

*“This is the chance and the time for a
raging war.”*

—Tomás Ó Míocháin

IRISH VERNACULAR POETRY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Irish Find Their Voice in Tomás Ó Míocháin

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HISTORICAL STUDIES OF IRELAND DURING THE LATE-18TH CENTURY 'AGE OF REVOLUTION' HAVE TRADITIONALLY FOCUSED ON POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY—THE REALM OF SOCIETY'S ELITE—OFTEN IGNORING THE OPINIONS AND ROLE OF THE LARGELY CATHOLIC, IRISH-SPEAKING POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY. THIS HAS OCCURRED DUE TO BOTH AN INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND THE RICH VERNACULAR SOURCES, AS WELL AS THE LONGSTANDING VIEW OF RURAL PEOPLE AS AN UNDIFFERENTIATED MASS, A VIEW THAT WENT LARGELY UNCHALLENGED—UNTIL RECENTLY. BY EXAMINING THE VERNACULAR POETRY OF TOMÁS Ó MÍOCHÁIN, THIS PAPER RECONSIDERS THE ROLE OF THE NATIVE IRISH-SPEAKING POPULATION IN DISCOURSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND, IN TURN, THE REVOLUTION'S IMPLICATIONS FOR IRELAND. WHILE ONLY A SINGLE EXAMPLE OF POLITICAL VOICE IN THE IRISH VERNACULAR DURING THIS ERA, THE WORKS OF Ó MÍOCHÁIN OFFER A WINDOW INTO A MUCH MORE COMPLEX PRESENTATION OF LATE-18TH CENTURY IRELAND, DEMONSTRATING THAT PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING ELITE COMPREHENDED THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND BROUGHT TO IT THEIR OWN EXPERIENCES AND UNDERSTANDING.

In late-18th century Ireland, the population of the country comprised three main groups: Anglo-Irish elite, Protestant Dissenter, and Catholic. Historical discussion of the influence of the American Revolution on Ireland tends to focus on politics and ideology, but these had only an indirect impact on the Catholic majority. Vernacular sources are

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frequently ignored due to an inability to understand the language and the long-standing misperception of the rural population as an undifferentiated mass. This arose because demotic opinion spread in a way unintelligible to those outside the culture: the oral tradition of Irish language poetry and song. In reality, rich literary texts from the period demonstrate a lively interest within the Irish-speaking population for matters beyond the mere concern for the past and complaints of the present that many observers and historians have assumed. In his study of Irish public opinion, R.B. McDowell directly stated that “the great output of Gaelic poetry through which they expressed their feelings does not contain any formulated political ideas.”ⁱ On the contrary, these texts provide insight into the Irish-speaking, Catholic public’s knowledge of current events and hopes for the future. Three works of County Clare’s Tomás Ó Míocháin present the poet’s opinions and concerns during the era of the American

Revolution, demonstrating engagement in contemporary political issues and drawing a hope of deliverance by calling his fellow Irishmen to action.

Until very recently historians studying the late 18th century focused on parliamentary politics, the domain of the small Anglo-Irish percentage of the population, and largely ignored vernacular Irish sources. The lack of interest in native literature stems from both an inability to understand the language and a view of the Catholic, peasant, and largely Irish-speaking section of the population as an inchoate mass unengaged and uninterested in mainstream social issues. Perceiving the weakness of this viewpoint, historian Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh wrote that “it is difficult to see how a discussion of cultural or ‘national’ consciousness in Ireland in the early modern period can be conducted very sensibly by those who cannot comfortably handle sources.”ⁱⁱ Indeed, far from living in ignorance, Irish-speakers left a rich record of poetry and song, the media of an oral tradition by which their views disseminated. In the early 17th century, Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating) justified using poetry extensively as a historical source, saying in his narrative history of Ireland, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* “A Basis of Knowledge on Ireland” written around 1634, “*Do bhrígh gurab i nduantaibh atá cnáimh agus smior an tseanchusa, measaim gurab oircheas dam cinneadh mar ughdardhás air, ag tráchtadh ar an seanchus*”ⁱⁱⁱ “the strength that is in poetry is the bones and marrow of history, and I evaluate it proper to depend on it as an authority, discussing the history”.^{*} This monumental work had a profound impact on the foundation of Irish identity and many 18th century poets used it as a resource.^{iv} While the modern day historian may not depend wholly on the weight of poetry in his or her study, the validity of that voice requires serious attention in a society where the poet functioned as a narrative voice of his or her contemporaries.

Throughout the 18th century, Jacobitism—support for the deposed Stuart monarchy—remained a central concern to all sections of the Irish population, contributing to the rise and fall of Catholic hopes and Protestant fears until the

death of Charles Edward Stuart in 1788 and the revolutionary movements of the 1790s. The Catholic population may have followed the cause more on principle than conviction. They had a mindset of persecution coming out of the era of the Penal Laws, which had sought to prevent a rise in the social status of any Catholic individual or family, and a Stuart restoration offered some hope of alleviation.^v The Irish Diaspora on the European Continent also continued to play a central role in politics throughout the 18th century by linking Jacobite sympathizers and the deposed Stuart rulers. The focus of vernacular literature from this period lay with James III and his supporters and prospects during the dynastic wars ravaging Europe. Only with the help of another sympathetic government, notably France, could the Stuarts recapture Britain and Ireland. The poets ignored the Dublin and London parliaments, since these had little immediate effect on the lives of rural Irish people. The state had limited policing power,^{vi} and Catholics remained outside the franchise, kept there by the debilitating effect of the Penal Laws and the insecurity of the Ascendancy elite who depended heavily on their connection to the British government for the protection of their position.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART'S CAUSE OFFERED A SMALL HOPE TO IRISH CATHOLICS.

This new and often apprehensive ruling class of Ireland perceived the support of the Stuarts and their allies as well as the threat posed by these to the regime put in place by the Glorious Revolution (or War of the Two Kings) of 1688. They assumed that any popular rising would be Jacobite in nature, supported by a Catholic power:^{vii}

The French are all apprised that the lower class of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, which out-number the Protestants at least three to one, would join and support them with the utmost alacrity and joy, at the same time they must with the greatest reason be convinced, that the most sensible of the titular bishops and priests, as well as the Roman Catholics of landed interest and in trade, would be most averse to any attempt made by the French to distress this their native country.^{viii}

Any Jacobite rising would need European, most likely French, support. This selection also shows acknowledgment of the split in Catholic opinion on lines of wealth and affluence. Through institutions such as the Catholic Committee, those of 'landed interest' and merchants, reassessed their Jacobite sympathies and at least paid lip-service to the new establishment in the hopes of future relief. Lay people accepted George III much more slowly and support for the deposed Stuart monarchy sputtered along until the death of Charles III and the consuming revolutionary blaze of the 1790s.^{ix}

Discussions of the American Revolution and its influence on and reception in Ireland most commonly focus on comparing the positions of Ireland and the American colonies in the British Empire and political issues that joined them, including ones of law and the nature of sovereignty and representation. However, these two situations cannot be considered exact parallels. A primary difference lay in the nature of the leadership of the two societies in the late 18th century. Until the time of the French and Indian War (also known as the Seven Years' War), the Anglo-American elite remained tied to the mother country, dependent on Britain for protection against the French and Native Americans.



IRELAND, PICTURED HERE IN THIS CONTEMPORARY MAP, WAS SUBORDINATE TO BRITAIN IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

The defeat of these forces at the end of the war removed that threat, and the Native Americans lost the ability to capitalize on competing English and French interests. Freed from this pressure, the colonists had the ability to develop more autonomy and redefine the nature of imperial relations.^x Unlike their counterparts across the Atlantic, the ruling class in Ireland remained dependent on Britain to maintain their tenuous hold on power. This stemmed partly from their sometimes paranoid fear of the Catholic masses, by whom they would never be viewed as the ‘natural’ leaders of the country.^{xi}

Despite this, when the American revolutionary stirrings began, the Patriot political opposition in the Irish parliament often sympathized with the colonists’ cause and drew rhetorical influence from it, criticizing British empiricism. An anonymous writer in the *Freeman’s Journal* publication

Baratariana appealed to the parliamentary Patriots to stand by their convictions and to the public to support them: “let us cast off the yoke of slavery, and vindicate our freedom and independence. Let us no longer be rid, rather than ruled, as we have too long been, by men who have neither heads nor hearts.”^{xii} The rhetoric of slavery is one familiar in the American context, but the Irish political claim for rights as a kingdom equal to Britain was actually more advanced than contemporary American arguments which sought to merely exclude British government from domestic affairs. The parallel experiences imply a shared intellectual inheritance across the empire and a common feeling of subordination to the parliament in London.^{xiii} Because of these influences, as hostilities escalated into war in the American colonies, the Irish on all levels of society maintained economic and ideological interest in its events, hoping for a similar change at home.

Many historians view the linguistic split in Ireland as a barrier to the dissemination of news and political ideas, using this to justify theories of disinterest among the Irish-speaking population with regard to the events of the late 18th century, from the American Revolution to the United Irish uprising. This perspective lacks a foundation and demonstrates a failure to utilize vernacular sources. During this era, Irish was widely spoken in the western provinces of Connaught and Munster, but also by about half of the people in Ulster and Leinster though its use waned there due to more permanent Anglicization.^{xiv} Studies of censuses conducted in the aftermath of the Famine of 1845-9 indicate that approximately 80 percent of children born in Connaught and 77 percent of those born in Munster in 1801-11 spoke Irish, while in Ulster and Leinster these figures were 15 and 11 percent respectively.^{xv}



EVEN IN RURAL IRELAND PEOPLE HAD ACCESS TO NEWS OF WORLD EVENTS.

These percentages may be underestimates because Northern and Eastern Ireland transitioned to English during this period, and earlier even more of the adult population would have spoken Irish. Much of society was actually bilingual, and just two decades after the American Revolution, Hely Dutton stated in his “Statistical Survey of the County of Clare” that “there are very few, except in remote situations, that do not at least understand a little English.”^{xvi} Far from existing in a world cut off by the

obstacle of language, Irish-speaking society existed in congruity with the English-speaking world.

Even for those neither fluent nor literate in English, a poet and scholar such as Tomás Ó Míocháin, who spoke both languages and held the influential role of local school-teacher could transmit news to the non-English speakers of the community. As hedge schools flourished across Ireland in the 18th through early 19th centuries, Irish Catholics gained access to the education that enabled comprehension and analysis of contemporary events. Local populations recognized the importance of the school teacher in community life, often providing him with the means of living in exchange for his teaching. Ó Míocháin, described as a “teacher of Accompts and Mathematics in Ennis,”^{xvii} opened his longstanding school there in 1780. He also participated in the vibrant literary scene, and interacted with poets and scholars Seán Lloyd, Seán do Hóra, and Séamus Mac Consaidín.^{xviii} Local news sheets (in English) provided the material for much of his political verse, which then reached the public. Many of the poems could also be sung to familiar tunes, such as “Níl ‘na lá, tá ‘na mhaidin” or “Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna,” adding to their transmissibility. The existence of the news sheets, and their interpretation, translation, and transmission demonstrates that rural Ireland was far from isolated or ‘hidden’ from the world, even in County Clare where more than half the population spoke Irish.

The aspects of 18th-century vernacular poetry most often emphasized and alluded to are its expressions of complaint and backward looks. However, in a world in which this medium provided news and influential social commentary, perhaps it is unsurprising that the poet spoke to the situation of his audience. Ó Míocháin placed contemporary events in the wider domestic and international context, often using the condition of Ireland and her people as a basis for comparison or interpretation. Each of his poems that address the American Revolution, “*Ar dTréigan Bhoston d’Arm Shasana, 1776*” “On the Army of England’s departure from Boston, 1776”, “*Ar Ghéilleadh Chornwallis*

ag Yorktown 1781” “On the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown 1781”, and “A Uaisle Inis Éilge” “O Worthies of Ireland”, begins with a call to the people to remember their heritage. Ó Míocháin alludes to the racial origin of the native Irish in the ‘great race’ or Milesians, in the opening lines of each poem:

*A ghéaga cumainn na nGael gcumais
De shaorcheap mhuireannach Míleadh^{xxix}*

*O members of the capable society of the Gael
From the troubled family of Míle [the Milesians]*

or “A uaisle Inis Éilge de chnuascheap na nGael^{xxx}” (‘O worthies of Ireland of the fruitful stock of the Gaels’). Such openings function both as a poetic device to draw the attention of the listener or reader—especially important in the case of orally transmitted poetry—and give the audience a sense of a unified identity by drawing on common heritage.

In his first poem on the American Revolution, “Ar dTréigán Bhoston d’Arm Shasana, 1776” (‘On the Army of England’s departure from Boston, 1776’), Ó Míocháin asserts that the Irish people, though the product of an ancient and great race, are also ‘troubled’ by the oppression under which they live:

*Tá tréithlag tuirseach ag plé le bruscar
Gan réim faoi urchall cíosa.^{xxxi}*

*Exhausted and fed up from dealing with trash
Without freedom, hobbled by the rope of tax.*

Their glorious heritage has been denigrated by colonization and imposition of the penal laws, resulting in a lack of basic liberties and overburdening of taxes. Ó Míocháin sympathizes with the situation of the subjugated people, expressing understanding rather than using poetic detachment. He shows his sympathy with their hardship by saying, “An daor nó an díth libh suim an sceóil^{xxii}” (‘Slavery and misery is the sum of your story’). They are “luascathie i

mbuairreamh is suaite ag an saol^{xxiii}’ (‘rocked by trouble and shaken by life’) and have lost the lands of the ancestors, alluding to the sense of disconnection from the heritage they revered. It is important to note that these complaints all exist within the first four lines of each of these three poems. The historical revisionist view would argue that the rural Irish-speakers’ perspective went no further, mired in grievance and backwards glances.

Ó Míocháin offers much more. Moving beyond complaint, his poetry provides a commentary on the events of the American Revolution, demonstrating that international news reached the population of rural Ireland and at least the more scholarly members of society could determine its possible implications. Under the age-old understanding that ‘Britain’s trouble is Ireland’s opportunity,’ he mentions specific events and people, turning the commanders of the colonial forces into the heroes of vernacular verse:

*Is fonn ’s is aiteas liom Howe is na Sasanaigh
Tabhartha, treascartha choíche,
Is an crobhaire, Washington, cabhartach, calma,
I gceann is i gceannas a ríochta.^{xxiv}*

*It’s a joy and a pleasure for me to see Howe of England
Spent, destroyed forever,
And stalwart, Washington, supporting, brave,
Is in command of his realm.*

This stanza illustrates both of the abovementioned qualities: the poet revels in the hardship of the English, but also gives the Anglo-American General Washington the attributes of the Gael (his heritage notwithstanding). Additionally, it contains a careful description of events. The title refers to the British naval fleet leaving Boston harbor in March of 1776. When this news reached London, it caused the Duke of Manchester to comment that:

The mode of retreat may, to the General [Howe], do infinite honour, but it does dishonour to the British nation. Let this transaction be dressed in what garb you please, the fact re-

mains that the army which was sent to reduce the province of Massachusetts Bay has been driven from the capital, and that the standard of the provisional army now waves in triumph over the walls of Boston.^{xxv}

Ó Míocháin continues the stanza:

*Sin amhais ag screadaibh gan chúil, gan charaid,
Gan trúip ná barcaibh ar taoide,
Faoi Shamhain go dearfa búir na Breatain’
I bponc faoi thearmainn Laoisigh.^{xxvi}*

*The mercenaries screaming without refuge or friend
Without troops or battleships on the tide,
By November certainly the British will be
Trapped in the custody of Louis.*

The ‘mercenaries’ mentioned were the Germans who fought under General Howe. The last line refers to King Louis XVI of France. Even though France officially abstained from entering the war until 1778, they provided material support to the Americans from its start, pursuing their own interests against the British. Ó Míocháin probably wrote this poem shortly after news reached Ireland of the evacuation of Boston, perhaps in the summer of 1776. He expresses the optimistic hope of France entering the conflict by the fall. His sentiments demonstrate the expectation that relief of the Irish situation would result from the French or Americans placing stress on the reach of the Empire.^{xxvii}

“*Ar Ghéilleadh Chornwallis ag Yorktown 1781*” (‘On the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown 1781’) places the war in North America in the context of other colonial struggles in the British empire, including India and the Caribbean:

*Táid thiar dá séideadh ag Wayne ’s ag Greene,
Thoir dá sníomh ag Hyder Ali . . .*

*I mbarcaibh ghliadh sa ngrianoileán
Sin cíortha cáite eastát na Sacsan.^{xxviii}*

*To the west they’re being blown up by Wayne and Greene,
To the east being wrung by Hyder Ali . . .*

*In battleships in the sunny isle [Tobago]
The estate of the Saxon is harried and destroyed.*

“Wayne and Greene” refer to American Generals Anthony Wayne and Nathaniel Greene. Hyder Ali, an Indian prince, attacked and defeated the British in September 1780 in part of the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84). This section of the poem, while still reveling in losses of the colonizer, also demonstrates an ability to analyze events in a broader framework, beyond their implications for domestic issues, though those received the most attention.

Regarding concerns closer to home, Ó Míocháin never mentions the role of the Dublin or London parliaments, perhaps indicating the demotic detachment attributable to the restrictions of the franchise and representation. The people would not gain freedom or alleviation of their situation from either body and instead hoped for assistance from abroad, either in the form of a Stuart restoration or the weakening of the Empire. Political concessions by the British to the Irish parliament made little difference to those kept under the landlords’ yoke, who equated the Anglo-Irish ascendancy and the English. The Irish-speaking population remained outside the ‘political nation’, but fully aware of it in their understanding of the divisive issues of the day. Ó Míocháin called his countrymen to assert their rights and expressed the hope for the betterment of their situation afterwards. The first of these three poems is the least advanced in terms of a call to action, suggesting that Britain’s defeat would lead to a Stuart restoration. “*Séarlas sointeata Stíobhart*”^{xxix} (‘Clement Charles Stuart,’ Charles III) had long held a more prominent place in popular imagination than his father. He is described as Ireland’s “*céile dlitheach ceart díleas*”^{xxx} (‘correct, lawful, loyal partner’) and the solution to the country’s troubles despite his failure in Scotland in 1745. The poem goes on to describe society after the

necessary changes have taken place:

*Beidh réim ag filí, is go saol an iolair
Cead féir is uisce ag Gaelaibh,
Is na géaga ag filleadh re héigean duille
Is na héisc ag lingeadh as a líontaibh.^{xxxix}*

*The poets will reign, and till the end of time
The Gaels will have license of grass and water,
And the limbs bending with necessity of a leaf
And the fish leaping at their nets.*

Use of the future tense here indicates that these things, including “license of grass and water” (grazing and fishing rights) existed only as aspirations in Ó Míocháin’s world. The grievances over rights of property, waters, and taxation also provided impetus for the American Revolution, but whether he intended that connection in these poems is unclear.

Neither of the latter two poems contain any Jacobite sentiments, and instead focus on the possibility of change from within through action. Assuming the role of the bard, Ó Míocháin calls on Irishmen to take up arms against their enemies while they have the opportunity:

*Gach gliaire Gaoidhealach bríomhar buan
Is gach saoi glan suairc gan séad gan taisce,
Faigheadh a chlaíomh go líofa luath –
Seo an chaoi ‘s an uain chum caortha cogaidh.^{xxxvii}*

*Every vigorous steadfast Gaelic warrior
And every strong, merry man without property or
wealth,
His sword would be sharpened ahead of time:
This is the chance and the time for a raging war.*

Ó Míocháin saw the British Empire weakened, besieged by colonial problems across its breadth and forced to wage war on many fronts, and perceived the potential opportunity for a popular rising against the oppressor in Ireland.

He addresses his call to the part of the population, ‘without property or wealth,’ the tenants subjugated to the landlord system. To these ‘Gaelic warriors’ he gives the valued qualities often associated with figures in the poetry of the heroic age, trusting in their inherited strengths to act to change society. In “A Uaisle Inis Éilge” Ó Míocháin again calls out to his countrymen:

*músclaidh go lúth-chliste feasta chum éacht,
is lúbaidh go hurlainn bhur lannaibh go léir
I gcoinne gach dream d’fhág sibhse go fann
le fada gan sealbh gan saoirse.^{xxxiii}*

*Rouse yourselves nimbly for killing henceforth,
and flex all your blades up to their hafts
against every group which kept you enfeebled
for long without property or freedom.*

Here, he specifically entreats the people to rise against their oppressors, “every group which kept you enfeebled” referring to the Anglo-Irish landlords and the English in general. Notably the poems lack any indication that change could be accomplished by means other than violence. Perhaps this represented the reality of the Catholic position, with the preclusion of political concessions by the absence of a voice in the legislative body. Nevertheless, in all three poems, the conclusion drawn by Ó Míocháin from the events of the time is one of hope for the future, not a

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lament for the heroics of the past or the failures of the British in the present.

The American Revolution planted the seeds of the tree of liberty across the globe, but its impact in Ireland spread beyond political ideology. From the poetry of Tomás Ó Míocháin, it can be ascertained that the colonial war taking place across the Atlantic offered marginalized Irish Catholics an opportunity to think of a future divergent from the British Empire and even the Stuarts. Beyond an expression of grievances, it contains analysis of the significance of international events and their implications for Ireland, leaving the audience with a message of optimism and hope for deliverance if they heed the poet's call and take independent action against their oppressors. While only a single example of political voice in the Irish vernacular during this era, Ó Míocháin nonetheless provides insights to the views of the majority, ones often suppressed by contemporaries and ignored by historians. Taken in the context of studies of the United Irishmen in the 1790s, this poetry demonstrates that though Irish-speakers remained outside that movement, language was not a barrier. They actually existed on a parallel with their English-speaking counterparts, comprehending contemporary politics and bringing their own experiences and understandings to the situation as it developed.

ENDNOTES

- i. R.B. McDowell, *Irish Public Opinion 1750-1800*. Cited in: Morley 2005 (xi)
- ii. Ó Ciardha (42)
- iii. Ibid.
- iv. Morley 2006
- v. Ó Ciardha (22-8)
- vi. Connolly (198-203)
- vii. Ibid. (233)
- viii. Sir James Cadwell. Cited: Morley 2002 (63)
- ix. Morley 2002 (45-6)
- x. Anderson (xxiii)
- xi. Whelan
- xii. Cited: York (212-3)
- xiii. Morley 2002 (95)
- xiv. Liam de Paor, "Chontae an Chlár le linn Tomáis úí Mhíocháin," in: Ó Muirithe (10-32)
- xv. Garret FitzGerald, "Estimates for Baronies of Minimum Level of Irish-speaking among Successive Decennial Cohorts: 1771-1781 to 1861-1871". Cited: Morley 2006 (175)
- xvi. Dutton
- xvii. Cited: O'Rahilly
- xviii. Ibid.
- xix. "Ar dTréigán Bhoston d'Arm Shasana, 1776," in: Ó Muirithe (84)
- xx. "A Uaisle Inis Éilge," in: Ó Muirithe (81-2)
- xxi. "Ar dTréigán Bhoston d'Arm Shasana, 1776," in: Ó Muirithe (84)
- xxii. "Ar Ghéilleadh Chornwallis ag Yorktown 1781," in: Ó Muirithe (85-6)
- xxiii. "A Uaisle Inis Éilge," in: Ó Muirithe (81-2)
- xxiv. "Ar dTréigán Bhoston d'Arm Shasana, 1776," in: Ó Muirithe (84)
- xxv. Cited: Ó Muirithe (96)
- xxvi. "Ar dTréigán Bhoston d'Arm Shasana, 1776," in: Ó Muirithe (84)
- xxvii. Morley 2002 (185)
- xxviii. "Ar Ghéilleadh Chornwallis ag Yorktown 1781," in: Ó Muirithe (85-6)
- xxix. "Ar dTréigán Bhoston d'Arm Shasana, 1776," in: Ó Muirithe (84)
- xxx. Ibid.
- xxxi. Ibid.
- xxxii. "Ar Ghéilleadh Chornwallis ag Yorktown 1781," in: Ó Muirithe (85-6)
- xxxiii. "A Uaisle Inis Éilge," in: Ó Muirithe (81-2)

* *Note on translation:* All translations from the original Irish were done by this author with assistance from Professor Joe Nugent, except for the full translation of "A Uaisle Inis Éilge," which appears in Vincent Morley's book *Irish Opinion and the American Revolution*.

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