General Introduction

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"Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill…
sure it's work all day with no sugar in yer tay…
Drill, ye terriers, drill...
An' work and shwe-a-t.'"

Drilling and Excavating: Recovering the International Circulation of Popular Culture between Ireland and the United States

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"Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill," a song popular among Irish-Americans since the end of the 19th century, is deeply embedded, Kathryn Kalinak argues, in the narrative, style and ideological meaning of *The Iron Horse*, the 1924 silent film directed by John Ford about the building of the transcontinental railroad. From a diegetic point of view, it is a work song enabling railroad laborers of both the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific to coordinate "their movements to the rhythms of the song they sing."[1] As such it also facilitates the bonding process of a workforce divided along political, ethnic and racial lines and composed of Union, Confederate, Italian, Irish, and Chinese workers. Repeated thrice, the theme almost serves as musical motif. When the film was released, music composed indeed an integral part of the style and theatrical performance. Through writing, editing, and production "Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill" was incorporated in the *Iron Horse* to the effect that what audiences saw on the screen – from the laborers' movements to the intertitles – was synchronized with the music in theatres.[2] Finally, the song "which both produces and symbolizes cooperation and unity, becomes itself a metaphor for the film's

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1. Kathryn Kalinak, *How the West Was Sung: Music in the Westerns of John Ford*, Berkeley, California U.P., https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnx6q (last accesssed 7/11/2020), p. 33.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 29-34.

central message of overcoming difference and working together." The film depicts "a nation struggling to redefine itself, asking what it meant to be an American and how to work out the deep divisions in American social life."[3] Through its recognizable Irish-American identity, "Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill" thus also served to underline the singular contribution of one specific ethnic group – of which the film director was a member – to the American crucible[4]. Both in and out of the American mainstream, Irish Americans appeared as symbolic gate-keepers on the threshold of American identity, paving the way for some population groups (Italians) while blocking others (Indian-Americans, African-Americans and Chinese-Americans).

"Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill" exemplifies the easily identifiable circulation of items from one field (music) of popular culture to another (cinema). But the mystery of the song's historical origins underlines both the difficulty and the necessity of examining international cultural circulation. "'Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill' (aka 'Drill, Ye Tarriers, Drill' aka 'Drill You Tarriers Drill'), Kalinak concludes, is a song whose historical origins are clouded, and whether or not it is a genuine folk ballad actually sung by railroad workers is an open question". The song was "introduced in New York by the Irish comic singer Thomas Casey in the late 1880s" but "there is some evidence to suggest that "Drill, YeTerriers, Drill" is considerably older than Thomas Casey's published version and was indeed sung by Irish laborers on the transcontinental railroad." It even may have had a British antecedent.[5]

The "study of intercultural transfers," as noted by Thomas Adam, "could, therefore, be compared to an archaeological excavation since the task of the scholar is to unearth connections and influences which have been buried deep under many layers of interpretation and modification."[6] The specific case of popular culture makes this process of excavation even deeper. Not only are intercultural transfers obscured behind processes often identified as national ones, but transfers of popular culture have long been hidden behind mutations of high or legitimate culture. Assessing the twofold difficulty and necessity of the study of circulation of popular culture is the goal of the following lines.

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
4. According to biographer Joseph McBride, Ford's work in the 1920s was enriched by his "growing sense of his ethnic identity" which led him to concentrate "on the themes of forced emigration, assimilation, family, community, history and tradition." See *Searching for John Ford*, Jackson, Mississippi U.P., 2011 (2001), https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt12f56j (last accessed 7/11/2020), p. 143. Born of Irish immigrant parents, Ford had briefly travelled to Ireland for the first time as an adult in 1921, *ibid.*, p. 136-143; for Ford's first travel as an adolescent to Ireland, p. 51.
5. K. Kalinak, *op. cit.*, p. 27-29.
6. Thomas Adam, "New Ways to Write the History of Western Europe and the United States: The Concept of Intercultural Transfer, *History Compass*, 11 (10), 2013, DOI: 10.1111/hic3.12087, p. 880-892, p. 882.

It is now well established in many academic disciplines, that the nation-state functioned for long as an "analytical cage", to use historian Daniel T. Rodgers' famous phrase. National cultures, as we know, are historical artefacts, and relatively recent ones.[7] Moreover, that academic disciplines originally situated themselves at the centre of a process that was both nation-centered and culturally elitist has also become part of the critical and familiar narrative scholars now hold on the historical origins of their respective fields. "Modern historiography is inextricably linked with the modern nation," summarizes Thomas Bender.[8] In the US, "the modern discipline of history arose, according to Nan Enstad, in the late nineteenth century concurrently with bifurcated notions of culture, and historians pursued a mission to narrate the nation's evolution to higher planes of human achievement in government, economy, and culture. Culture became particularly important when historians searched for a distinctive 'American' ethos that might distinguish it from Europe"[9]. The same could be said about the formation of other academic disciplines in either the US or Ireland. The words of Edward Spiller, a pioneer of American Studies, deeply resonate with those of Ernest A. Boyd, one of the first literary critics of the Irish Renaissance Movement, by their patriotic and normative tones. Spiller remembered in the 1970s the defensive atmosphere that characterized the formative period of American Studies from the 1920 to 1950. Boyd asserted in 1916 that "Irish criticism" was "primarily concerned in establishing a ratio of national literary values for Irish literature"[10]:

> Why, we asked, should we be the exception to all other peoples who boast national cultures? Why should we have a history that the British think of as a dark chapter in the story of the British Empire, graphic arts that are not much more than an eclectic conglomerate, literature and language that are a debasement of a noble Anglo-Saxon heritage? [Spiller][11]

7. B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1990, DOI: 10.1017/CBO9781107295582; A-M. Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales : Europe, XVIIIᵉ-XXᵉ siècle*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1999. Christine Chivallon, "Retour sur la 'communauté imaginée' d'Anderson. Essai de clarification théorique d'une notion restée floue", *Raisons politiques*, 27, 2007, DOI: 10.3917/rai.027.0131, p. 131-172.
8. Thomas Bender (ed.), *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, Berkeley, California U.P., 2002, preface, p. vii.
9. Nan Enstad, "Popular Culture", in Karen Halttunen (ed.), *A Companion to American Cultural History*, Malden (MA), Blackwell, DOI: 10.1002/9780470691762.ch24, p. 357.
10. Ernest A. Boyd, *Ireland's literary renaissance*, Maunsel, Dublin, 1916, https://archive.org/details/irelandsliteraryr00boyduoft (last accessed 7/11/2020), "Foreword", p. 8.
11. Robert E. Spiller, "Unity and Diversity in the Study of American Culture: The American Studies Association in Perspective", *American Quarterly*, 25 (5), 1973, DOI: 10.2307/2711699, p. 611-618, p. 612.

> The rise of the Language Movement, and the return to Celtic sources, gave a color and tradition to the new literature unknown to the older exponents of Anglicization or nationalism, and rendered it more akin to the Gaelic than the English genius. […] As a rule, studies of Irish writers, whether articles or monographs, are written from an essentially English point of view. […] The writers have been studied as part of our national literature, and have been estimated accordingly. Their work has been considered solely in so far as it reveals those artistic and racial qualities which constitute the raison d'être of the Celtic Renaissance, and the terms of appreciation are strictly relative to the scope of Anglo-Irish literature. [Boyd][12]

Academic traditions, as others, have longstanding effects. If the contributors to this volume come from various academic fields (either history, literature, Irish or American Studies, musicology) most of them are, however, specialists either of the US or Ireland.[13]

Nevertheless, the necessity of examining international cultural transfers has become more and more pressing. First, for reasons that relate to the organization of knowledge. As Gabriele Lingelbach summarized, "transnational research has been experiencing a significant upswing in the social sciences and humanities in an academic landscape that is becoming more and more international."[14] Scholars "are living today in an increasingly interconnected world, a world in which scholars, politicians and intellectuals fret over the extent and impact of 'globalization' (though no one seems to be sure what, exactly, the term implies)."[15] Historians, for their part, have paid increasing attention to the multiple origins of the globalization process.[16] The calls to denationalize history – US and Irish history – have been numerous and transatlantic, transnational, diasporic, interconnected or global approaches to history have flourished.[17] Culture

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12. E. A. Boyd, *op. cit.*, "Foreword", p. 7-9.
13. There are, indeed, few individuals who can claim as Kerby A. Miller to master both Irish and American history.
14. Gabriele Lingelbach, "Intercultural Transfer and Comparative History: The Benefits and Limits of Two Approaches", *Traversea*, 1, 2011, p. 46-59, https://traversea.journal.library. uta.edu/index.php/traversea/article/view/5 (last accessed 4/11/2020), p. 46. The article was originally published in German in 2002.
15. Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, "On the Division of Knowledge and the Community of Thought: Culture and International History", in Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (ed.), *Culture And International History*, New York, Berghahn, 2004 (2003).
16. Among other books see Ulrich Beck, *What Is Globalization?*, trans. Patrick Camiller, Cambridge (U.K.)/Malden (MA), Polity, 2000; Antonyx Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History*, London, Pimlico, 2002; Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: Global Connections and Comparisons, 1780-1914*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2004.
17. The *Journal of World History* (https://www.jstor.org/journal/jworldhistory, last accessed 7/11/2020) was established in 1990; the *LaPietra Report* on the internationalization of American History was published in 2000 (www.oah.org/insights/archive/the-lapietra-report-a-report-to-the-profession, last accessed 2/04/2019); Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*, New York, Hill & Wang, 2006; T. Bender (ed.), *Rethinking American History*, *op. cit.*; Akira Iriye & Pierre-Yves Saunier, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, New York, Palgrave McMillan, 2009; A. Irye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*, New York, Palgrave McMillan,

itself has become a privileged vantage point from which to assess the extent of the globalization process.[18]

Another reason to re-evaluate cultural transfers relates to the nature of knowledge itself. The growth of interdisciplinarity – or at least academic pluralism – and of cultural concerns in general has played a major role. In a revealing fashion, the field most concerned with international matters, diplomatic history, has moved beyond its traditional concern with inter-governmental relations and has integrated the cultural approach to the point of sometimes operating a "merger between international history and cultural studies."[19] As underlined by pioneer Akira Irye as early as 1978, scholars now see "international relations as intercultural relations." Thus they have devoted increasing attention to "the importance of networks of people connected through cultural threads."[20] Studies on how works, artists, writers, cultural forms and genres, ideas, and even emotions travelled across the world have become increasingly rich, inspiring and available.[21]

2013; James Belich, John Darwin, Margret Frenz & Chris Wickham (eds.), *The Prospect of Global History*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2016. For an early critique of the insularity of Irish historiography, see for example Michael Laffan, "Insular Attitudes: The Revisionists and Their Critics", in Mairin Ni Dhonnchadha & Theo Dorgan (eds.), *Revising the Rising*, Derry, Field Day, 1991. For later attempts to actuate the move beyond the nation-state approach, see Niall Whelehan, (ed.), *Transnational Perspectives in Modern Irish History*, New York, Routledge, 2014; Angela McCarthy (ed.), *Ireland in the World: Comparative, Transnational, and Personal Perspectives*, New York, Routledge, 2015.

18. Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, London, Sage, 1990; Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis, Minnesota U.P., 1996; Anthony D. King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, Minneapolis, Minnesota U.P., 1997; Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, Sage, 1992; David Held *et al.*, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Cambridge, Polity, 1999; John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge, Polity, 1999; Tracey Skelton & Tim Allen (eds.), *Culture and global change*, London, Routledge, 1999; Tyler Cowen, *Creative Destruction: How Globalization Is Changing the World's Cultures*, Princeton, Princeton U.P., 2002; Frank J. Lechner & John Boli, *World Culture: Origins and Consequences*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2002; Ramaswami Harindranath, *Perspectives on Global Culture*, Maidenhead, Open University, 2006; Mary Hawkins, *Global Structures, Local Cultures*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 2006; Paul Hopper, *Understanding Cultural Globalization*, Cambridge, Polity, 2007; J. Macgregor Wise, *Cultural Globalization: A User's Guide*, Malden (MA), Blackwell, 2008; Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2009; Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell U.P., 2010; Laurent Martin & François Chaubet, *Histoire des relations culturelles dans le monde contemporain*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2011, DOI: 10.3917/arco.chaub.2011.01.

19. J. C. E. Gienow-Hecht (ed.), *Culture And International History*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

20. Iriye, *Global and transnational history*, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and 48.

21. To cite just a few works, Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard U.P., 1993; Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s*, Washington (DC), Smithsonian, 1997; Margaret Cohen & Carolyn Dever (eds.), *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, Princeton U.P., 2002, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fgx2r (last accessed 7/11/2020); Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard U.P., 2004; Rob Kroes & Robert W. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: the Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*, Chicago (IL), Chicago U.P., 2005; Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, Princeton, Princeton U.P., 2010, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7sh8v (last accessed 7/11/2020), and chapter 8 ("How Culture Travelled: Going Abroad, c. 1865–1914") of *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789*, New York, Palgrave, McMillan, 2015; Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920*, Chicago, Chicago U.P., 2009.

Recovering, however, the precise circulation of popular culture has not received the same kind of scrutiny as forms of higher culture for two kinds of – symmetrical – reasons. Certain periods (the Cold War) and forms of popular culture (jazz and rock) have indeed inspired detailed and rich studies.[22] Most often, however, the circulation of items of popular culture has been taken for granted or not been studied on its own terms. Among factors, the diversity of the US population and culture, the increasing role of the US superpower in the world economy and diplomacy, and finally the extended availability of mass-produced cultural items, have often led scholars to see the circulation of popular culture as a byproduct of globalization and capitalism, i.e. the Americanization of the world. Seen from above, the circulation of popular culture seemed almost automatic and disappeared behind the generality of the process, as this quotation by Richard Pells suggests:

> It is precisely these foreign influences that have made America's culture so popular for so long in so many places. American culture spread throughout the world because it has habitually drawn on foreign styles and ideas. Americans have then reassembled and repackaged the cultural products they received from abroad, and retransmitted them to the rest of the planet. In effect, Americans have specialized in selling the fantasies and folklore of other people back to them. This is why a global mass culture has come to be identified, however simplistically, with the United States.[23]

Conversely, when considering popular culture, other scholars, working notably in the fields of social history or 19th century cultural history, often embarked, according to Jessica Gienow-Hecht, in an "ongoing search for a distinctively American culture." Discarding cultural imports as attempts made by the American social elite to merely imitate European forms of high-culture, they thereby proceeded to uncover what they defined as a "genuinely American culture": the "richness of a seemingly independent mass culture."[24]

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22. Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, California U.P., 2000, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnxgk (last accessed 7/11/2020); Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany*, New York, Oxford U.P., 1992; Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*, trans. Diana M. Wolf, Chapel Hill, North Carolina U.P., 1994; Kasper Maase, *Bravo America: Erkundigungen zur Jugendkultur in der Bundesrepublik in den fünfziger Jahren*, Hamburg, Junius, 1992; Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, California U.P., 1999, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppwsw (last accessed 7/11/2020).
23. Richard Pells, "From modernism to the movies: The globalization of American culture in the twentieth century", *European Journal of American Culture*, 23 (2), 2004, DOI: 10.1386/ejac.23.2.143/0, p. 143-155, p. 144.
24. J. C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

> As a result, the story of Europe's cultural expansion in the United States remains untold, […] many historians have been reluctant to recast the nation's history in a multinational context where the United States appears as just one among many actors.[25]

This volume is therefore both ambitious and limited in its approach. It does not pretend to offer a new theory or methodology of intercultural transfers at the global level.[26] The focus is narrowed to the circulation of popular culture between Ireland and the US. Popular culture is approached through a non-essentialist perspective that goes back at least to Stuart Hall[27] and makes popular culture a "contested terrain", a site of cultural negotiations and conflicts, the result of a never-ended process.[28] Our goal in this respect is to weave together a constantly shifting object of study and various and sometimes diverging streams of research: cultural history and the study of popular culture, the history of nations and global history, immigration, diaspora or ethnic studies and the study of circulating commercial products; the study of cinema, music, television and the internet. By taking into account the international context of cultural nation-building, the volume is an attempt to contribute to a renewed understanding of how the circulation of goods and people reached a momentum at the same time as states were engaged in an-going process of nation-building-deconstructing-and-redefining, in the 19th, 20th and early 21st centuries.[29]

In his most recent study, Christopher Dowd chose, for example, to focus "on the intersection between the assimilation of the Irish into American life and the emergence of an American popular culture", at the turn of the 20th century. In this respect the contribution of popular culture to the shaping of Irish-American identity has, according to Dowd, been neglected. "Often scholarship in the fields of Irish studies and ethnic studies undervalues or ignores entirely popular culture texts and focuses instead on texts considered more serious or literary. The attention paid to

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25. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
26. For such attempts see Th. Adam, art. cit. and G. Lingelbach, art. cit.
27. Hall famously summarized the problematic definition of popular culture: "This year's radical symbol or slogan will be neutralised into next year's fashion; the year after, it will be the object of a profound cultural nostalgia. Today's rebel folksinger ends up, tomorrow, on the cover of the *Observer* color magazine. The meaning of a cultural symbol is given in part by the social field into which it is incorporated, the practices with which it articulates and is made to resonate. What matters is *not* the intrinsic or historically fixed objects of culture, but the state of play in cultural relations." (S. Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular" (1981), in John Storey (ed.), *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, London, Pearson Prentice Hall, 1998, p. 442-453, p. 449).
28. See Hall, art. cit.; Todd Gitlin, "Television's Screens: Hegemony in Transition" (1981), in Donald Lazere (ed.), *American Media and Mass Culture: Left Perspectives*, Berkeley, California U.P., 1987, p. 240-265; Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America*, New York, Verso, 1987; LeRoy Ashby, "Not Necessarily Swill Time: Popular Culture and American History", *OAH Magazine of History*, 24 (2), 2010, DOI: 10.1093/maghis/24.2.7, p. 7-9
29. Blaise Wilfert-Portal, "L'histoire culturelle de l'Europe d'un point de vue transnational", *Revue Sciences/Lettres*, 1, 2013, DOI: 10.4000/rsl.279, p. 2-3.

'high art,' while important, leaves unconsidered the significance of 'low art.' Commercial publications and entertainment affected the daily lives of Americans more frequently and consistently, and perhaps more substantively, than many more highly regarded works of cultural note".[30] We could add that ethnic identities as well as national cultures are always in flux and have been continuously transformed by the cultural exchanges between American, Irish American and Irish individuals, groups and institutions, as the surge in Irish immigration in the 1980s showed.[31] In this respect, the long-lasting singularity of exchanges between the US and Ireland puts the current process of cultural globalization into perspective and calls for it to be questioned.

The Green Atlantic: the Long History of Cultural Exchanges between Ireland and the US

From the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries, Irish people crossed the Atlantic Ocean as colonists, soldiers, indentured servants, farmers, art labourers, priests, or exiles. Exchanges between Ireland and the United States go back to pre-revolutionary times, and the Irish have represented one of the most significant ethnic groups in America, particularly since the early decades of the nineteenth century; between 1820 and 1840, one-third of all immigrants to the United States came from Ireland. This has left long-lasting marks in American culture: many Americans choose to recognize their Irish ancestry as essential to their identity- today some 45 million Americans claim "Irish" as their primary ethnicity. Popular culture in particular, as Christopher Dowd has remarked in his recent book, "has provided opportunities for Irish-Americans (...)", adding that it also proved dangerous in some aspects, "as a powerful vehicle for disseminating and reinforcing ethnic stereotypes"[32]. Conversely, the long tradition of emigration to the USA has in return forged part of Irish identity, and according to David Gleeson, "a transnational perspective is still important for understanding Ireland and its people, both at home and those who left."[33]

Contrary to preconceived ideas about Irish emigrants being for the most part Catholics, the first waves of Irish migrants were for the greatest part Ulster Presbyterians who had grown dissatisfied with their economic

30. Christopher Dowd, *The Irish and the Origins of American Popular Culture*, New York, Routledge, 2018, p. 1.
31. See Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History*, New York, Longman, 2000.
32. Christopher Dowd, *The Irish and the Origins of American popular Culture*, London, Routledge, 2018, p. 4.
33. David T. Gleeson (ed.), *The Irish in the Atlantic World*, Columbia, South Carolina U.P., 2010, p. 7.

and social situation at home, such as disastrous harvests and higher rents; they were also barred from a number of civil and military offices. In 1700-1776 at least 200,000 left Ulster. Convinced that "God had appoynted a Country for them to Dwell in", they left Ireland westward, looking back to it as a mere intermediate stage in their lives or even as a springboard to their "land of Canaan."[34]

The American revolution had an enormous influence on the course of events in Ireland. As reported by historian Kerby A. Miller, "Dublin and Belfast printers began to publish copies of the American state constitution and other American texts"[35]. The Protestant Patriot leader Henry Grattan, who fought for and obtained Irish parliamentary independence from Westminster in 1782, drew analogies between England's oppression of America and the way the English controlled Irish economic and political life. The writings of John Adams and Thomas Paine were familiar to those who wished to free Ireland of the oppressive connection with England. Later, in the 1790s, the more radical United Irishmen – who organized a failed uprising with the help of the French navy – found inspiration in the French revolution but also paid tribute to Washington and his allies, as evidenced by this refrain quoted by Miller:

"What have you got in your hand?
–A green bough. Where did it first grow?
–In America. Where did it bud?
–In France. Where are you going to plant it?
–In the Crown of Great Britain."[36]

Even though Miller in *Emigrants and Exiles*, one of the best accounts of Irish mass migration and of Irish American history, demonstrates that there were poor Catholic Irish peasants emigrating to the US before the Famine, it was of course the tragedy of the Great Famine due to the potato blight which created an unprecedented movement of Irish population towards Britain, the United States, Canada and extended as far as Australia. For most of the nineteenth century, emigration as a proportion of population was higher in Ireland than in any other European country, and no other country experienced such sustained depopulation in that period. Between 1845 and 1855, almost 1.5 million Irish people sailed to the United States. In the century after 1820 almost 5 million Irish people emigrated to the United States alone.

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34. Quoted in Kerby A. Miller *et al.*, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815*, New York, Oxford U.P., 2003, p. 6.
35. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles. Ireland and the Exodus to North America*, Oxford, Oxford U.P., 1985, p. 182.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

The Irish nationalists were quick to explain this exodus by the cruelty of Protestant landlords and the murderous indifference of the British government to the sufferings of the Irish, if not its genocidal intentions: the leader of the Young Ireland movement John Mitchel (1815–75), himself transplanted to the US, famously declared that "The Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the Famine."[37]

As a result, Miller explains how Irish emigration came to be seen, on both sides of the Atlantic, as forced exile and banishment rather than as a quest for opportunity and self-improvement, contrary to what had been the case for the Presbyterian emigrants from Ulster. Migration was thus endowed with cultural as well as social and political traits and values. Migrants carried with them to the "New World" various forms of culture and interpreted migration in cultural terms, as the letters and memoirs studied by Miller indicate.[38]

From their beginnings in the New World onwards, most Irish emigrants and their descendants would therefore embrace the nationalist cause, their resentment at having been forced to leave home fuelled by all the hardships, the poverty and the hostility they met with in the host country. Indeed, as Kerby A. Miller reports it, "Irish emigrants were disproportionately concentrated in the lowest paid, least-skilled, and most dangerous and insecure employment".[39] Many Irishmen found employment in canal, railroad or building construction, or as dock labourers. As their numbers swelled, the Irish, like other groups, concentrated in specifically urban occupations – for men, municipal positions such as construction workers, police, and firefighters; for women – who, unlike virtually all other immigrant groups, outnumbered men – overwhelmingly domestic service. As unskilled, poorly-paid workers, the Irish were in competition with free Blacks or even slave labour for the lowest, dirtiest jobs, hence the often suggested parallel established and spread mostly by Irish-American nationalists, between the fate of the Irish and that of the Afro-Americans. Jennifer Nugent Duffy argues that as nineteenth-century Irish immigrants responded to the challenges of life in the United States, they sought to prove their "racial fitness" by adhering to white, middle-class standards of hard work, family, faith, and patriotism, equating these ideals with being "good Paddies".[40] In his well-known book, *How the Irish Became White* (1995), Noel Ignatiev raises the question why the Irish, many of whom

37. John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (1861), Patrick Maume (ed.), Dublin, UCD, 2005, p. 219.
38. For a recent attempt by Kerby A. Miller to analyse Irish emigration culturally, see "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America", in *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration*, Dublin, Field Day, 2008, p. 7-43.
39. K. A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles, op. cit.*, p. 315.
40. Jennifer Nugent Duffy, *Who's Your Paddy? Racial Expectations and the Struggle for Irish American Identity*, New York, New York U.P., 2014, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qg7c7 (last accessed 7/11/2020), p. 4.

came to America to escape English oppression or poverty and penury, did not make common cause with African Americans, when they were caricatured by *Punch* magazine as the "simian-featured" Irish, and were barred from employment by notices claiming "No Blacks. No Dogs. No Irish".[41] But the Irish were in competition with African Americans for housing, employment, and the tolerance of their neighbours. They knew that every advantage lay in identifying with the white race and readily joined the oppressor class, even though Irish immigrants to the US were undoubtedly confronted to discrimination; however some historians argue that anti-Irish prejudice was more likely to be connected with their putatively "pre-modern" behaviour, their Catholicism, and their supposed threat to the ideas of American republicanism, than with their place on a socially constructed racial hierarchy[42].

As a matter of fact, one consequence of post-famine emigration to the US was that Irish identity came to be identified with Catholicism, whereas Irish America was far more Protestant than Catholic until at least the 1840s. From Know Nothings and "No Irish Need Apply" to fear-mongering against Al Smith and John Kennedy, American Protestants threw every kind of obstacle in the way of the Irish Catholic rise to power, prosperity, and respectability, planting deep feelings of insecurity and inferiority in many Irish-Americans. But at the turn of the twentieth century, as Christopher Dowd argues, "Irish-Americans became an increasingly assimilated group with new social, political, economic, and cultural opportunities open to them"[43], even though negative views of the Irish persisted until late in the twentieth century, as Jennifer Nugent Duffy argues. In her opinion, a consistent racial stereotype of the Irish lingered long after the disappearance of nineteenth century tropes of the assimilated, acquiescent, fully white "Good Paddy" and the negative "Bad Paddy" prone to drink and laziness- propagated by popular culture through the most frequent stereotypes of the "soldier, clown, womanizer and drunkard" as noted by Peter Bischof and Peter Noçon[44]. One of the most famous stereotypes was that of the "Stage Irishman" of nineteenth-century comedy: "He has an atrocious Irish brogue, perpetual jokes, blunders and bulls in speaking and never fails to utter, by way of Hibernian seasoning, some wild screech or oath of Gaelic origin at every third word: he has an unsurpassable gift of blarney and cadges for tips and free drinks. His hair is of a fiery red: he is rosy-cheeked, massive, and whiskey loving [...]."[45]

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41. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became white*, New York, Routledge, 1995.
42. Richard Jensen, "'No Irish Need Apply': A Myth of Victimization", *Journal of Social History*, 36 (2), 2002, DOI: 10.1353/jsh.2003.0021, p. 405-429, p. 425-426.
43. C. Dowd, *The Irish and the Origins of American Popular Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
44. Peter Bischof & Peter Noçon, "The Image of the Irish in American Popular Culture", in Wolfgang Zach & Heinz Kosok (eds.), *Literary Interrelation: England, Ireland, and the World*, Tubingen, Narr, 1987, p. 61-62.
45. Quoted in Maureen Waters, *Comic Irishman*, Albany (NY), New York State U.P., 1984, p. 41.

In the early 1870s however, a small bourgeoisie began to emerge in Irish-America, symbolized by the phrase "lace-curtain" Irish, implying a certain conservatism and search for respectability. In order to assert their rights, the new Irish immigrants resorted to three main institutions: the Democratic Party, the Catholic Church, and Irish-American nationalism. The Irish-Americans also gathered in various fraternal associations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Catholic Abstinence Union, the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, and others with more cultural pursuits such as the American Irish Historical society and the Gaelic League of America. Emigrants grew proud of their public celebrations, such as the St Patrick's Parades. According to Kerby Miller, "By 1923 (…) the long, dark winter of Irish exile in America was over."[46]. No longer could Irishness be seen as a negative marker in modern American society: it became "absorbed into a homogenous white culture"[47], just one piece in the 'salad bowl' of American society. An "almost complete assimilation of the Irish into mainstream American culture" took place. As Margaret Hallissy explains, "No longer worried about being treated badly in non-sectarian institutions, no longer as distrustful of the 'others' as their parents and teachers raised them to be, Irish-Americans (..) typically feel little need to stress their American identity; born and raised in New York or Boston or Chicago, what else can they be but American? This leaves them free to explore the other side of the hyphen, the Irish side".[48]

The flow of Irish emigration to the US was recorded by popular cultural practices both at home and in the host country from the start. For instance, the leave-taking of a person bound for America was embedded in the ritual of departure referred to as "the American wake", a custom which has its origin in the Irish wake, whereby neighbours and friends sit up overnight in the company of a corpse before burial. Within a rural Irish Catholic community, the American Wake was also a farewell for good in a religious sense, as a family member's going to America was implicitly accompanied with fears of their losing their immortal souls through possible conversion to Protestantism. Those who had gone abroad flooded Ireland with letters which made the US look very familiar to those who had stayed behind; and the most important source of information about America for the Irish was "the American letter," a ubiquitous feature of Irish village life from the eighteenth century onwards and a staple of sentimental fiction and illustrations. Irish-Americans did not only send home enormous sums of money but also many presents such as clothes, newspapers, glossy magazines or mail-order catalogues, which became

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46. K. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, *op. cit.*, p. 555.
47. Christopher Dowd, *The Construction of Irish Identity in American Literature*, New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 4.
48. Margaret Hallissy, *Reading Irish-American Fiction: the Hyphenated Self*, London, Palgrave, p. 28.

major sources of cultural nourishment for impoverished, deprived rural communities.

The great majority of post-Famine emigrants stayed emotionally attached to the Emerald Isle, which was given expression, for instance, in many a folk song or hymn. Typical of many of these song texts is the depiction of Ireland as an originally ideal or even virginal place, which was destroyed by the Anglo-Norman and English invaders, with its original population driven into starvation or exile. One of the best-known Irish traditional songs, "Skibbereen", can be regarded as providing a pattern underlying many other texts which deal with Irish (Catholic) emigration, be they traditional ones or clad in modern folk or folk rock music:

> O father dear I oft times heard you talk of Erin's isle,
> her lofty scene and her valleys green, her mountains rude and wild.
> They say it is a pretty place wherein a prince might dwell.
> Oh why did you abandon it, the reason to me tell?
> Oh on I loved my native land with energy and pride,
> 'til blight came over on my crops, my sheep and cattle died.
> The rent and taxes were so high, I could not them redeem,
> and that's the cruel reason why I left old Skibbereen.
> Oh it's well I do remember that bleak December day,
> the landlord and the sheriff came to drive us all away.
> They set my roof on fire with their demon yellow spleen,
> and that's another reason why I left old Skibbereen.
> Your mother too, God rest her soul, fell on the snowy ground,
> she fainted in her anguish seeing the desolation round.
> She never rose but passed away from life to mortal dream,
> she found a quiet grave, my boy, in dear old Skibbereen.
> And you were only two years old and feeble was your frame,
> I wrapped you in my co' ta mo' r in the dead of night unseen, I heaved
>   a sigh and said goodbye to dear old Skibbereen.[49]

For decades, innumerable songs expressed the migrant's nostalgia of the homeland, in evocative titles such as "Come Back to Erin," "Galway Bay," and "I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen". As late as in the 1950s, the famous American crooner Bill Crosby popularized "Dear Old Donegal," a song which promised a strong welcome for the emigrant from "all his friends and neighbours," as well as from his family and "the girl he used to swing down on the garden gate" when he returns.

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49. *Revenge for Skibbereen* is defined as an Irish rebel song; first published in *The Irish singer's own book* accredited to Patrick Carpenter a poet native of Skibbereen, in Boston 1880. It was recomposed in June 1889 by May Ostlere, a popular English writer and composer of the time. Source: http://mhm.hud.ac.uk/digitalvictorians/revenge-for-skibbereen (last accessed 18/04/2019).

The relationship between the Irish at home and Irish-Americans became more and more complex through time; as Irish songwriter Bob Geldof put it, "I am Irish and Irish Americans always irritate me. They pretend to be Irish when in fact they are Americans through and through".[50] Irish-American identity was influenced not only by literary giants such as Eugene O'Neill or Francis Scott Fitzgerald but by works found in popular entertainment that reinforced and reproduced ethnic characterizations. American popular culture became impregnated with Irish influence, including in areas such as the American South. An example of this is Margaret Mitchell's 1936 *Gone With the Wind* and its character of Scarlett O'Hara, which according to James P. Cantrell shows that "the Irish have been instrumental in the development of Southern culture."[51] Christopher Dowd for his part has studied the image of the Irish in pulp magazines, stating that "Irish characters dominate much of the fictional terrain created by pulp authors of all backgrounds, even those without Irish heritage."[52] By the end of the Second World War, as Stephanie Rains puts it, "a substantial Irish-American population had no first-hand experience of Ireland, and in particular no experience of post-independence Ireland."[53] Margaret Hallissy for her part claims that what the Americans know about Ireland in the twentieth century is "partial, superficial, fragmentary; they bring to their encounters with Ireland and the Irish bits and pieces of the kind of Irish lore that crossed the Atlantic, the stories the emigrants told, the songs they sang". This led to, as Rains argues, "the production and circulation of narratives and images", among which "the two principal means by which a fabricated image of Ireland became familiar to Irish-Americans and ricocheted on the self-representation of Ireland itself have been film and tourism". [54] American films about Ireland and/or shot in Ireland were produced as early as 1910:*The Lad from Old Ireland*, 1910, *The Colleen Bawn*, 1911, *Far From Erin's Isle*, 1912[55], preceded such box-office hits as *The Irish in US*, 1935, *Angels with Dirty Faces,* 1938, *The Flying Irishman*, 1939, *The Sullivans*, 1944, or again *Yankee Doodle Dandy*, 1949 starring James Cagney. But a quintessential example of the criss-crossing between the constructed image of Ireland meant to feed the nostalgia of those Americans with Irish ancestry and the way the Irish look upon themselves was John Ford's *The Quiet Man* (1952), in which John Wayne as Sean Thornton returns to his homeland to find peace and salvation after leaving behind the merciless American city. The film has served as

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50.   Quoted by Margaret Hallissy, *op. cit.*, epigraph.
51.   James P. Cantrell, "Secularization of Irishness in the American South: A Reading of the Novels of Ellen Glasgow and Margaret Mitchell" in Patrick O' Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity,* London/New York, Leicester U.P., 1996, p. 107.
52.   C. Dowd, *The Irish and the Origins of American Popular Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
53.   Stephanie Rains, *The Irish-American in Popular Culture 1945-2000*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2007, p. 69.
54.   *Ibid.*
55.   *Ibid.*; Kevin Rockett, "The Irish Migrant and Film", in Ruth Barton (ed.), *Screening Irish-America: Representing Irish-America in Film and Television*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2009, p. 17-44, p. 18-28.

a template for countless similar stories in which the Irish are presented as old-fashioned, anti-materialistic, religious, and, most importantly, communal people who appreciate family and friends far more than money and a career – the antithesis of modernity. What is more, *The Quiet Man* illustrates the theme of the Returned Emigrant, which both Stephanie Rains and Ann Schofield view as an "increasingly prevalent theme in Irish-American culture"[56]. The figure of the Returned Yank offered by Ford's movie represents, according to Ann Schofield, "a site where the tension between modernity and tradition, the politics of nostalgia, and the deep ambivalence the Irish felt about migration reside"[57].

When it was first issued, *The Quiet Man* boosted tourism to Ireland significantly. Since then, Irish stereotypes of traditionalism, conservatism, and communality have continued to underlie much of Irish-American popular culture, either to exploit, criticize, or ridicule them, but also to stimulate cultural and "roots" tourism. Since the late 1950s and its turn towards a market economy, rather than the protectionism which was proper to the immediate post-Independence era, the Irish state has given a critical importance to the development of a tourist industry. Eager to welcome visitors, especially those with an Irish ancestry with well-lined pockets, tourist board promotional material constructed an idyllic Ireland filled with pastel-colored villages and friendly natives, such as were exemplified by John Hinde's postcards of Ireland. According to Stephanie Rains, tourism played a crucial role in modifying what she calls the "modern relationships and identity constructions negotiated between Irish and Irish-American culture."[58] Access to the "home" culture was now possible, she argues, through purchasing it as a commodity, what is more sold by Ireland itself, a process which entailed a certain loss of authenticity. In her opinion, "the 1990s were characterized by an unprecedented surge of interest in Irish culture around the world", of which the most telling example was the dance show *Riverdance*, created by two Irish-American dancers.[59] Numerous commentators of the show have underlined how it not only celebrated the "cross-pollination" between Irish and American cultures, but also displayed all the effects of the commodification of a supposedly authentic, local culture having undergone a process of globalization which precisely deprived it of its authenticity.[60] Alexandra Schein has also noted "a remarkable increase in movies and TV shows featuring Irish-American characters" in the recent past, mentioning movies like 2006 *The Departed* directed by Martin Scorsese or 2007 *P.S. I Love You* based on a

56.   S. Rains, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
57.   Ann Schofield, "The Returned Yank as Site of Memory in Irish Popular Culture", *Journal of American Studies*, 47 (4), 2013, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24485880 (last accessed 4/11/2020), p. 1175-1195.
58.   S. Rains, *The Irish-American in Popular Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
59.   *Ibid.*, p. 133.
60.   Thomas Sullivan, "'Hip to be Irish': ethnicity and Bourdieu's 'Forms of Capital'", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39 (10), 2016, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1142103, p. 1773-1790.

book by Cecelia Ahern, as well as TV shows like 2004-2011 FX *Rescue Me* or HBO's *The Wire* (2002-2008). She remarks that "the popularity of such texts and the conspicuousness of Irish-American characters bespeaks the attraction of Irish-American ethnicity on screen"[61].

This trend was also theorized by Diane Negra in her 2006 collection of essays *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity and Popular Culture*. Negra speaks in her introduction of the "everything and nothing" status of Irishness in early-twenty-first century popular culture, and argues that this identity has become "particularly performative and mobile"[62]. She writes of what she calls the "discursive currency" of Irishness.[63] Her collection of essays was published at a time when Ireland had become a land of hyperbole: it was the most globalized society in the world (according to the journal *Foreign Affairs*); per capita, it had one of highest GDPs in the world, the fastest growth rate in Europe, and so on. The contributors to *The Irish In Us* explore the contradictory complexity of Irishness across an impressive range of cultural practices, from the differing markets for Irish-themed products in the US retail sector (from middle America to white supremacists), to the popularity of Garth Brooks in Ireland, to the significance of red hair. Stephanie Rains for her part analyses the business of genealogical research, which, she argues, can provide us with a way 'of rethinking identity as neither fixed nor essential, nor endlessly fluid and freely self-fashioned, and an always incomplete inventory of the self'[64]. As Chris Morash puts it in his review of Negra's book, "Irish culture is now inextricably – for better or for worse – embedded in global networks of information and mass media, images and sounds. As such, it will not revert back to the more insular culture of earlier decades, which made it possible to sustain an essentialist understanding of identity."[65]

Taking into account the themes and topics dealt with by the contributors in this volume, we have divided the chapters under three headings, the first of which is rather expected because often associated with Irish culture as stated above: "the Circulation of Sounds and Music", the second, "the Circulation of Images" being more related to painting, cinema and television, and the last one, "the Circulation of Memes", opening up a discussion on the newest forms of circulation made possible by the social media.

61. Alexandra Schein, "A Spiritual Homecoming: Ireland in Contemporary Movies about Irish Americans", *Current Objectives of Postgraduate American Studies*, 12, 2011, DOI: 10.5283/copas.140.
62. Diane Negra, *The Irish in Us. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham/London, Duke U.P., 2006, p. 2.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 1, 6.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 156-157.
65. Chris Morash, Review of *The Irish in Us: Irishness, performativity, and popular culture* in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 29 (3), 2009, DOI: 10.1080/01439680903115903, p. 411-413.

The Circulation of Sounds and Music

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Crossing the Atlantic was sometimes a means for an Irish artist to meet a popularity which was more difficult to obtain at home or in Great Britain, thanks to the force of the almost exotic attraction which added extra value to an Irishness that was either real or simply felt. Thus the influence of Dublin born, Anglo-Irish Protestant composer Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924) on the image of Ireland in America, even though rather elusive, as Adele Commins shows it in her chapter, is mostly due to his tactfully naming one of his major works "The Irish Symphony", which earned him a wide reputation as a composer of orchestral music that draws on Irish folk melodies and themes of Irishness. Described by some as "an enthusiastic Irishman", whose many compositions often included reference to his Irish homeland, Stanford was met with a much more favourable reception in America than in England – even if he never actually travelled there. What the American audiences and critics liked in his compositions, Commins argues, was clearly the sense of Irishness they felt in them; although this "lighter" music was precisely what rebuked and annoyed the English, there was a market for it in America. Stanford's music, whose one of the most ferocious critic, Commins explains, was Anglo-Irishman George Bernard Shaw, was popular and critically well received in America, once removed from the entangled Anglo-Irish identity politics of the time. This particular case shows two interesting points for our perspective. First, the circulation across the Atlantic of a given product could manifestly alter its status in the hierarchical culture of the time. Second, the music of Stanford is a good example of how inclusion in what we could define as middlebrow culture (although Commins does not explicitly use the term), especially when connected to a confused national identity (Irish, English?) could at times function as an autonomous cultural sphere or as a channel between highbrow culture and more popular forms of culture.[66]

The issue of the commodification of Ireland's local culture, especially regarding its circulation in the US, and whether this entailed a loss of authenticity or not, is central to Daithí Kearney's analysis of the 1976 tour to America of the traditional Irish step dance company and National Folk Theatre of Ireland, Siamsa Tíre. The chapter aims at highlighting "the importance of the company in understanding music, tourism and glocalisation in Ireland", even though the company never reached the fame of *Riverdance*. Kearney quotes Moloney's argument that: "Irish step dancing has, for over a century, been one of the most visible aspects of Irish

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66. On the use of the "middlebrow" category, see Lise Jaillant, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917–1955*, London, Pickering, 2014, "Introduction: 'Good Taste in Reading'", p. 1-18.

culture in Ireland and one of the most consciously projected forms of ethnic cultural identity among the Irish in America". Kearney analyses the various reasons for the success and popularity of the tour: he mentions the simplicity of the narrative, the extra touch of authenticity added by the presence of reputed dancers, the use of traditional dance music and airs. One of his conclusions is that "*Siamsa* is undoubtedly a romanticised representation of Irish country life", but that it "undoubtedly played a role in the reimagining of Irish identity in America and a re-evaluation of Irish folk culture in Ireland in the 1970s".

Timothy Heron's chapter deals with an entirely different type of music which did not care much for orthodoxies– or nationalist feelings for that matter: punk rock music. It also shows the influence of American popular culture in Ireland. Heron's work highlights the development of a local branch of punk in Northern Ireland at the period of the Troubles, with many young people starting bands such as the Undertones, RUDI, Stiff Little Fingers, the Outcasts among others, and he means to show here that "Northern Ireland punk rock was significantly influenced by the USA and more precisely by the American teenage myth". American popular music in particular was an object of mass consumption which could take on different meanings when experienced and produced in a very different cultural context. Contrary to their English counterparts, in Northern Ireland punk groups seemed to embrace rather than reject Americanness. Thematically, Northern punk groups seemed preoccupied by teenage themes, the most famous example being undoubtedly the Undertones' hit song "Teenage Kicks". By giving teenage songs a punk treatment, by parodying and performing them in a context which contrasted so sharply with the mythical suburban America which had inspired them, Northern Irish punks created a dissonance, a sense of dislocation: "They knew that this was something out of their reach, so in their songs they imagined a teenage world which was both familiar and foreign, both real and imaginary, a liminal space where they could concentrate on being teenagers and deal with adolescent problems, such as crushes, sex and growing up."

The Circulation of Images

If Northern Irish punks fed on and distorted the syrupy images of adolescent love afforded by American pop music, the 19th century painter Erskine Nicol for his part can be said to have peddled sentimental images of the Irish to the American public, as he made the depicting of stereotyped Irishness his hallmark. Amélie Dochy has attempted to retrace how Nicol's paintings crossed the Atlantic, and she found that it was mainly British art dealers who brought them over. In her chapter she also accounts

for the success of such paintings as *Paying the Rent* – bought by William H. Vanderbilt of New York, who later had it exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1886 and 1903 – by the fact that it illustrates the difficult relationships between Irish tenants and their Anglo-Irish landlords. That subject would have been very popular with Irish emigrants to the US, many of whom held the Protestant landlords responsible for the tragedy of the Famine. Dochy imagines in this regard that a number of Irish emigrants who lived in the area of Philadelphia must have visited the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 (for which entrance the price to pay was only 50 cents), and seen Nicol's paintings exhibited there. The circulation of Nicol's paintings through the American continent was also facilitated by their reproduction as coloured lithographs which could be purchased at affordable prices. As many as four thousand copies of the same picture could be reproduced thanks to that technique. Contrary to what happened in Britain where his paintings rather served to entertain a stereotyped, degrading view of the Irish, according to Dochy the reception of Nicol's paintings in the US "tended to enhance Irish grievances through the motifs of rural life and its social tensions, poverty caused by colonisation and emigration."

The circulation of stereotypes about the Irish is also the underlying assumption about the recent American TV drama *Ray Donovan*, broadcast by Showtime since 2013, and which constitutes a new avatar of the "Boston crime drama", which according to blogger Mark Ryall "utilises Irishness as a morally corrupt representation of white ethnicity"[67]. As seen through the eyes of a French specialist of Irish Studies, several markers of Irish ethnic stereotyping may be noted in the series, such as the presence of a bragging, irresponsible, and altogether destructive father; the lingering presence in her sons' memories of a dead mother who was obviously victimized by her husband, and of a drug-addict sister who finally committed suicide. Typical of an Irish background is also the centrality of family in the protagonists' lives, as well as the source of the traumas each of them suffers from. Even though Ray and his two brothers have not quite caved in to the temptation of a criminal life as a means of survival, violence and deviancy are part of their daily experience. This is especially true of the main character Ray, who is employed as a "fixer" by a Hollywood lawyer, that is to say is paid to make use of his muscle to set things straight in his rich and famous clients' lives. However, the job is one way for Ray to provide for his family, thus responding to the model of the good, hard-working Paddy so often depicted in movies and television. The Good Paddy/Bad Paddy duality inherent to the stereotype of Irishness such as it circulates in American popular culture, is given a new twist in *Ray Donovan* by the reference to the sex scandals recently revealed within the Catholic

67.   http://whybother.ie/the-departed-and-the-boston-crime-drama (last accessed 5/09/2019).

Church, the Donovan brothers having been abused by a priest when they were boys. The traditional portrayal of the Irish as being morally corrupt if only because of their Catholicism is thus confirmed, together with the idea that Irish ethnicity is a shameful burden which needs to be cleansed and perhaps altogether eliminated. The series plays with the audience's ambivalent sympathies for the cunning charm of the devious, destructive father or for his brutish, taciturn, but caring son – both parts being played by non-Irish actors, thus casting even greater doubt on the authenticity of the Irish experience represented.

American television and film have made great use of Irishness in the past and continue to do so, but Irish television has also learned from US popular culture, as evidenced by the very successful RTÈ series *Love/Hate* (2010-2014) which was often compared to David Simon's HBO series *The Wire* (2002-2008). But in her paper Flore Coulouma tackles the influence of American culture from a wider perspective, which is that of globalization, especially applied to urban landscapes: she claims that the Irish series, located in Dublin in the same way as *The Wire* is firmly rooted in Baltimore, foregrounds the growing anonymity of the neo-liberal, post-industrial, globalized city, where all signs of connection with the natural world have been gradually erased, and where violence prevails. *Love/Hate* is unusual in that it turns Dublin and its suburbia into "a generic space of global violence": the visual portrait of the city the series affords is an integral part of its narrative of urban violence. Coulouma discusses the notions of home and place, arguing that even though the series is indeed located in Dublin, its main themes are placelessness and uprootedness, using the Irish capital as an emblem for the generic neo-liberal Western big city, drawing another parallel with the American series *The Wire* in which drug-trafficking is set up against the ideology of global, late capitalism. According to Coulouma, "*Love/Hate* shares *The Wire*'s realistic aesthetics, and most importantly, its pessimistic representation of the city as both the cause and symptom of a self-destructive society".

The Circulation of Memes

The circulation of images, ideas, stereotypes and representations has been given an unprecedented dimension by the development of the social media: according to French philosopher Michel Serres, the development of Internet and of social media has introduced a third anthropological era, after the invention of writing and that of printing. Two of the contributors in this volume, Anne Goarzin and Robert Johnson, examine some aspects of these new forms of circulation between Ireland and the United States, under the shape of what is now called "memes". But Anne Goarzin

warns us that what is called the "new" media tends to convey the same type of images and representations of Ireland and the Irish as before. She also argues that the opposite binary notions of the near and the distant, the familiar and the unfamiliar, home and abroad, which underpinned the feelings of nostalgia expressed by the Irish who had emigrated to the USA, have now become blurred by the Internet which enables ideas, people and objects to be located nowhere in particular. Likewise, the reality of the world is receding behind its virtual representations, so that we are no longer able to apprehend it outside images. We have moved from a movement of circulation – of people, ideas, objects – to what Hito Steyel has called circulationism, which "is not about the art of making an image, but of post-producing, launching, and accelerating it". Goarzin proceeds to examine a number of "memes" circulating on the web and based on Irish characters or Irishisms, and to show that they continue to spread, albeit in an ironical way, the stereotypes attached to "Paddywhackery", even though they are sometimes circulated by the Irish themselves, who like to play with their image to the eyes of the others. This includes a photograph of the Obamas drinking beer in a pub during their visit to Ireland. This hint at the old cliché of the Irish being heavy drinkers is slightly allayed, Goarzin suggests, by the presence of Michelle Obama, which in her opinion, creates a feminized version of the relationship between Ireland and the US, which she also recognizes in a famous gif displaying a "cute cat" wearing an Irish hat. This "cutification" of Irishness", to use cultural critic Sianne Ngai's expression, is close to an "objectification", even though its repetition also makes it "suavely vacuous". The "circulationism" of images of Irishness today through the social media, in the shape of memes and gifs, therefore tends to stick to old images and stereotypes, even though rendered meaningless by their multiplication, and basically just meant to provide pleasure and fun.

Undoubtedly more problematic in the moral sense is the type of meme alluded to by Robert Johnson in his own chapter: what he calls the "meme of Irish slavery". He is referring to the idea, widely circulated on the World Wide Web, that the Irish were slaves in the same way as Africans were, an idea which as Johnson argues has been spread ever since the 17th century, in the aftermath of Cromwell's invasion of Ireland and the transportation of Irish rebels to Barbados but was given an unprecedented echo since it started circulating as meme on the social media. What makes the idea even more widely shared today, and the moral issues it entails more acute, is on the one hand, Johnson argues, the development of what is now called "public history" and on the other hand of course, the social media which multiply the opportunities for the meme to spread. Johnson discusses the reasons why the situation of the Irish, even though they were undoubtedly colonized and ill-treated by the British, can in no respect be compared to that of the Africans, for the mere reason that the enslavement

of Blacks was unique in the history of the Western world. Johnson also points at the tendency among Irish historians and politicians to present the Irish as "The Most Oppressed People in the World". Even though there is some benefit to draw from such a status, such as compassion and sympathy, this deprecatory self-image, Johnson argues, was in the past necessarily detrimental to the development of the country. Another thorny issue raised by this last chapter in the volume is the way the memes proliferating on the social media and conveying wrong, inaccurate, biased, and pernicious views of history can be stopped and contradicted. This shows the extent to which circulation does not necessarily entail better understanding and acceptance of who the Others are – as is evidenced by some of the chapters in this volume – but on the contrary participates to the growth and spread of stereotypes, racial antagonism, and heinous discourses: today, the idea of circulation is also synonymous with the spread of fake news, and the near impossibility of stopping them.