Richard T. Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: The British and Irish Quakers in the Demographic Transition, 1650–1900* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 22, p. 50, pp. 244–5; David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740–1890* (London, 1992), p. 132.
- 18 Norman W. Taggart, *The Irish in World Methodism 1760–1900* (London, 1986), pp. 36–8.
- 19 R. Lee Cole, *History of Methodism in Ireland 1860–1960* (Belfast, 1960).
- 20 Donald M. MacRaild, ‘Wherever orange is worn: Orangeism and Irish migration in the 19th and early 20th centuries’ in *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, xxviii/xxix:2/1 (2002–2003), 98–117; David A. Wilson (ed.), *The Orange Order in Canada* (Dublin, 2007); Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (Oxford, 1998); John Belchem, *Irish Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800–1939* (Liverpool, 2007), pp. 126–7, 240; Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland, 1819–1914* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 54–5.

- 21 On the more general historiographical neglect of the effects of emigration on the sending society – and attempts to address it in economic terms – see Franklin D. Scott, ‘The study of the effects of emigration’ in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, viii:2 (1960), 161–74 and Beth J. Asch and Courtland Reichmann (eds), *Emigration and its Effects on the Sending Country* (Santa Monica, 1994). The latter includes Cormac Ó Gráda and Brendan M. Walsh, ‘The economic effects of emigration: Ireland’ on pp. 97–152.
- 22 W. F. Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine* (New York, 1932), pp. 16–67; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles, passim*; Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration, passim*; Kevin O’Rourke, ‘Emigration and living standards in Ireland since the famine’ in *Journal of Population Economics*, viii:4 (1995), 407–21; Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800–1850* (London, 1983), pp. 230–60; David Fitzpatrick, ‘The Disappearance of the Irish Agricultural Labourer, 1841–1912’ in *I.E.S.H.*, vii (1980), 66–92; Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó Gráda, ‘Emigration and poverty in pre-famine Ireland’ in *Explorations in Economic History*, xix:3 (1982), 360–84; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780–1939* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 224–35; Cormac Ó Gráda, ‘Irish emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century’ in David Noel Doyle and Owen Dudley Edwards (eds), *America and Ireland, 1776–1976: The American Identity and the Irish Connection* (London, 1980), pp. 93–103; Eoin McLaughlin, ‘Microfinance institutions in nineteenth century Ireland’ (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2009), pp. 236–84.
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- 24 Robert E. Kennedy, *The Irish: Emigration, Marriage and Fertility* (London, 1973); Timothy Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration and the Rural Economy* (Chichester, 1997); Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide: History, Heritage, Identity, 4: Irish Women and Irish Migration* (Leicester, 1995); Janet Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: Emigration from Ireland 1885–1920* (Lexington, 1989); Hasia Diner, *Erin’s Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1983); Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America 1840–1930* (New York, 2009); Pauline Jackson, ‘Women in nineteenth-century Irish emigration’ in *International Migration Review*, xviii: 4 (Winter 1984), 1004–20.
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- Gleason (ed.), *Catholicism in America* (New York, 1970), pp. 58–64; Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979), pp. 164–212; Donald M. McRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750–1922* (London, 1999), pp. 75–99; Ruth-Ann M. Harris, *The Nearest Place that wasn't Ireland: Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Labor Migration* (Ames, 1994), pp. 164–8; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Kensington, 1986), pp. 105–14; Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the nineteenth-century Irish diaspora' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxv:2 (Apr. 1984), 188–207. A more recent transnational study of the diaspora hints at possible rewards in more comparative diasporic religious history: Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics, and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (London, 2008).
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- 27 David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801–70' in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland V: Ireland under the Union 1801–1870* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 582–3; Moran, *Sending out Ireland's Poor*, *passim*.
- 28 Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Irish catholic clergy and emigration during the great famine' in *I.H.S.*, v:20 (Sept. 1947), 287–302.
- 29 Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 124–30. For similar, if less explicitly put, arguments on the Catholic Church's bourgeois interest in perpetuating emigration, see Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly. The Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 108–15; 173–5.
- 30 David Fitzpatrick, 'Review: The Irish in America: Exiles or escapers' in *Reviews in American History*, xv:2 (June 1987), 272–8; Fitzpatrick, 'Beloved country', 351.
- 31 Patrick J. Corish, 'Review: *Emigrants and Exiles*' in *Catholic Historical Review*, lxxiii:4 (Oct. 1987), 651–2; Patrick O'Sullivan, 'Introduction' in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide. History, Heritage, Identity. Vol. 2 The Irish in the New Communities* (Leicester, 1992), p. 9.
- 32 Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801–70', p. 599. Historians of contemporary Scottish migration have been more attentive in this regard, providing useful points of comparison: Donald E. Meek, 'The fellowship of kindred minds': Some religious aspects of kinship and emigration from the Scottish Highlands in the nineteenth century' in Anon. (ed.), *Hands*

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- 34 Kevin Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842–1891* (Dublin, 1986); Edmund M. Hogan, *The Irish Missionary Movement: A Historical Survey 1830–1980* (Dublin, 1990).
- 35 MacDonagh, 'Clergy and emigration', 300–1; Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 165–6; Much of the best work on this issue concerns female migration from the 1880s and into the twentieth century. Anne O'Connell, 'Charlotte Grace O'Brien' in Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy (eds), *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 231–62; Paul Michael Garrett, 'The abnormal flight: The migration and repatriation of Irish unmarried mothers' in *Social History*, xxv:3 (Oct. 2000), 300–43; Enda Delaney, 'The churches and Irish emigration to Britain, 1921–60' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lii (1998), 98–114; Lindsey Earner-Byrne, 'The boat to England: An analysis of the official reactions to the emigration of single expectant Irishwomen to Britain, 1922–1972' in *I.E.S.H.*, xxx (2003), 52–70; Jennifer Redmond, "'Sinful singleness"? Exploring the discourses on Irish single women's emigration to England, 1922–1948' in *Women's History Review*, xvi:3 (2008), 455–76.
- 36 For much of Kerby Miller's work on nineteenth-century Protestant migration see a recent anthology of his work, Kerby A. Miller, *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration* (Dublin, 2008).
- 37 An honourable exception is Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (London, 1988), which employed genealogical techniques to follow a group of Protestant families from Tipperary to Canada between 1815 and 1855. Also important is Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*.
- 38 Emmet Larkin, 'Economic growth, capital investment and the Roman Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *American Historical Review*, lxxii:3 (Apr. 1967), 852–84; Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850–75' in *American Historical Review*, lxxvii:3 (June 1972), 625–52; Emmet Larkin, 'Church, state and nation in modern Ireland' in *American Historical Review*, lxxx:5 (Dec. 1975), 1244–76;

- Emmet Larkin, *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin, 1997). The idea of a nineteenth-century ‘devotional revolution’ is not uncontroversial among scholars of Irish Catholicism. For alternative views on this timing, see Desmond Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1983); Thomas G. McGrath, ‘The tridentine evolution of modern Irish Catholicism, 1563–1962: A re-examination of the ‘devotional revolution’ thesis’ in *Recusant History*, xx:4 (Oct. 1991), 512–23; and Michael P. Carroll, *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion* (Baltimore, 1999).
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- 44 Keith Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish Empire?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996); David Fitzpatrick, ‘Ireland and the empire’ in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, iii: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 495–521; Stephen Howe, *Ireland*

and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture (Oxford, 2000); Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004).

- 45 See, for example, Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb* (Basingstoke, 2009); Patrick O'Leary, *Servants of the Empire: The Irish in Punjab, 1881–1921* (Manchester, 2011); Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge, 2012); David Dickson, Justyna Pyz and Christopher Shepard (eds), *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education* (Dublin, 2012).
- 46 MacDonagh, 'Clergy and emigration', p. 287.
- 47 Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration*, p. 65.

