

PATRICK FORD AND HIS PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of Master of Arts (History)

by

Sabina Taylor
Department of History
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
1993

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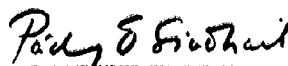
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ABSTRACT

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A handful of historians have questioned traditional interpretations of Irish-American nationalism and its role within the radical climate of nineteenth-century America. This select group has invited others to re-examine Irish-American reformism after 1882, in light of the ideology possessed by radicals of this age, certain that such an analysis will dispel the myth that the radicalism and working-class life of Irish-Americans prior to the 1880's was simply a diversion in a larger effort to obtain middle-class respectability.

In response to this invitation, I have embarked on a case study of Patrick Ford, editor and proprietor of the Irish World from 1870 until his death in 1913. Ford not only embodied the radical elements of the abolitionist movement, but also those of the Irish nationalist, labor, and anti-imperialist movements. The role played by Ford within each of these causes reveals an underlying social philosophy consistent with that of the anti-slavery ideology which had originated in the 1830's. His career clearly demonstrates that the working-class reformism of Irish-Americans during the 1870's and early 1880's constituted more than an experiment with radicalism.

By examining Patrick Ford's career in light of the ideology held by early abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison, I hope to explain Ford's seemingly conservative nature in the late 1880's as something other than evidence of his inconsistency of thought or of his consuming desire to obtain middle-class acceptance for himself and other Irish-Americans. Rather, I intend to illustrate that Ford maintained the same social ethic throughout his career, continuing to hold close to his heart the objectives espoused by abolitionists before him, and that his more moderate approach after 1886 was reflective of an alteration in strategy to better suit a new historical situation in pursuit of the objectives he had always held.

To narrow the scope of this study and to avoid reiterating previous scholarship on the Irish-American radicalism of the 1870's, I have focused on Ford's life and writings in the years subsequent to 1886 - the year of Ford's turning point. Ford's opposition to issues such as free trade, perceived as being contradictory to the interests of the laborer; his advocacy of collective bargaining, factory legislation, and regulation of business; his support of organizations such as the Republican and Progressive Parties, the Knights of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners; his extensive coverage of "social activists" such as Monsignor John Ryan, Father Mathew, and Archbishop Ireland; his continued sympathy with the Negro, the Catholic, and with members of other oppressed groups within American society - including those of other ethnic origins; his willingness to form labor alliances across ethnic lines; his opposition to discriminatory immigration policy; and his abhorrence of imperialism, all serve to define Ford as one who challenged the individualism of the middle-class.

Although many Irish-Americans were surely preoccupied with middle-class aspirations, Irish-American nationalism should not be interpreted primarily as a vehicle used to assimilate the Irish into the dominant culture. It is better understood as part of the complex story of the relationship between radical ideology and social change in nineteenth-century America.

INTRODUCTION

We know from the writings of Eric Foner that antagonistic value systems and ideologies which began to develop in the 1830's encompassed basic moral judgements that could no longer be reconciled by eschewing ideology through political compromise. When the issue of slavery was finally introduced into the political arena, the Republican party adopted anti-slavery ideology as its platform, despite its divisive implications for the nation, in part because it was the only platform at this time capable of uniting the conflicting social, political and economic interests of the North.

After emancipation, the same basic values and moral judgements which had been applied to abolition were applied to the Irish question and labor. Although many who supported republican ideology believed that a Northern victory would "pave the way" for industrial capitalism, whereby all Americans in theory could enjoy equality of opportunity and protection of human rights, there were others who supported republicanism in principle, but recognized its shortcomings and strove to modify republican ideology to preserve these principles.

Ideological struggles in America, seen in the divisions within the abolitionist movement, flared up once again in the American Land League. Two fundamentally dissimilar ideologies in America distinguished those who believed that the nation's economic, political, and social systems were fundamentally sound and required only minor alterations, from those who believed that these systems were unjust and required a social re-organization in order to preserve the principles upon which the Declaration of Independence was based. The conservative element of the Land League was represented by men such as Charles Parnell, Patrick Collins, and John Boyle O'Reilly.

It was characterized by the cautious reformism of the Democratic party and the Catholic Church and the individualism of the dominant middle-class. The more radical members of the League included reformers such as Patrick Ford, Henry George, Wendell Phillips, Terence Powderly, and later, Michael Davitt. These men shared a belief in traditional American republicanism, in religion as an effective vehicle for social reform, and in the need to eradicate all forms of racial and ethnic prejudice, which they felt had legitimized the oppression of certain groups within American society. This "social ethic," Foner notes, challenged the institutions embraced by the Land League's conservative members.

Eric Foner's insightful observations in Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War regarding the Land League and Irish-America after the Civil War have much to offer the reader who seeks to understand the conflicting ideologies of nineteenth-century America, the men who embraced these ideologies, and the nature of Irish-American adaptation into a rapidly evolving industrial society. Regrettably, Foner concludes his in-depth account of the Land League with its dissolution in 1882; however, he invites other historians to re-examine Irish-American history after the Land League, in light of the ideology possessed by radicals of this age. Foner seems quite certain that such a re-examination will dispel the myth that Irish-Americans had always sought middle-class acceptance, that the "working-class life" of the Irish-American in the 1870's was simply "a transitional stage on the road to bourgeois respectability, or as one historian suggests, that Irish-American nationalism helped the Irish to enter 'the larger American society that was native, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, and middle-class in its

values.'"¹ Foner suggests that Irish-American nationalism helped to assimilate the Irish in America "not with the dominant culture and its values," as Thomas Brown has argued, but with "a strong emergent oppositional working-class culture." He adds that

middle-class values and aspirations did not dominate Irish-American society as thoroughly as many writers have claimed, and ethnic nationalism did not unite the Irish working and middle-classes at the expense of class identification across ethnic lines.²

Foner is joined by other revisionist historians who have recognized the shortcomings of the traditional interpretation of Irish-American nationalism. T.W. Moody and John Bodnar have also asked us to understand Irish-American reformers in terms of their "humanitarian" nature and their contributions to the "American working-class traditions of anti-monopoly and labor organizations" as well as in terms of their pervasive sense of inferiority. On the same note, Howard Harris, in his 1990 essay "The Eagle to Watch and the Harp to Tune the Nation," writes that

While acknowledging the transatlantic roots of such concepts as liberty, equality, and the rights of man, scholars have generally ignored the contributions of English and especially Irish immigrants to the evolution of working-class republicanism in the United States.³

Sean Wilentz, in his review essay "Industrializing America and the Irish: Towards the New Departure," critiques Oscar Handlin's work on Irish-American history on the same grounds that Foner has criticized Thomas Brown. Wilentz argues that Handlin's distorted interpretation of Irish-American ideology in the nineteenth century was due to

¹ Eric Foner, Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War (New York, 1980), p. 195. Also Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men (New York, 1970), Chapters 1, 4, 8 & 9.

² Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 195

³ Howard Harris, "The Eagle to Watch and the Harp to Tune the Nation," Journal of Social History, 23, No. 3 (Spring, 1990), p. 575.

the fact that "for Handlin, assimilation means the achievement of middle-class respectability and accommodation to Boston society."⁴ He argues that for some Irish-Americans

Assimilation entailed entering trade unions, subscribing to such radical periodicals as The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator, and opposing both British policies in Ireland and American imperialist initiatives elsewhere. Handlin, by slighting this side of Irish life, tends to homogenize Irish views By stressing the unquestionably important bonds of ethnic solidarity, he skirts the equally important tensions within the Irish community and misses the alliances that Irish workers might have made with other ethnic groups on matters ranging from currency reform to the eight-hour day.⁵

With regard to the Irish-American's role in the twentieth century, Wilentz writes that

the image of the Irish-American as the quintessence of the right-wing worker needs to be placed in the context of earlier events and challenged in its own right The Irish-American's 'conservatism' may turn out to be of far more recent origins than imagined, and may not seem as total or as consistent as others have suggested.⁶

My preliminary research on Patrick Ford - editor and publisher of the Irish World from 1870 to 1913 - led me to many of the same conclusions reached by Foner, Wilentz, and Harris. Naturally, I welcomed Foner's clarity of thought and organization regarding the Land League, which I hopelessly lacked. It was reassuring to discover that I was not the only one to perceive the shortcomings of James Rodechko's competent but narrow biography, Patrick Ford and His Search for America. Sean Wilentz confirmed my suspicions and encouraged me to pursue my hypothesis when he wrote the following:

⁴ Sean Wilentz, "Industrializing America and the Irish: Towards the New Departure," Labor History, 20 (Fall, 1979) pp. 584 & 585.

⁵ Ibid., p. 585.

⁶ Ibid., p. 588.

Rodechko, confined to the biographical form and limiting his study to the years after 1870, never quite captures the broad significance of this mixture ['the confluence of native-reform impulse and Irish labor radicalism']. His description of Ford's 'Search for America' needs to be taken further to include the search of Irish-American labor as a whole ...⁷

By examining the origins of this "native-reform impulse" within abolitionism, the position of the Irish with regard to the abolition movement, and the role of Irishmen in the radical atmosphere of the 1870's and in the more conservative climate of the 1880's and 1890's, I hope to illustrate the underlying philosophy, consistency, and significance of this "reform impulse" in the context of Irish-American reform. By doing so, I hope to provide an alternative explanation of Irish-American nationalism to those put forth by historians such as Thomas Brown and James Rodechko. Both claim that the objectives of Ford, Davitt, and others had remained conservative despite their apparent radicalism and that these reformers only served to encourage their audiences to adopt the values, social ethic and cultural outlook of the dominant American culture. They fail to realize the contributions these men made to the evolution of working-class republicanism in America through their melding of native-reformist, Irish nationalist, and labor ideologies.

To narrow the scope of this study and to avoid reiterating Foner's work on the Land League, I have chosen to focus on the career of Patrick Ford. Throughout the duration of Patrick Ford's career, he embodied the radical elements found in the abolitionist movement, various labor and Irish nationalist organizations, the anti-imperialism crusade, and the Progressive movement - all of which called for the elimination of some form of oppression. As we will see, Ford's radicalism stemmed

⁷ Ibid., p. 591.

from his conviction that the eradication of racial and ethnic prejudice was crucial to the preservation of such concepts as liberty and equality - a philosophy very familiar to that of Garrisonians. From this analysis, I hope to demonstrate that Patrick Ford and his colleagues did not abandon the social ethic inherited from the abolitionists before them and that they did not discontinue their drive for social reorganization during the 1880's in favor of adopting the ideology of the dominant middle-class. Throughout the course of this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that these men continued to strive for social justice.

Since Ford's private papers remain at large, the evidence for this study rests, in part, upon Ford's editorials in the Irish World and various letters written by the editor which have been preserved in the collections of his contemporaries.⁸ To a certain degree, the editorials pose a problem for the researcher. Due to financial constraints, Ford authored nearly all of the commentaries on the editorial page during the paper's first years, however, his inability to hire additional staff forced him to publish pieces found in other papers to fill the remainder of World columns. Furthermore, Ford seldom signed his editorials, and by 1885 the World had at least twenty-five employees, several of whom contributed to the paper's editorial page.⁹

On a brighter note, Ford possessed a very distinctive writing style. Given the pattern of location for the editorials that were signed by him, it is possible to identify the editorials expressing his personal views. The fact that Ford was inclined not to sign his work while his co-editors frequently did also makes his work more identifiable. With

⁸ T.W. Moody, Devitt and the Irish Revolution, 1846 - 1882 (Oxford, 1981), p. 239.

⁹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford and His Search for America: A Case Study of Irish-American Journalism, 1870-1913 (New York, 1976), p. 46.

the exception of Thomas Mooney, Ford closely identified with his co-editors Michael Davitt, Robert Ellis Thompson (who wrote for the paper for over twenty-five years), Stephen Dillaye, and in earlier years, Henry George. John Devoy, editor of the Gaelic American, confirmed the homogenous nature of World editorials when he claimed that Ford "had been an absolute dictator" and

indicated that Ford 'like a schoolmaster' seated his staff on both sides of a long table and 'walked up and down, glancing at their work and giving instructions'. Devoy concluded that 'Every item in the paper reflected Mr. Ford's personal views'¹⁰

This limited source base has led to speculation with regard to Patrick Ford's private thoughts and motives and to discrepancies in his records - such as Ford's date of birth and immigration to America. It also explains why only one biography of this very influential Irish-American exists.

¹⁰ Gaelic American, Oct. 20, 1923, p. 1., as cited in Rodeheiko, Patrick Ford, pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER I

ABOLITIONISM, LABOR, AND IRISH NATIONALISM

As early as 1828 Irishmen associated the oppression of the American slaves with that of their own people. In March of that year, "ten of them [Friends of Ireland] signed a petition calling for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."¹¹ The anti-slavery movement struck a sensitive chord in the hearts of Irishmen. The objectives and philosophies of abolitionism would soon be embraced by many Irish-American reformers and reconciled with the ideology of the laborer and the Irish nationalist. Patrick Ford must be understood in the context of these ideologies. It is for this reason that the relationships between these systems of thought, addressed in a previous body of work, deserve a close examination.

Aileen Kraditor's book, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism, provides a useful source from which to understand the philosophies, objectives, and strategies of radical abolitionists which would later be mimicked by Irish-American nationalists. Kraditor defends the tactics adopted by William Lloyd Garrison and his followers between 1834 and 1850 and refutes the arguments put forth by critics of these abolitionists, such as Stanley Elkins and Avery Craven.¹² Critics had ignored the fundamental objectives of these radicals and by doing so failed to recognize their "uncompromising positions" as being, in part, a tactic used to achieve their objectives.

¹¹ Harris, "The Eagle to Watch," Journal of Social History, p. 581.

¹² Elkins viewed Garrison's uncompromising approach towards slavery as a response to the lack of institutional outlets for reform in American institutions. Avery Craven suggests that Garrison's approach was an outgrowth of social and economic dislocations, sectional conflicts, and unconscious needs and motives. See Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959), pp. 177-178. Also see Craven, The Coming of the Civil War (Chicago, 1942), pp.31-33.

This "moral approach" was the only logical and viable tactic available, given the circumstances, which had the capability of realizing the abolitionists' two fundamental goals: the emancipation of slaves and the eradication of racial and ethnic prejudice. Many historians have tended to overlook the latter goal or dismiss it as "religious rhetoric" designed to fulfil ulterior motives, such as personal advancement and notoriety. Compromise for the sake of political expedience and prompt acceptance may well have brought about abolition sooner, but, as Kradtitor noted,

antipolitical abolitionists predicted that if anti-slavery sentiment became popular without being accompanied by real progress on the race question, the reflection of that sentiment in congressional action would create a frightful danger to the nation.¹³

Garrison and his followers recognized the limits of American republican ideology and strove to re-define and broaden the concepts of liberty and equality - at least as far as their own ideologies would allow them. In their eyes, emancipation of slaves and eradication of ethnic and racial prejudice was essential to the full realization of the ideals of liberty and equality. With this in mind, the decision to wage a moral attack upon slavery was a means and an end, consciously adopted, in pursuit of social justice.¹⁴

By establishing the principle first, Garrison and his followers hoped to convince the American public that it was morally wrong to accept the enslavement of peoples -

¹³ Kradtitor notes that Garrison's aims were apparent early in his career when he verbally attacked the African Colonization Society for its plan to deport freed slaves to Africa and compensate the owners. Garrison felt that this scheme was racist in that it assumed that whites and negroes could not successfully exist together in the same society. Aileen Kradtitor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1839 (New York, 1967), pp. 4, 32.

¹⁴ Later on, we will see that Ford, along with Wendell Phillips and other former abolitionists, discovered that a purely moral approach was not capable of bringing about his ultimate end - the fulfilment of American ideals. Ford turned to the political system to improve the condition of the laborer. By increasing the political power of the working man, Ford believed that the Irish-American would have increased control over his destiny and would soon prove to his nativist neighbours that their claims of natural ascendancy were unfounded and had no place in American society.

regardless of race or ethnic background - and arouse public opinion, which in turn would put pressure on political parties to follow certain political courses. Only through moral agitation, they believed, could "equality for all" become a political reality.

The abolitionist believed that the agitator played a key role in preserving the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Wendell Phillips, a close colleague of Garrison, described the purpose of the agitator:

The reformer is careless of numbers, disregards popularity, and deals only with ideas, conscience, and common sense Republics exist only on the tenure of being constantly agitated Every government is always growing corrupt The Republic which sinks to sleep, trusting constitutions and machinery, to politicians and statesmen, for the safety of its liberties, never will have any¹⁵

The aims of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as established in the 1833 Declaration of Sentiments, included the following:

1. To convince all citizens that slave-holding was a despicable crime which required 'immediate abandonment without expatriation'
2. To pressure Congress to put an end to the slave trade
3. To improve the 'character and condition of the people of color by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice'
4. To prohibit the encouragement of physical force to achieve any of these aims¹⁶

¹⁵ Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (New York, 1948), p. 138.

¹⁶ Some historians call attention to the abolitionists' insistence on the protection of free speech for whites as evidence that they were not committed to the concept of racial equality. Kraditor explains that Garrison and his followers believed "it was ethical to emphasize their own stake in the free-speech battle" as the success of the movement, whose primary purpose was to convert Whites to the belief that Negroes were entitled to the rights guaranteed under the Declaration of Independence, depended upon the movement's "access to the public ear." The abolitionists often argued that "restrictions on their own freedom to speak and publish were restrictions on the North's freedom to hear and read." Kraditor also points out that the abolitionists drew most of their theories from a coherent whole, but that they often contradicted themselves by drawing from "an arsenal of arguments as the specific incident or the weekly editorial required." They were "agitators," Kraditor writes, "not systematic thinkers." See Kraditor, Means and Ends, pp. 5, 241, 255.

Differing ideas as to the purpose of abolition between the "radicals" and "conservatives" of this movement resulted in its division in 1837 - when Garrison and his followers adopted a radical social policy.¹⁷ A similar split also occurred later in Irish-American nationalist and labor movements.

Although many radical abolitionists did not revere institutions as did their conservative counterparts, it was the perversions of these institutions and not the institutions themselves which many radicals resented. Since slavery was actually an integral part of American society, it had to be attacked as an institution - vigorously and morally.¹⁸ This train of thought was adopted by Ford and other radical members of the Irish-American community who would later apply it to the question of labor. Just as racism had become a "fundamental aspect of American life," exploitation of the laborer, they believed, had become an accepted institution in an industrializing America. These men had placed great hopes in the Declaration of Independence and were convinced that God "had created all men in his own image and that Christ died for all."¹⁹ Only by attacking these "institutions" as moral sins requiring immediate eradication did these radical individuals believe their objectives could be met.

The Irish reaction to abolitionism and to the native-reform impulse marked the beginning of a fundamental division within the Irish-American community. It would continue to divide "native-reformist Irish-Americans," such as Patrick Ford, from "conservative nationalists," such as John Devoy, until the early part of the twentieth

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

century. By examining the Irishman's response to abolition in terms of nationalist and labor ideology prior to 1870, Gilbert Osofsky has described the points at which abolitionist and Irish nationalist thought converged and parted prior to the Civil War. In the process, he succeeds in distinguishing two groups of Irish-Americans: those who accepted the native-reformism of the abolitionists and strove to broaden it to meet the needs of Irish nationalism, and those conservatives who fell victim to their nationalist sentiment and failed to reconcile the two ideologies.

Limiting "individualist and egalitarian assumptions" in abolitionist ideology prevented Garrisonians from recognizing "the difficulties inherent in class and cultural distinctions" and consequently prevented them from receiving support from working-class Irish-Americans. Naturally, Garrison believed his crusade against racism and his demand for equal rights for all would appeal to Irishmen who had been deprived of such equality under England's reign. Between the 1830's and 1840's Garrisonians launched a fierce attack upon American nativism and Know-Nothingism. The Liberator published several anti-racial editorials including the speeches of men such as George Bradburn, who had served on the Massachusetts legislature and who declared anti-Catholic prejudice and racism as emerging from common evil sources.²⁰ Unfortunately for Garrison, "essential egalitarianism ... that identified the causes of Irish and black freedom, [would prove to be] an identification not popular with the Irish."²¹

David Roediger's book, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class explains why such an association was rejected by Irishmen.

²⁰ Gilbert Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants and the Dilemmas of Romantic Nationalism," American Historical Review, vol. 80 (October, 1975), p. 894.

²¹ Ibid., p. 890.

The majority of Irish-Americans identified with the same republican ideology espoused by the abolitionists - that with which the American Revolution was won - but in order to do so, they felt compelled to distance themselves from the Negro. Abolitionist reasoned that the Irish, like the Negro, would be deprived of benefitting from this republican ideology on the basis of their ethnic origin. This logic was perceived as an affront to those Irish-Americans who wanted America to know that they identified with the early republicans, and who sought acceptance in America on the grounds of this identification.²²

Not only did Irish-Americans feel pressured to disassociate themselves from the Negro and identify with the early republicans in the face of growing nativist attacks, but also, "... so hopeful [were they] of escaping slavery in Ireland, [that they] were hesitant to acknowledge a specifically ethnic defeat in the Promised Land."²³ Consequently, Irish-Americans, most of whom "treasured their whiteness as entitling them to both political rights and to jobs," voted for the pro-slavery democrats, and attacked Blacks in the 1863 New York City Draft Riot.²⁴

The popular belief that imperial Britain was to blame for the emergence of slavery and the insistence that the motives behind British abolitionism were contrary to the interests of America, not only reflected the Irish hostility towards the British but also

²² "Nativist folk wisdom held that an Irishman was a 'nigger', inside out" and suggested that "the Irish were part of a separate caste or a 'dark' race, possibly originally African." Roediger cites the observations of a whig patrician diarist who claimed that Irishmen doing work on his home in New York had "prehensile paws" rather than hands, and points to the 1829 race riot in Boston in which both Blacks and Irish were "co-victims" as evidence of this prevailing mythology. David Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (New York, 1991), pp. 133, 134.

²³ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 136.

strengthened Irish identification with American republicanism. The Democrats, attuned to the character of the Irish-American, played upon his sensitivities and never tired of expressing their belief that the Irishman was as "unequivocally entitled to equal rights" as any other white man. Missouri's Thomas Hart Benton went so far as to refer to a "Celtic-Anglo-Saxon race."²⁵ The Democrats also made it clear that they believed the labor market should be reserved for whites. For the destitute Irishman who came to the Promised Land, the Democrats' call was very inviting.

As we will see, Patrick Ford and other Irish-American abolitionists would hold a unique place in the history of Irish-American nationalism. While striving to maintain their identification with early republicans, this group of reformers refused to fall victim to the claims of white supremacy. In effect, they endeavored to merge radical abolitionism with Irish nationalism, and later, with the ideology of the workingman.

The first Irish nationalist to embrace Garrison's ideas was Daniel O'Connell. Like Garrison, O'Connell believed himself to be "a universal reformer" on all issues and held a great faith in the ability of "moral suasion" to improve the condition of the Irish and Negro populations through its "ultimate political advantages of constant and unyielding agitation." To men such as Phillips "O'Connell represented better than any other man of the century the modern element in constitutional government: agitation."²⁶ Early abolitionists such as Charles Lenox Remond and John A Collins also emulated the philosophy of O'Connell. Remond was a black Garrisonian from Salem who had been "enchanted" by O'Connell and fought alongside Garrison for a "color-blind nation, one

²⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

²⁶ Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants," American Historical Review, p. 893.

in which race had no influence at all," while John Collins was Remond's "occasional travelling companion."²⁷

O'Connell, however, was remembered most for his role in Ireland's campaign for Catholic Emancipation and was eulogized by staunch Irish nationalists. This explains the support abolitionists received from Irishmen in the early 1840's. Abolitionists believed they were on the threshold of success in 1842, after the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held in Faneuil Hall - which had a seating capacity of 5,000 - had been packed with Irishmen. Contrary to the abolitionists' belief, these Irish-Americans were more concerned with paying tribute to O'Connell than relieving the plight of the Negro: While these Irish gathered in Faneuil Hall, the Philadelphia Irish were busy attacking blacks who had gathered in celebration of West Indian emancipation.²⁸ Economic survival and competition with black laborers soon proved to have consumed these Irishmen, and attacks by Irish workers upon blacks in many northern cities were commonplace in the years between 1842 and 1844. It was between these years that Philadelphia earned the title "City of Brotherly Hate."²⁹

Economic competition, coupled with growing nativist attacks, was sufficient to force Irish-Americans from the abolitionist camp.

The Irish were driven to vigorous expressions of super-patriotism and defense of the national Constitution at the very moment when the Garrisonians were trying to pull the nation apart, arguing that the

²⁷ Osolsky notes that in the 1840's "Remond opposed the appointment of a black ambassador to Haiti, believing a white would serve with equal capacity ... [and wanting] recognition simply as a human being, not as a black man." *Ibid.*, pp. 895-896. John Collins would eventually part with the abolitionist movement upon his recognition of laborers as an oppressed class which to him "made common cause impossible." Kraditor, Means and Ends, p. 247.

²⁸ Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness, p. 135.

²⁹ Osolsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants." American Historical Review, pp. 899-890.

Constitution was worthless [and that] ... the traditional Irish political and clerical leadership in America [was] ... leading the masses astray and hindering social progress.³⁰

The dilemma faced by Irish-Americans at this time and their decision to look to Irish nationalism rather than to the native-reformism of the abolitionist as a solution to their ills became most evident in the height of the Repeal Movement. From 1843 to 1845, antagonism between the abolitionists and the pro-slavery Repeal Associations escalated. Garrison denounced Repealers as hypocrites while O'Connell claimed "that a slave holding Repealer was nothing but a farce." In response, the New England (Catholic) Reporter suggested that Garrison "be immediately transported to Ethiopia, there to dwell in an all love and harmony with the wild negroes."³¹ This inimical relationship reflected the inherent contradictions between abolitionist and Irish nationalist ideologies. For the abolitionist

freedom was a matter of National Independence and individual liberty, and the latter should flow naturally from the former. Thus the principles of the Revolution required support for both abolition and repeal. They [abolitionists] also condemned such obstacles to freedom as the anti-Catholic and anti-foreign prejudice of the nativists. To admit inequalities of freedom as inherent in class membership, however, would have denied freedom as an attribute of the individual. 'Let us free the black,' urged the abolitionists ... 'so he may have the same opportunity as the Irishman to rise by hard work and merit.' Here was an individual, middle-class work ethic that automatically banned any class approach to relief of Irish-American economic conditions. Yet freedom was an ultimate moral end, and means, not ends, were compromised. And so the drive against pro-slavery Repealers was pushed.³²

³⁰ Ibid., p. 901.

³¹ Ibid., p. 901, 905.

³² Ibid., p. 903.

The consistency and potency of this ideology is reflected in the fact that Garrisonians "rarely slipped into a nativist stance" despite their differences with pro-slavery Irish-Americans. In his paper, the Liberator, Garrison continued to denounce Know-Nothingism, call for the optional use of the Roman Catholic Bible in schools, and attack the seven year naturalization law that was introduced into the legislature in 1859. When we consider the hostility Irish-Americans expressed towards the abolitionists, the issues of the Liberator reflect a solid commitment to the eradication of racial prejudice.³³

Abolitionists believed the Irishman's conception of freedom was inconsistent with his social outlook. Irish reformers such as O'Connell, and later Ford and Davitt, who opposed slavery, were at a loss to explain the actions and attitudes of their fellow Irishmen. Irish abolitionists assumed that once national independence was attained, a government system guaranteeing personal freedom and civil rights to all "would be automatically established" - provided racial and ethnic prejudice had been overcome. Unfortunately for this group of reformers, "neither Irish-Americans nor Nativist Know-Nothings saw any necessity to extend personal liberty to all ... blacks or new arrivals" and just as "Kossuth appealed to the American Revolutionary example to justify a Magyar regime at the expense of Slavic minorities," the Irish Forty-Eighters did so at the expense of the Black man.³⁴ Osofsky concludes then that the South's claim to the right of national self-determination on the brink of the Civil War "marked the decline of

³³ Osofsky tells us that the abolitionists strictly adhered to their non-racial doctrines even after Irish marines had dragged Anthony Burns back to slavery through the streets of Boston in 1854 - an event which was considered a moment of sacrilege by many abolitionists. Ibid., pp. 909-911.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 911.

this romantic nationalist tradition" espoused by Garrisonians, by making it clear that personal liberty was not necessarily guaranteed by national independence.³⁵

If the Civil War did not reveal the shortcomings of republican ideology, the depression of the 1870's certainly did, and men like Patrick Ford found themselves in a constant struggle to expand upon Garrisonian ideology in such a way as to redefine the early republican's definition of freedom. The redefinition for which they strove combined certain aspects of Garrisonian ideology with those of a "workingman's ideology" whose roots were found in Paineite republicanism. The same men who were able to merge the concepts of abolitionism with those of the nationalists were now pressed to reconcile these ideologies with an emerging labor ideology.

Prior to the onslaught of the 1870's depression, however, most abolitionists upheld their individualist conception of freedom and succeeded in alienating another element from their movement - the laboring masses. With the exception of those such as John Collins, who left the abolitionist movement on grounds that its social outlook blinded it to the oppression of the white worker and "made common cause impossible," the majority of Garrison's followers, including Phillips and Ford, continued to see labor's problems in a Garrisonian light.³⁶ Their efforts to enlist the support of the laborer were as unsuccessful as their appeals to the Irish nationalist. Irish-American labor leaders, who refused to accept Garrison's identification of the Irishman with the Negro, also rejected abolitionist claims that racist attitudes towards the Negro were not in the interest of the white laborer. Abolitionists argued that the association between

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Kraditor, Means and Ends, p. 274.

manual labor and a "despised caste ... made labor itself disreputable."³⁷ The laborer, on the other hand, had quite a different answer to the cause of his suffering.

In Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War, Foner describes the workingman's ideology that emerged as the result of deteriorating economic and social conditions. Labor ideology was spurred by a fear of "Europeanization," as American society became more stratified. It defined equality in economic terms, as a general equality of wealth, rather than as "a levelling of all distinctions," and held that freedom was "the ability to resist personal or economic coercion," through the ownership of productive property, for instance, rather than the ability to be free to become a capitalist, as the abolitionists had held. The labor leaders declared that working for wages constituted slavery and that a "permanent wage-earning class" was contrary to the principles of "republican America."³⁸ Garrison responded by arguing that "the evil in society is not that labor receives wages, but that the wages given are not generally in proportion to the value of the labor performed."³⁹ He maintained that individual suffering was an outgrowth of racism and prejudice, not class conflict, and that this was at the root of all oppression in America. In a series of articles written in January, 1831 in the Liberator, Garrison revealed his lack of sympathy for the workingman in America:

Labor is not dishonorable. The industrious artisan, in a government like ours, will always be held in better estimation than the wealthy idler ... hereditary distinctions are obsolete ... avenues of wealth, distinction and supremacy are open to all; [society] must, in the nature of things, be full of inequalities. But these can exist without an assumption of rights There is a prevalent opinion, that wealth and aristocracy are indissolubly

³⁷ Ibid., p. 243.

³⁸ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 60.

³⁹ Kraditor, Means and Ends, pp. 249, 252.

allied; and the poor and vulgar are taught to consider the opulent as their natural enemies. Those who inculcate this pernicious doctrine are the worst enemies of the people, and, in grain, the real nobility ...⁴⁰

In 1840, while in Britain, Garrison made a speech in which he attempted to convince his audience that "British workers are not slaves" and reasoned that "you own your own wages, are permitted to learn to read and write, and can better your condition."⁴¹ When responding to cries of labor oppression in America, Garrison pointed out that the laborer, unlike the Negro, could use the ballot to better his lot.⁴²

Between 1846 and 1847, a series of debates in The Liberator demonstrated that Garrisonian ideology remained at odds with that of the workingman. Garrison agreed that a fundamental change in America's social structure was necessary but argued that such a reorganization would not occur through a transfer of power from the capitalists to the workers, but rather, through "acts of individual compassion and individual conversion." On the same note, Wendell Phillips' editorial in the July 9, 1846 edition of The Liberator argued that in America the laborer held the means to defend himself:

Does legislation bear hard upon them [the workers]? - their votes can alter it. Does capital wrong them? - economy will make them capitalists But to economy, self-denial, temperance, education, and moral and religious character, the laboring class, and every other class in this country, must owe its elevation and improvement.⁴³

⁴⁰ The Liberator, January 1 & 29 as cited in Foner, Politics and Ideology, pp. 62, 63.

⁴¹ Kraditor, Means and Ends, p. 244.

⁴² Garrison's apolitical position stemmed from his rejection of the American Constitution, which had legitimized slavery, and was not reflective of a general condemnation of political systems. Ibid., p. 247.

⁴³ Kraditor points to an anti-slavery meeting, in which resolutions proposed by Garrison and Phillips were passed while those proposed by the National Reformers were soundly defeated, as evidence that these men reflected the doctrines held by many Garrisonian abolitionists. Ibid., pp. 249-252.

Despite the abolitionist's attack on nativism and his insistence that a change in the social structure was necessary, he failed to find any support from the Irish laborer in America. As Foner points out, this was not simply the result of middle and lower-class antagonisms.

It is not precisely that the abolitionists were complacently 'middle class' in outlook ... [they] threw themselves with enthusiasm into all sorts of other movements to reform American society, from the abolition of capital punishment to women's rights, temperance, peace, etc.. They often criticized the spirit of competition, individualism, and greed so visible in northern life, as the antithesis of Christian brotherhood and love ... it was indeed a radical impulse, challenging fundamental aspects of American life (and none so deeply embedded as racism). But in its view of economic relations it did speak the language of northern society ... [and] accepted social inequality as a natural reflection of individual difference in talent, ambition, and diligence, and perceived the interests of capital and labor as existing in harmony rather than conflict.⁴⁴

It was not until the late 1860's that abolitionists like Phillips and Ford recognized the limitations of Garrisonian ideology and the need to modify it. Irish-American abolitionists, including Ford, now struggled to create a coherent ideology which could not only cater to nationalist loyalties but which could also meet the new economic developments of the 1870's. As the social order in America became increasingly stratified, many Garrisonians feared that the "model republic" of America was, indeed, reverting into a social system resembling that of Europe and turned their attention to labor. The miserable failure of Reconstruction coupled with growing labor unrest caused many former Garrisonians to question the traditional republican ideology upon which their efforts had been based.

⁴⁴ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 63.

Richard Hofstadter's study of Wendell Phillips in The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It illustrates the broadening of Garrisonian ideology to meet the needs of the laborer. Phillips "rose high above the intellectual limitations of Garrison" and "combined in one career the abolition ferment of the prewar period with the labor movement of the postwar industrial epoch." As we will see, Ford would follow in the footsteps of Phillips who "had learned to transcend Garrisonian thought ... [and] in the critical hour of Reconstruction ... dropped the veil of dogma and turned to the realities."⁴⁵

When "evangelical abolitionism" had begun to loose its appeal in favor of a more "secular, rational, and moderate free-soil position," Phillips started to look to politics as a strategy capable of helping him achieve his aims. This was contrary to the Garrisonian doctrine which regarded voting as a reflection of one's acceptance of the American Constitution - the "pro-slavery tool." Phillips' increasing faith in social change through politics became evident with his involvement with Reconstruction:

The moment a man becomes valuable or terrible to the politician, his rights will be respected. Give the negro a vote in his hand, and there is not a politician ... who would not do him honor.⁴⁶

After Emancipation, Phillips also began to question the fourth point found in the Anti-Slavery Society's Declaration of Sentiments which "prohibited the encouragement of physical force" in pursuit of the Society's objectives. Phillips and Garrison experienced a falling-out over the former's insistence that the natural-rights doctrine in the Declaration of Independence provided for the right of oppressed peoples to "resist

⁴⁵ Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition, pp. 140 & 146.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

and rebel." Phillips believed that the Fugitive Slave Law required such resistance and went so far as to pledge his support for the defense of a murderer who killed a slave-catcher. His defiant words, however, did not conceal his reluctance to use force to achieve his ends. While admitting that the strike was a useful tool of the workingman, Phillips advised that "for the time being, laborer's motto should be: 'Never forgive at the ballot box.'"⁴⁷

Phillips broke with Garrison in June of 1865 after Garrison attempted to dissolve the National Anti-Slavery Society. Phillips, who believed that the organization must remain intact as its next task was to work toward the Negro's right to vote, was elected the new president.

Despite the Society's pursuit of political representation for the Negro, the reformer's confidence in the ability of the political system to bring about social change deteriorated as the decade of the seventies approached. For Phillips, equality of suffrage was obsolete in a system where wealthy citizens and corporations controlled the legislatures. He concluded that political action through a united labor movement " ... is my only hope for democracy." From 1869 to 1871, Phillips supported the National Labor Union Party. In 1878, Ford followed suit and declared that the Republicans were "no more than a tool of the capitalist class" and voted along third-party lines.⁴⁸

Phillips' new definition of freedom had progressed to one that held citizenship (being entitled to all of the rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence without exception - i.e. without regard to race), the vote, education, and land as the key

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150 & 160.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

ingredients of social justice. Garrison's narrow interpretation of the term, which stressed "intellectual, moral, and religious improvement" and perceived the free man simply as a "self-owned man," was expanded upon.⁴⁹ As we shall see Phillips was not alone in his transcending thought.

Aileen Kraditor's work on the abolitionist movement sheds a refreshing light on the origins of this "reform impulse" - which called for a re-organization of American society - and the significant role played by strategy and tactics within the movement. Her work shows that Garrisonians did establish clear objectives and that they consciously adopted tactics that were capable of achieving these objectives. Gilbert Osofsky's study illustrates the conflicting elements between abolitionist and nationalist ideologies, while Roediger's and Foner's works reveal the contradictions between abolitionist and labor ideology. Hofstadter's study of Phillips, in the meantime, demonstrates the broadening of Garrisonian ideology to accommodate the Irish nationalist and the workingman. Together, these examinations will prove very useful in illuminating the underlying philosophy and consistency of this "native-reform impulse," or "social ethic," and its significance in the context of Irish-American nationalism throughout the nineteenth century. It will also help to provide an alternative interpretation of the history of this time period to those given by historians such as Thomas Brown and James Rodechko. By examining Patrick Ford's career in light of the objectives set forth in the abolitionist movement, I hope to explain Ford's seemingly contradictory disposition, after 1882, as being something other than an "inconsistency of thought" reflected in a desire to obtain "middle-class respectability" for himself and other Irish-Americans, as suggested by

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.155.

James Rodechko. Ford's more moderate approach after 1882 should be seen as part of a larger, coherent, and radical ideology.

Before pursuing our thesis, however, we must determine if Ford actually did inherit the objectives and ideological tendencies of Garrisonian abolitionists. This can be done by examining Ford's background, influences, and writings.

CHAPTER II

THE ABOLITIONIST LEGACY

Ford was born in Galway, Ireland, in 1837. Prompted by the potato famine, his family emigrated to Boston in 1845.⁵⁰ Ford never returned to Ireland. His parents, Edward and Ann Ford, raised their children as devout Catholics and did their best to provide them with some form of education. In spite of economic hardship, Patrick was sent to a Boston public school and eventually, attended the St. Mary's Church Latin School.⁵¹

At the age of thirteen, Patrick was forced to abandon his formal studies and find employment due to his family's deteriorating economic situation. After being employed as a messenger boy, Ford went on to become a printer's devil for William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator at the age of fifteen. Apprenticed to Garrison, Ford began writing for the Liberator press in 1855, and in 1859, he became editor and publisher of the anti-slavery weekly, Boston Tribune. His journalistic career was put on hold in 1861, when he chose to serve in the Union Army during the Civil War. In 1863, he married Odele McDonald and moved to Charleston, S.C., where he edited the South Carolina Leader

⁵⁰ These are the generally accepted dates for Ford's birth and time of his arrival in America. Rodechko uses these dates and as evidence of their accuracy, he cites The National Cyclopedic of American Biography, XXII (New York, 1932), p. 317; the Irish World, October 4, 1913, p. 1 (a commemorative issue of the World published only a few days after Patrick Ford's death. In this edition, Robert Ellis Thompson gives a brief summary of Ford's life and puts his date of birth at 1837); and the Boston Pilot, September 25, 1886, p. 2. Rodechko points out that there are conflicting reports regarding these dates and he mentions one account that claimed Ford was born on April 12, 1835 and emigrated to America in 1842. See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p.28. To confuse matters further, Moody, in David and the Irish Revolution, pp. 141-142, writes that the Fords emigrated to Boston in 1841 "when Patrick was only four," making 1837 his date of birth. However, I was tempted to use 1839 as the date of Ford's birth and 1847 as the date of his emigration to America as a result of finding a particular letter from Patrick Ford to James G. Blaine, dated April 10, 1886, in which Ford wrote the following lines: "In May next it will have been forty years since my father took me, with the family, from Galway town. I was then a child, a trifle over eight, and I have not seen the Green Isle since." See Gail Hamilton, Biography of James G. Blaine (Boston, 1895), p. 636.

⁵¹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p.29. Also see Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), p.238.

and later, the Charleston Gazette. After returning to the North (New York) in 1870, he founded the Irish World, which he edited and published until his death in Brooklyn in 1913.⁵²

The Irish World soon became one of the most influential and controversial Irish-American newspapers, with an average weekly circulation of 35,000 by 1876, increasing to 125,000 by the 1890's.⁵³ The influence of the Irish World upon its readers was considerable. While describing his domestic life as a young Irish-American, John Ryan (born 1869) wrote that his family read Patrick Ford's Irish World each week and that "one could not read the Irish World week after week without acquiring an interest in and a love of economic justice, as well as political justice."⁵⁴

Ford's influence among the Irish American community and his contemporaries was also illustrated in the October 13, 1878 Brooklyn meeting of various Irish-American leaders in which the New Departure is said to have been introduced. At this meeting, it was expected that Michael Davitt, an Irish political leader and future founder of the Irish Land League, would make a speech containing new solutions for Ireland's problems. According to a recollection of John Devoy in 1906, the original speech that

⁵² Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 36. See also, Irish World, Oct. 4, 1913, pp. 1 & 4.

⁵³ The circulation figures given by Ford in his paper were often exaggerated but Rodechko confirms that the distribution of the Irish World was "far greater" than that of competing Irish-American journals. The above and following estimates were derived from more reliable sources listed in Rodechko's book and are based on subscription and newsstand distribution, annual newspaper directories and the like. 35,000 was the figure under the Irish World listing in 1876. In 1878 this figure had risen to 50,000 and by 1882, the circulation was approximately 60,000. The figure continued to increase to an average weekly circulation of 125,000 copies by the 1890's. Circulation of particular issues sometimes exceeded one million copies. The only significant drop in sales occurred around the time of Ford's death, when circulation fell to 60,000 in 1913. See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 48.

⁵⁴ Ford's prominence within the Irish-American community was illustrated during the editor's funeral. In memory of Ford, "the whole faculty of St. Francis College, thirty Franciscan Brothers, ... six pall-bearers, ... [and] men chosen from various Irish societies of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, New Jersey, and other cities" gathered in Brooklyn. World, Oct. 4, 1913, p. 2., and William V. Shannon, The American Irish (New York, 1963), p. 320.

Davitt had prepared reiterated old solutions to Ireland's problems. Devoy, a Fenian devoted to the cause of revolutionary nationalism, was not impressed. Before the meeting, Devoy recalled that himself and others helped Davitt revise the speech to satisfy the restless Irish nationalists. When Davitt began to read his draft, he discovered that he had brought the wrong copy and had seriously disappointed his audience, of which Ford was part. This was the first impression that Davitt had made upon the formidable editor of the Irish World. William Shannon tells us how Devoy handled the situation:

[Devoy] realised, on catching sight of Patrick Ford's clouded face in the front row of the auditorium, that Davitt had made a very bad impression on the formidable editor of the Irish World. Knowing how dangerous Ford's disapproval could be, he hastened to make good the deficiencies in Davitt's speech. That he succeeded was evident ... from Ford's private admission that, but for his [Devoy's] intervention, he would have felt bound to denounce Davitt in the next issue of the Irish World.⁵⁵

Ford's influence was also felt across the ocean. Ford's "Spread the Light Fund," which was created for the purpose of financing the delivery of the World to those workers in the British Isles, raised more than \$7,600 and was said to have been responsible for the shipment of more than 450,000 issues of the Irish World, over and above the 20,000 paid shipped subscriptions of the paper, to the British Isles.⁵⁶

The paper's popularity grew rapidly in Ireland where it was occasionally banned by authorities. The World supported organizations such as the Greenback Labor Party, of which Ford became a founder in 1874, and the Land League, for which he helped to organize approximately 2,500 branches nationwide and raise over \$300,000. Ford's

⁵⁵ Shannon, The American Irish, p. 236.

⁵⁶ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, pp. 106, 107.

political views were clearly expressed in 1885, with his publication entitled The Irish Question and American Statesmen. The decision of thousands of Democrats to desert their party and vote for Blaine, a Republican, in the presidential election of 1884, has often been attributed to Ford.

The Irish World was better known for its efforts with regard to the Irish cause. It was no secret that Ford blamed English despotism for the plight of the Irish in Ireland and around the world. His distaste for the "opportunistic nature" and insincere concern of British leaders towards Irish independence was revealed in his 1881 publication, A Criminal History of the British Empire, which consisted of published letters addressed to Gladstone from Ford. In response to Ford's efforts, Gladstone was heard to have said: "But for the work the Irish World is doing and the money it is sending across the ocean, there would be no agitation in Ireland."⁵⁷ In the 1880's and 1890's Ford's efforts to eradicate natural ascendancy myths became notably more obsessive. However, the tactics used by Ford to achieve his objectives became increasingly less radical for reasons that will be explained throughout the course of this study. After the Irish Parliamentary Party had been divided in 1891, Ford supported John Redmond, who succeeded Charles Parnell as Chairman of the Irish Nationalist Party, and promoted Home Rule as an answer to Ireland's demand for self-government for the remainder of his career.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Patrick Ford, A Criminal History of the British Empire (New York, 1881), p. 1.

⁵⁸ As a leader of the Nationalist Party, John Redmond strove to steer a middle course in an effort to unite the Irish community. See Alan Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American Relations, 1899-1921 (London, 1976), p. 79., and Joseph O'Brien, William O'Brien and the Course of Irish Politics, 1881-1918 (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 215 & 216.

It is necessary to examine Ford's experiences as a young man prior to the founding of the Irish World if one wishes to determine the formative influences on the editor. Ford, as an Irish-American, experienced the hardships associated with a rapidly industrializing America in which animosity towards Catholics was exaggerated and reflected in the nativist movements of the 1850's. The ramifications and ideological struggles of the Civil War and Reconstruction era also had a profound impact upon Ford, who would eventually work for William Lloyd Garrison and join the ranks of the Union Army.

Ford would never return to Ireland. As a result, he did not view Ireland in the same light as Irish-American nationalists such as John Devoy, editor of the Irish Nation, who had lived in Ireland until manhood. "I might as well have been born in Boston," Ford wrote; "I brought nothing with me from Ireland ... nothing tangible to make me what I am." Ford was always reminded, however, of his Irish heritage. He recalled his search for a job as a young boy in the streets of Boston during the 1850's - the height of the Know-Nothing movement:

I went searching in this way [continuously encountering notices which read: NO IRISH NEED APPLY] for some months ... finding constantly that the fact that I was Irish and a Catholic was against me. I was not yet awake about Ireland. But I began to think early, to read whatever I could lay my hands on

Ford concluded that he was victimized by the "conditions of poverty and enslavement" and that "it was necessary for everyone of Irish blood to do all in his power to change that state of things."⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Boston Pilot, Sept. 25, 1886. Also see Thomas Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890 (New York, 1966), p.22

As indicated previously, Ford finally found employment as a printer's devil for William Lloyd Garrison. James Rodechko's biography of Ford notes that "the evils of the slavery system were especially dramatized for the seventeen-year old Ford when he observed Anthony Burns being led back to slavery through the streets of Boston."⁶⁰ However, Rodechko fails to emphasize the impact that Garrison had upon the impressionable young Ford, who worked for the famous editor from the age of fifteen to the age of twenty-two.⁶¹ Surely, the influence of Garrison - a respected, successful, and prominent public figure - upon Ford during these years deserves more than a single paragraph in a 260-page dissertation. Although Rodechko acknowledges that "Ford would follow Garrison's example and attempt moral reform through newspaper work" and informs the reader in a corresponding footnote that "there have been suggestions that a causal relationship existed between Garrison's fight against slavery and Ford's later attempt to destroy landlordism in Ireland," Rodechko does not elaborate on these points.⁶²

⁶⁰ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 30.

⁶¹ Rodechko fails to mention here that the Anthony Burns incident was regarded as a moment of sacrilege by abolitionists, as mentioned in an earlier footnote. Osofsky tells us that it was Irish marines, for the most part, who dragged Burns back to slavery through the streets of Boston in 1854. It is very interesting that Ford cites this shameful display of Irish white supremacy and endorsement of slavery as an incident which had a profound influence upon his character formation. Rather than defending the Irishman's involvement in the act, as other Irish nationalists had done, Ford, like the abolitionists, remembered the incident as despicable expression of racism. In a commemorative issue of the World mourning the death of Patrick Ford, Robert Ellis Thompson mentions the impact that the Anthony Burns incident had upon Ford and calls attention to the parallels the editor had made between slavery and Ireland's subjection to Ireland: "Statute law had declared that the Black man was not entitled to the fruits of his own labor, and that he should hand them over to a master. Across the Atlantic similar statute law proclaimed the legal right of Irish landlords to confiscate, by the process of rack renting, the fruits of the labor of the cultivators of the Irish soil." See Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants", American Historical Review, pp. 909-911; Irish World, October 4, 1913, p. 4.

⁶² Perhaps if Rodechko had acknowledged the significance of this association between Garrison and Ford, and had insight into the nature of their underlying objectives, then possibly he would have interpreted Ford's less radical approach after 1882 as simply a change in tactics to suit a different historical situation, and not as proof that he was in search of middle-class respectability. See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 31.

Ford's "formative years" also included his experience as an Irish-American in the era of the Civil War. After leaving the Liberator at the age of twenty-two, Ford became an editor of the Boston Tribune in 1859. Like the Liberator, this paper was a strong advocate of abolition. Although the reasons for this move are uncertain, it is safe to assume that it was a move to further his career and that Ford left the press on amicable terms with Garrison. Ford, we hear, "had never tired of singing the praises of his former employer Garrison."⁶³

Although the Boston Tribune was a strong supporter of abolitionism, the majority of Irish-American journals at this time did not sympathize with the African-American for reasons already explained. Throughout the 1840's, the Boston Irish competed with the free black population in their city for employment and housing. In 1850, when Boston's black population numbered approximately 2,000, competition between Irishmen and Negroes for warehousemen and longshoremen jobs increased along with antagonism between the two groups. This antagonism led the Boston Negroes of Elm Street to sign a petition in the 1850's for the purpose of preventing the Irish from infringing on their neighborhood.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, abolitionism did not appeal to the Irishmen in New York, and Ford's editorials were not well-received. Although the Irishman was "opposed in principle to slavery, the Irish laborer recoiled at the idea of having to compete with four million freedmen for employment."⁶⁵

⁶³ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 159.

⁶⁴ Dennis Ryan, Beyond the Ballot Box: A Social History of the Boston Irish, 1845-1917 (London, 1983), p. 130.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 130

Irish-American journals were not exempt from such feelings of fear and resentment. The Boston Pilot referred to the abolitionists as "Nigger-worshippers" who were "anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant." When "all-Negro fighting units" were proposed by the Army of the Potomac, the Pilot warned "that the body odor emanating from twenty thousand marching black soldiers would be a dead giveaway to Confederates ten miles away."⁶⁶ To ease the fears of those who contemplated a Northern victory, the Pilot assured its readers that even if the slaves were emancipated, they would decline the Republicans' offer because "they love their masters, as dogs do, and servile plantation life is the life nature intended for them."⁶⁷

Most Irish-American journals resented the abolitionists' efforts on behalf of the Negro and their apparent indifference towards the plight of the Irish factory worker in New England. When the conscription law was passed shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and exempted from service those who could afford to pay \$300 for a "substitute soldier" to fill the dwindling ranks, many Irish - most of whom were poor laborers - were infuriated. In response, Irish priests in Boston aroused opposition among their parishioners while 30,000 federal troops in New York battled a riot which lasted for three days and left more than seventy people dead.⁶⁸ After a shipping company in New York hired Black laborers in response to a longshoremen's strike in the spring of 1863, tensions heightened and the rioters focused on the city's local Black population. Houses in many of the Black districts were set ablaze, the Colored Orphan Asylum was

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 132.

destroyed, and several Blacks were murdered. In his book, The New York City Draft Riots, Iver Bernstein described the city's atmosphere during the Riots:

'The Longshoremen's Association' patrolled the piers in the daylight hours ... [however,] any talk of associations ceased at sunset when parties of men and boys abandoned watch over the piers, factories, and laboring sites for a tour of the surrounding tenements. 'Dock laborers' were responsible for the ... beating and drowning of black workingman Charles Jackson Waterfront rioters [also] seized Jeremiah Robinson, a black man trying to escape Brooklyn wearing his wife's clothing, beat him senseless and threw his body into the East River Black sailor William Williams was assaulted ... when he walked ashore at an Upper West Side pier to ask directions. Like many of the racial murders, this attack developed into an impromptu neighborhood theater with its own horrific routines. Each member of the white gang came up to the prostrate sailor to perform an atrocity - to jump on him, smash his body with a cobblestone, plant a knife in his chest - while the white audience of local proprietors, workmen, women, and boys watched the tragedy with a mixture of shock, fascination, and, in most instances, a measure of approval The performance over, the assemblage retired to a nearby liquor store⁶⁹

The New York City Draft Riots of 1863, which were a culmination of the conscription law and rising unemployment and food prices, would not soon be forgotten by many Irish Americans.⁷⁰ In this climate Ford's work on the Boston Tribune and his particular views towards abolition and the Negro, which he had inherited from the Liberator, were not welcomed among his Irish-American counterparts. Ford decided to move to South Carolina in this year and eventually became an editor of the South Carolina Leader. The purpose of this paper, stated on the masthead, was as follows:

The Leader will be devoted to the interest of Free Labor and general reform That self-evident truth, contained in the Declaration of

⁶⁹ Iver Bernstein, The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War (New York, 1990), pp. 27-28.

⁷⁰ Adrian Cook, The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863 (Frankfort, 1974), p. xi.

Independence 'That all men are created equal' will be steadfastly adhered to It [the paper] will deal with principles rather than men⁷¹

Although Ford was not the only editor for the South Carolina Leader, the paper's editorials all agreed on the need "to safeguard and promote the legal and constitutional rights of the newly-freed negroes" and "affirmed a faith in American institutions and made it clear that negroes should avoid violence in pursuing their rights." On October 7, 1865, the Leader claimed that "under our free republican government, the poorest, as well as the richest, may ascend the ladder of distinction and reach the pinnacle of fame."⁷²

Although Garrison was apolitical, many of his colleagues turned to politics after emancipation as a solution to the Negro's problems. The editors of the Leader considered the vote an essential ingredient in their "free republican government" and published letters such as those written by Wendell Phillips, calling for the right of the Negro to vote.⁷³ This confident vision of traditional American republicanism was accompanied by a faith in religion as an effective vehicle for social reform. The Leader regularly paid tribute to abolitionists and referred to William Lloyd Garrison as the "great champion of freedom."⁷⁴

⁷¹ South Carolina Leader, Nov 25, 1865. p. 1.

⁷² Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 32-33. With regard to the degree to which Ford would have acceded to the views expressed in the various articles in the paper, it should be noted that the editors, of whom Ford was one, took responsibility for whatever was written in the paper except for the "communicated" section. This section began with the following statement: "Articles inserted under this head are written by correspondents. We shall be glad to publish communications of merit, but do not hold ourselves responsible for their sentiments." South Carolina Leader, Nov 25, 1865, p. 3

⁷³ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

The paper's articles reflected a faith in social and moral transformation. They attacked slavery as "contrary to the laws of God and nature," and encouraged Christian denominations of the North to contribute monies towards the education of "promising young men in the South."⁷⁵ The men of the Leader also shared the abolitionist's conviction that different races could live together in harmony and that any attempts to separate the races would only further racial prejudice and represent the acceptance of racism by American society. Page one of the December 16, 1865 issue of the Leader declared that

We must equally avoid all hasty assumption of the natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side in a state of mutual benefit and good will ... while their right of voluntary migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization.⁷⁶

Rather, the Leader encouraged the Negro to voice his concerns. The paper published the letters and commentaries of African-Americans and called on the White man to address these concerns.⁷⁷

Ford and his colleagues at the Leader continued to adhere closely to the fourth objective laid down by Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1833 Declaration of Sentiments. This prohibited "the encouragement of physical force" to achieve any of their aims. In the Leader's coverage of a State convention for the colored people of South Carolina, the paper reported that "the object of the Convention is to take into consideration the various questions looking to the elevation and

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 1 & 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid., October 21, 1865. p. 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

improvement of the condition of the freedmen, in a civil and educational point of view."⁷⁸ When violent outbreaks among Negroes did occur, however, the Leader defended the episodes as a result of intolerable oppression inflicted upon the Black man.⁷⁹

The staff at the Leader believed in the equality of all men, and the preservation of this equality under the auspices of the Declaration of Independence. They insisted that different races could live together harmoniously and that violence used to effect social change served adversely to fuel the fires of prejudice and legitimize nativist claims. Not only do these convictions reflect Garrisonian influence, but they also indicate that Ford chose to remain in the same social reform atmosphere that he left behind at the Liberator.

Although the editors of the Leader were optimistic about America's future, hints of disillusionment began to appear as early as 1865. Disappointment in Reconstruction became evident with editorials such as the following:

Your brethren in Louisiana have been paying one [a tax] for a number of years on property to the assessed value of fifteen millions of dollars. Is the colored man to have no voice in the appropriation of his money? And this too in a Government claiming to be republican, founded after a seven years war upon the principles of taxation and representation.⁸⁰

Passages such as this revealed the faith placed in American institutions and republican ideology as a language of the future in the years immediately following the Civil War,

⁷⁸ Ibid., Nov, 25, 1865. p. 2.

⁷⁹ It appears as though the editors of the Leader also followed the philosophy espoused by Wendell Phillips, who, as mentioned previously, believed that the natural rights doctrine found in the Declaration of Independence provided for the right to "resist and rebel" if one's natural rights were impinged upon. Ibid., December 16, 1865. p. 1.

⁸⁰ This criticism of the government also represented the editors' disappointment with the 1862 Homestead Act which soon proved to work to the advantage of land speculators rather than provide the poor with Western lands. The Leader opposed the act and supported the Irish Catholic Benevolent union's colonizing efforts in the west. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1865. p. 1.

but more importantly, they represented the rapid deterioration of this faith in the context of Reconstruction's failure. Ford's disappointment was evident in 1866 when he, along with some Irish-American colleagues, left the Leader and began the Charleston Gazette.

The failure of Reconstruction became increasingly apparent as the decade passed. The Freedmen's Bureau's promise of "forty acres and a mule" to the heads of each Negro family was never pursued by officials, and by 1866, the Bureau appeared to be "chiefly concerned with propaganda: educating the ex-slaves to support the Republican Party."⁸¹ The "Black Code," initiated by the legislature under Governor James L. Orr, was another indication of Reconstruction's doom to failure. Orr and his contemporaries, who had been elected into office in 1865, believed the creation of a set of laws governing freedmen was required and passed the Black Code. This legislation provided for the fining or whipping of a Negro convicted of a minor offence; prohibited the Negro from testifying in court, "except in cases where he or another Negro was involved" ; forbade the owning of firearms to those Negroes who were not farmers; made compulsory the possession of a license for a Negro who wished to be employed in areas other than farming and domestic work; prohibited marriages between Negroes and whites; and allowed for masters to "'moderately' whip servants under eighteen years of age."⁸² By the end of the decade, Republicans had earned for themselves a disreputable image among Southerners - "pro" and anti-slavery Southerners. Dishonesty in government and "ugly scandals" were continuously arising. In History of South Carolina, Ernest Lander tells us that "so degenerate had the state government become that guilty officials seldom

⁸¹ Ernest Lander Jr., A History of South Carolina, 1865-1960 (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 5 & 6.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 8 & 9.

bothered even to deny the charges of dishonesty."⁸³ Governor Scott, who served from 1868 to 1872, narrowly escaped impeachment for "high crimes and misdemeanors" concerning financial mismanagement, after paying off his accusers.⁸⁴

The nature of the Charleston Gazette was very different from that of the Leader. This weekly publication, Rodechko explains, "defended Catholic attitudes toward education and science, printed accounts of events in Ireland, and encouraged Irishmen to support the Democratic party."⁸⁵ Despite the periodicals' differences, the underlying principles that guided the earlier paper were reflected in the editorials of the Gazette. The only significant distinction between the two papers lay with the Gazette's focus on the oppressed workingman rather than the oppressed negro. Ford's sudden shift to the oppression of the Irish and the Irish-American working class may have been triggered by the Irish revolution of 1866, whose "preparation, execution, and suppression aroused the Irish-American's hatred of England and his desire to help in the struggle to gain Ireland's freedom."⁸⁶ The Gazette's weekly issue began with its claim that the paper was "devoted to news, Irish literature, and Catholic intelligence" and on page 3, the "laborer's page," the paper claimed to be "devoted to the interests of the working classes."⁸⁷ Like the Leader, the Gazette maintained that races could live together

⁸³ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁴ Francis Simkins, South Carolina During Reconstruction (Gloucester, 1966), p. 114. Also see Lander, History of South Carolina, p. 14.

⁸⁵ Rodechko attributes Ford's involvement with the periodical to his realization "that he had greater personal stake in Irish-American problems than in the problems that confronted the negro." Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 33-35.

⁸⁶ Joseph O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations 1880-1888 (New York, 1976), p. 269.

⁸⁷ Rodechko fails to mention the paper's devotion to the "interests of the working classes." See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 33., and Charleston Gazette, Oct. 23, 1869, p. 3.

harmoniously and insisted that races should maintain their distinctions. Only by respecting these distinctions as equal to the particular characteristics of other groups, could different racial groups live together in peace:

What God has put asunder, let no man join together. We think that the races are separate and distinct for some wise purpose and that the only distinction ... that should lift one white man above another, or one black man above another is the matter of fact of real merit - not of birth or wealth, but merit alone. We despise aristocracy, black or white, red or green⁸⁸

This paper also denounced the use of violence in accordance with the belief that it would only serve to legitimize charges of "Irish barbarism" from British officials. The paper warned Fenians, who had launched an attack on Canada only three years earlier, to "do nothing rashly, nor waste their strength for nought" and praised their decision "to appeal in a dignified manner to the minister [the British Minister at that time] and ask for the release of [political] prisoners."⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1869, p. 4. Unfortunately, the various editors of the paper did not sign their names to their articles and therefore it is impossible to confirm that Ford wrote the above statement. However, there are many similarities between this statement and Ford's later writings in the 1880's. These anonymous articles pose a problem for historians, and the few remaining issues of the Charleston Gazette (October 23, 1869 and September 12, 1868) make it virtually impossible to assume that Ford agreed with everything written in the paper. I would like to call attention to Rodechko's implication that Ford, in his earlier years, supported the Democrats (See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp.33-35), thereby lending support to his argument that Ford's political, as well as his social philosophy, had a record of inconsistency. As evidence of this claim, he cites the September 12, 1868 issue of the Charleston Gazette and refers to the following passage in an article covering the Irish-Democratic meeting at Hibernian Hall:

The positive expression and affiliation with the Democratic Party will have its effect, not only in Charleston but elsewhere The meeting was a grand success Every Irishman in Charleston is alive to the importance of the present struggle and every energy will be bent to secure a glorious triumph (Charleston Gazette, September 12, 1868, p. 4.).

This article also lacks the identification of the man who wrote it. How can Rodechko assume that this passage, the only one dealing with the Democratic Party that happens to have been preserved from the Gazette, is the work of Patrick Ford? For the duration of his career, Ford would criticize and regret the fact that Irishmen had always been a solid Democratic vote (O'Grady, Irish Americans, p. 38). Ford had always expressed his support of the Republicans as "the friends of human freedom" and denounced the Irish for basing their support of the Democrats on reminders of the Know-Nothing faction in the Republican Party in the 1850's. Ford expressed this political view on many occasions and in several sources. The claim that Ford had supported the Democrats during these years - based on one unsigned editorial found in a paper which had several editors - is unsubstantiated. See Charleston Gazette, October 23, 1869.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2 & 3.

Although emphasis was placed on the Irishman in America, it appeared as though the Gazette editors strove to address the problems confronting members of all oppressed groups. The paper continued to express its concern for the Negro and applaud the efforts of Horace Greeley, "the father of abolition and the uncompromising enemy of the South."⁹⁰ The Gazette complained of the inequality suffered by the laborer and congratulated organizations such as the Association of Worker's Scanty Wages for increasing its membership to sixty-seven thousand members and increasing its capital to four or five hundred dollars.⁹¹ Thomas Brown and James Rodechko failed to see that editor's such as those at the Gazette regarded the problems of the Negro, the Irishman, and the laborer as one and the same and that these men consciously sought to destroy the myth which held that "birth or wealth," or natural ascendancy, lifted "one white man above another, or one black man above another."

The discrimination Ford was subject to as a young man, his association with William Lloyd Garrison, his experiences in the Civil War, and his disillusionment with Republican ideology as a great hope for America, all helped to make the Irish World a champion of oppressed people everywhere.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER III

RADICAL AMERICA, 1870-1882

The formative influences upon Ford were clearly reflected in the columns of the Irish World, which Ford established after moving to New York in 1870. Ford's anti-slavery heritage and his application of the abolitionist social ethic to the problems of a rapidly industrializing America can be illustrated by examining Ford's writings and actions with regard to politics, the Irish question, the Church, and labor. As we will see, the underlying philosophy that emerges becomes most evident during Ford's involvement with the Land League. The significance of this social philosophy and its role in the development of Irish-American nationalism can only be understood in the context of its relationship to the Land League and the abolitionist movement.

The radicalism that characterized the 1870's was brought on by deteriorating economic and social conditions that followed the economic depression which had begun in 1872. Irish-Americans - who were predominately working class - were especially hard hit. Radical Irish-American organizations such as the Fenians and the Clan na Gael, and radical social philosophers such as Henry George gained considerable support during these difficult times.

Ford's political philosophy reflected the objectives and strategies embraced by abolitionists before him and put Ford at odds, politically, socially, and economically, with other Irish-American nationalists whose primary concern was Ireland's independence. Like Phillips, Ford assumed that political courses could be altered through public agitation, which in turn could help to realize certain social objectives. This required that the oppressed use their privilege of voting effectively to pledge their

loyalty to those candidates who would do most to improve their social condition. Unfortunately for Ford, Irish-Americans had little faith in political progress and incessantly chose to support the Democratic Party who played upon their nationalist sentiment.

Although the World supported Democratic candidates, Tweed and Robinson, in 1870, his loyalty to the Democratic Party is questionable. Ford voted along "the best candidate" lines, rather than along party lines. Tweed was known for his generous gifts to charity while William E. Robinson, a former Republican, was known for his work with Horace Greeley and Greeley's paper, the Tribune, in 1843. Ford's loyalty to the candidate, as opposed to the Party, was reflected in Ford's criticism of the Democrats in November of 1870 for failing to put Robinson on the Democratic ticket. After it became clear that Robinson's name would not be put on the ticket,

Ford ... showed dissatisfaction with Robinson, who accepted a nomination from the Brooklyn Democratic Reform Association ... [as] Ford ... had wanted Robinson to run independent of any organization in order to show the Democrats that Irish voters represented a powerful political force. The World later admitted that Ford and Robinson terminated their friendship over this political difference ... [as] Ford reached the conclusion that the party did little for its constituents.⁹²

One would be hard-pressed to prove that Ford, at any point in his life, could be considered a loyal supporter of the Democratic Party. Rather, Ford supported only those candidates that espoused a philosophy conducive to his social objectives. The fact that Ford ended his relationship with Robinson over Robinson's choice to join another Democratic organization puts into question Rodechko's suggestion that Ford supported the Democrats prior to 1871 and then turned to the Republicans after being disillusioned

⁹² Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp.123-125.

with the Party.⁹³ It is much more logical to assume that Ford, for the most part, supported the Republicans in the past, and turned, temporarily, to the Democrats in 1870 as a result of the outrageous scandals which surrounded Republican President Ulysses Grant, who took office in 1869.⁹⁴

The events that occurred after this series of scandals also support the claim Ford had never been a Democrat at heart. Republicans outraged by their leader's actions split from the Party in 1872. These "Progressive" or "Liberal" Republicans demanded civil service reform to end corruption within government departments and they nominated Horace Greeley to run against Grant. Shortly after, the Democrats also nominated Greeley in hope that the Liberal Republicans would join them against the ruling party.⁹⁵ While Democratic Irish-American journals such as the Irish-American criticized the Democrats for nominating a candidate with a Republican affiliation and called for a strong Democrat, the Irish World came out in immediate support of Greeley and gave fifty reasons why Irish-Americans should vote for Greeley in the October 5, 1872 issue of the World.⁹⁶

Ford's political philosophy was revealed as early as October 3, 1874 when he wrote in his paper that

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ The first scandal took place just six months after Grant became President. Grant's friends used information from the President to corner the gold market. "Black Friday" occurred shortly after Secretary Treasurer Boutwell stepped in to prevent this cornering by selling the government's supply of gold on September 24, 1869.

⁹⁵ Aside from the Black Friday scandal, many of Grant's relatives and friends received high positions in the government, and special privileges were given to those business interests for an agreed-upon price.

⁹⁶ Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, pp. 282-285.

There are some men who, if the devil himself were put on the "regular" Democratic ticket, would vote for him ... vote then, for the best men ... regardless of party names or affiliations.

It was no surprise then, when in 1887, Ford supported Democratic candidates for State Treasurer and Senator in the Fifth District but favored a Republican candidate for the Eighth District.⁹⁷

Ford's faith in the ability of public agitation and opinion to steer political courses was strengthened in the mid-1870's. 1876 saw the beginning of the "Era of No Decision" in American politics. For the next twenty years few divisive issues would be put before the American voters, and consequently, success or defeat in national elections often rested with small numbers of voters. Large pivotal states such as New York became increasingly important, as did the Irish population that resided in this state.⁹⁸ By voting for the candidate who appeared most responsive to the wishes of the electorate, Ford was convinced that the Irish in America would be able to improve their situation. "Intelligent voting" would also serve to prevent voting along ethnic lines - a phenomena which nativists often pointed to as evidence that the Irish were "un-American."

It was for these reasons that Ford relentlessly attacked Tammany. He believed the leaders of the organization were insincere in their promises, permeated with corruption, and responsible for promoting a disreputable image of the Irishman. "The Irish World," Patrick Ford declared, "wants to see the Irish-American people represented. Tammany only misrepresents us."⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American, p. 272.

⁹⁹ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, pp. 55,56

Ford's involvement with the Greenback Labor Party lends further evidence as to Ford's commitment to "intelligent voting." In December of 1874, Ford called for the immediate issuance of Greenbacks and claimed it was the city's responsibility to provide work for the unemployed.¹⁰⁰ Nearly a year later, Ford officially declared his support for Greenbackers whose platform proposed considerable reforms to the economic system.¹⁰¹ From 1876 to 1877 the vote for the Greenback Party in New York State "increased tenfold." Florence Gibson tells us that shortly after the Party's success, the motives of many of the Greenback leaders became questionable. Consequently, Ford, while "definitely in favor of the workers making a political struggle to obtain their rights, ... objected to the men who were leading the movement in New York City in 1877."¹⁰² Although Ford was dismayed by the Greenback candidates, he was further dismayed by Democrat and Republican candidates, and continued to support the Greenback Party in principle. In 1879 Ford supported the National Greenback Party and, as Wendell Phillips had done, proceeded to attack the Republicans and Democrats as "the tools of business interest" until 1882.¹⁰³

Unlike Ford's political philosophy, his nationalist convictions did not place him completely at odds with other Irish-American nationalists. In two columns of a

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁰¹ In 1878 the New National Party united the various factions of the Greenback Labor Party under one organization. See Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 306.

¹⁰² On November of 1877 Ford explained that he could no longer support the Greenback Party leaders as their "questionable motives" were not conducive to a movement which was to be based on honesty. See Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, p.305. Ford's abstention from seriously supporting any of the parties is not surprising: The Democrats, in Ford's eyes, were doing nothing to improve the condition of the workingman in New York, while the Republicans were being blamed for the 1877 Halifax Award which cost the U.S. \$5,500,000. Many Irishmen in America were infuriated that the U.S. had given Britain this monetary difference to compensate losses incurred by Britain as a result of violated fishing rights. See Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American Relations, p. 30.

¹⁰³ See Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, pp. 308, 326.

September 1874 edition of the Irish World, Ford outlined his plans to destroy the bullish aristocracy of Britain by using America to break "the rod of the oppressor."

... it is your business, Irish revolutionists, to create complications for her [England] here in this republic ... we are free to express the sentiments and to declare the hopes of Ireland¹⁰⁴

Fellow Irish-American nationalists had few qualms with such a strategy. It was not unrealistic for Irish-Americans to believe that growing numbers of Irish in America improved the Irish bargaining position with England whose representatives would be forced to deal with electorate-pleasing American authorities. Tensions in Anglo-American relations were heightened with the 1877 Halifax award, the Fortune Bay incident of 1878, the building of the French canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and the eruption of war between Chile and Bolivia-Peru in 1879.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately for Ford, Irish-Americans continued to vote overwhelmingly Democratic despite the party's poor record of efforts on behalf of the Irish, and most American diplomats "refused to use the opportunities the Irish activities afforded to [them] to intensify Anglo-American relations ... [and] the Irish had little real influence upon Anglo-American relations in the decade of the 1880's."¹⁰⁶

Ford was soon convinced that a more radical approach to the Irish question was needed to capture the attention of American and English officials. Worsening conditions in Ireland had aroused angry sentiment toward England among Irish-Americans and incendiary rhetoric, calling for violence as a possible solution to Ireland's problems, was

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 328-329.

¹⁰⁵ Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American Relations, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁶ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 283.

not perceived as entirely inappropriate.¹⁰⁷ In response to a reader's suggestion that militant action be taken if England continued to repudiate Ireland's claims, Ford wrote the following in the December 4, 1875 edition of the Irish World:

The Irish cause requires Skirmishers. It requires a little band of heroes who will initiate and keep up without intermission a guerilla war ...¹⁰⁸

Ford went so far as to suggest that the use of dynamite should be seen as a political tactic rather than a terrorist act throughout the 1870's and 1880's.¹⁰⁹

Although Ford would continue to express such ideas in his paper, he believed that the value of such ideas did not lay with the ideas themselves, but rather with their ability to arouse public sentiment and draw attention to the Irish question. In fact, Ford was very reluctant to see any of these ideas realized. When Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa sought to establish a "Skirmishing Fund" for the purpose of freeing Fenians from British prisons, and requested permission from Ford to advertise the fund in the World, Ford waited three months before giving his answer. Ford finally decided to grant Rossa his request provided that Ford be able to appoint the fund's treasurer. Thomas Brown tells us that this was probably due to circulating rumors that claimed Rossa's mind "had been affected by imprisonment."¹¹⁰ Despite later allegations that the Fund was used to finance dynamite attacks in England, Rossa turned out to be a "frivolous administrator" while the Skirmishing Fund section became a "kind of gossip column" used to "subsidize

¹⁰⁷ From 1876 to 1879 the value of Ireland's potato crop dropped from \$12,464,000 to \$3,341,000 - a decrease of 75%. Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 330.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p.69.

propaganda."¹¹¹ It should also be noted that the monies accumulated by the steadily growing Fund were never used to finance any of the violent acts that Ford had propagated.¹¹² In 1887, Ford handed over control of the Fund, which had become the largest single nationalist treasury in America, to a board of trustees that was dominated by Clan na Gael leaders. Although Rossa's "embarrassing shenanigans," surely influenced his decision to relinquish ties to the Fund, Ford's reluctance to be party to violent acts, reflected in Ford's cautious treatment of Rossa, should not be overlooked as another contributing factor.¹¹³ Ford, described as a "personally mild-mannered and sedate business man [who] never ceased his vigorous trumpet blasts against the English oppressor," was not a dynamite-loving man.¹¹⁴ Rather, he was a strategist, trained in the art of agitation, and driven to rouse public sentiment.

Ford's social objectives and the strategies that he was willing to employ in order to achieve his objectives are also revealed in an examination of Ford's views toward the Catholic Church. Ford's frustration with the Church and his relentless attacks upon the institution, once again, placed Ford at odds with many of his Irish-American contemporaries. The leaders of the Catholic Church, anchored to an ideology which viewed poverty as a personal problem rather than as a product of environmental factors,

¹¹¹ Funds were also used to transport the body of a "founding father of Fenianism" from America to Ireland for burial. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹¹² Tom Corfe, The Phoenix Park Murders: Conflict, Compromise and Tragedy in Ireland, 1879-1882 (London, 1968), p. 83.

¹¹³ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 73.

¹¹⁴ Tom Corfe, The Phoenix Park Murders, p. 60.

expressed little sympathy for the oppressed workingman.¹¹⁵ Not only did this ideology imply that the majority of Irish-Americans were poor as a result of their culture and customs, but it also enabled the Church to turn its back on the serious economic problems facing the laborer, thereby confirming nativist charges that the backward conservatism of the Catholic Church presented an obstacle to reform. In 1879, Bishop Richard of Gilmour, in response to Irish World criticism, issued a pastoral letter explaining the inequalities that existed within society:

Some men must rise, others must fall; without this there would be no motive for individual push ... a man's labor is his own ... it is no disgrace to be poor. Our Master was poor.

To this apparent ambivalence, Ford wrote that Bishop Gilmour resembled an "iron-hearted political economist ... in the service of the monopolists, and very unlike a preacher of the word of Him" The World often pointed out the contradictions inherent within the Church's teachings. "Can a man be a good Catholic," Ford asked, "who believes in the Declaration of Independence?"¹¹⁶

The Catholic Church was prevented from acknowledging the plight of the laborer and following the example provided by the Progressive movement for a number of reasons. Not only did the hierarchial structure of the Catholic Church prompt the institution to fear socialism and "confuse" it with the Progressive's call for a welfare state, but more importantly, the Catholic Church officials refused to support any programs put forth by the Progressive movement, convinced that the actions of these

¹¹⁵ S. J. McShane, "Sufficiently Radical": Catholicism, Progressivism, and the Bishop's Program of 1919 (Washington, 1986), p. 15.

¹¹⁶ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 57.

"almost wholly Protestant-Yankee" reformers were "driven by nativist hostility" toward the Catholic Church.¹¹⁷

Ford's modification of Garrisonian thought to address the plight of the workingman was demonstrated in his approach toward labor. The volatile atmosphere of the 1870's was conducive to Ford's radical rhetoric and uncompromising nature that had been so characteristic of abolitionists. Just as Garrison had sought the eradication of slavery as an immoral institution whose existence justified the oppression of the Negro, Ford attacked landlordism, disguised as land monopolization in America, as impinging upon the rights of the Negro, the laborer, and the Irish serf. Ford, like Phillips, had gone beyond the limitations of Garrison's highly individualistic ideology - which viewed freedom in terms of self-ownership and proposed individual acts of compassion as a solution to society's ills - and concluded that only through a united effort of oppressed groups, could the principles of liberty and equality be preserved in a capitalist society. The Republican dream, Ford believed, had been distorted by nativism, monopolies and political corruption. Phillips and Ford now viewed the vote, education and land as solutions to all forms of oppression.

The Irish World devoted an increasing number of columns to various social theorists as the situation in America worsened. Although Ford was not a Marxist, he did see the social crisis in "Jeffersonian terms" whereby the equality of opportunity

¹¹⁷ McShane sums up the dilemma of the Catholic Church nicely when he writes that "before she could join hands with the Progressives, the American church had to substantiate and defend her claim that she could be both Catholic and truly American, or show that there was a congruence between American and Catholic values." See McShane, Sufficiently Radical, p. 21. As we will see later, Ford, being a Catholic and believing in many Progressive ideals, also found himself in the same dilemma as a result of nativist attacks. He strove to bridge this gap between Catholicism and American reform tradition in hope of realizing his ultimate objectives - the eradication of any sort of oppression based on the misconception of race inferiority. For a good background to the Catholic Church's relation to the Progressive movement, see McShane's Sufficiently Radical, chapters 1 and 2.

within a republic should be preserved by the state.¹¹⁸ As early as 1878, Ford was captivated by the possibilities of land reform in Ireland and America. His overwhelming concern for the laborer was revealed when he changed the title of the Irish World to the Irish World and American Industrial Liberator on December 21 of that year. It was the Irish World's "magnificent obsession" with land reform that caused him to give only a grudging approval to the New Departure, which was formally introduced into the Irish-nationalist arena in October of 1878 with Davitt's and Devoy's Brooklyn New Park Theatre speech.¹¹⁹ Under this new deal, Davitt proposed to unite all Irish-American factions against the land system in Ireland in order that "extremes as well as the moderates would have an opportunity to arouse public opinion."¹²⁰ Ford supported this movement on the pretence that public awareness would indeed be heightened and that the Home Rulers would abandon Parliament - "a move he hoped would stimulate discussion of the land question."¹²¹ In the following year, Ford would recall the feelings present at that meeting in the New Park Theatre when he wrote on August 30, 1879 that "Fenianism saw only a green flag ... but the men of today have discovered that there is such a thing as land."¹²²

Ford's abolitionist background manifested itself in the ideological tensions of the Land League. As mentioned previously, the winter of 1879-80 witnessed intolerable

¹¹⁸ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 89.

¹²⁰ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 18.

¹²¹ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 91.

¹²² Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 331.

socio-economic problems in Ireland. Irish nationalism at home and abroad ran high. When Charles Stewart Parnell visited New York in January of 1880, the time was ripe for the Irish nationalists to confer with Irish-American leaders and agree on a strategy which could relieve Ireland from her desperate situation. According to one observer, Parnell succeeded in uniting "the respectable lawyer, the affluent merchant, the local politician and the dynamite loving ex-Fenian soldier" before returning to England in March of that year. First founded in Ireland by Michael Davitt, John Devoy and Charles Parnell, the Land League's original goal was land reform. However, worsening conditions in Ireland soon made "land for the people" the primary goal. Branches of the League quickly spread throughout America and in March of 1880 the American Land League was founded. By September 1881, it had more than 1,500 branches across the States.¹²³ This League, Foner writes, "was the first nationalist organization to unite the Irish-American community."¹²⁴

On May 18, 1880, New York's Treanor Hall was host to the first convention of the Irish National Land League of America. All those who supported the ideas of John Devoy that had been expressed in October, 1878 at the Brooklyn meeting, attended. Although a sense of common purpose was felt at this convention, the many factions present had very different motives in mind with regard to the purpose of the Land League. These factions, in general terms, included extreme nationalists, conservative nationalists, and social reformers.

¹²³ Foner, Politics and Ideology, pp. 155-156.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Fenians, such as John Devoy, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and members of the Clan na Gael, viewed the League as simply a vehicle to arouse Irish nationalist sentiment "in preparation for carrying out the New Departure" and hoped that a consolidated treasury would lead to a more powerful Irish organization in America. They were preoccupied with Ireland's plight and resented claims made by social reformers such as Ford that "the Irish serf and the Irish factory slave" had a common interest "in a struggle against landlordism in both countries."¹²⁵

The conservatives at the function included Catholic clergymen - whose participation in the League was an attempt to prevent the new Irish organization from assuming a radical character - and men such as Patrick Collins, Charles Parnell, and John Boyle O'Reilly.¹²⁶ These men, for the most part, hailed America as the land of plenty where egalitarian and democratic principles prevailed. Radical social reform, in their eyes, was unnecessary in Ireland, and counter-productive in America. They viewed the Land League solely as a vehicle through which the conditions of the Irish and Irish-Americans could be improved.¹²⁷

A third faction of Irish-Americans present consisted of social reformers who had supported the views held by Patrick Ford. Although Ford refused to participate in the convention dominated by conservative nationalists, the large number of his followers who attended made his presence felt. Ford believed that the significance of the Land League rested with its ability to bring about social change. Ford regarded the League as "the

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 163-166.

¹²⁶ See Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 104. See also Michael Funchion, Chicago's Irish Nationalists, 1881 - 1890 (New York, 1976), p.61.

¹²⁷ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 162.

opening battle in 'the war of the disinherited, in all lands, for their heaven willed possessions.'"¹²⁸

Ford's differences with Devoy and the conservatives soon prompted the editor to establish his own branches of the Land League which would send donations to Ireland via the Irish World.¹²⁹ He argued that monopolies, the profit motive, and prejudice had distorted the principles of democracy and egalitarianism in America that conservative nationalists had boasted.¹³⁰ Ford also posed a challenge to the extreme nationalists within the League. John Devoy, responding to Ford's cries for social reorganization, asked if

we [are] men who have undertaken to effect a great and radical change in the tenure of land that will embrace the whole world? Do we propose a great social revolution that will alter the present constitution of human society? Or are we Irishmen struggling for the welfare of our people?¹³¹

Unlike the extreme and conservative nationalists of the League, Ford was willing to seek alliances outside the Irish community in the battle against landlordism. The League, Ford believed, could improve the condition of the workingman - not only in Ireland and America, but around the world. The establishment of the Spread the Light Fund, created for the purpose of financing the delivery of the Irish World to those workers in the

¹²⁸ These "Heaven-willed possessions" were reiterated weekly in the Irish World as "the natural gifts of God - land, air, light, and water which are not to be bought or sold". Ibid., Politics and Ideology, pp. 160-161.

¹²⁹ Soon after the convention, Patrick Collins and Ford split over the question of money collected by the League. After it became obvious that Collins would not allow Ford to tabulate the funds through the Irish World, which would have designated Ford as central treasurer, Ford organized his own branches of the League. Apparently Collins had foiled Ford's intention to take over the movement "and force Parnell and the Land League along a more violent direction." See O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 79.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 167.

British Isles who were also experiencing dwindling job markets and falling agricultural prices, is a case in point.¹³²

Ford also differed from both the Clan and the conservatives in that he called for land nationalization - resembling that which was espoused by Henry George - as opposed to peasant proprietorship. In George's land theories, Ford found a detailed, well-thought-out plan that was, for the most part, compatible with his own social philosophy. George argued that private property in land was at the root of Ireland's problems and that peasant proprietorship would only lead to land monopolization by Irish landlords instead of English. George proposed a land scheme whereby there would be limits to the amount of land one could own and landholders would pay a tax in accordance with the rental value of the land which would be determined by the state. Ford approved of this land tax scheme as "it would achieve the benefits of land collectivization while at the same time keeping to a minimum government intervention in the social and economic order." In January of 1881, Ford wrote in his paper that "between the covers of Progress and Poverty there is enough seed thought to revolutionize the world."¹³³

George, like Ford sought humanitarian reform through the Land League and it was not long before he was offered employment with the World as an Ireland correspondent. George, who would later refer to Ford as "not a politician, but a single-hearted devotee to principle," eagerly accepted the position.¹³⁴ They viewed the

¹³² On page 60 of Irish-American Nationalism Brown implies that this fund was intended only for Irish workers in the Isles, but Moody suggests that Ford intended this fund for all workers in the Isles. See T.W. Moody's, Davitt and the Irish Revolution, p. 362.

¹³³ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 119.

¹³⁴ See Charles Baker, Henry George (New York, 1955), p. 336.

League as an instrument capable of destroying landlordism in Ireland and capitalist evils, such as land monopolies, in America. On November 10, 1881, George wrote Ford from Ireland the following line: "I am certain that everything is working to the end we both desire - the radicalization of the movement and the people " ¹³⁵ One could easily mistake passages found in George's book, Social Problems, which cried out "'Master!' We don't like the word. It is not American," with those found in the columns of the Irish World. ¹³⁶

Despite the mutual admiration that existed between Ford and George, subtle philosophical differences among the two occasionally emerged. George's insistence on the irrelevance of political independence for Ireland "somewhat discomfited" Ford. Ford, like the abolitionists before him, regarded the Declaration of Independence as a product of national independence and as a revolutionary document unique to the world - a model for future republics. In addition, Ford was troubled by George's disbelief that "interest as well as rent was robbery" and the philosopher's reluctance to condone actual land nationalization in Ireland. George's "overwhelming attack on land monopoly" may have "offset these dissimilarities," in the days of the Land League, however, George's advocacy of free trade would prove to be a divisive factor in years to come. ¹³⁷

Ford differed from many of his Land League colleagues on the question of tactics. Ford was willing to use any strategy that would bring him closer to his objective - a

¹³⁵ See Henry George Jr., The Life of Henry George (London, 1900), p. 361.

¹³⁶ See Edward Rose, Henry George (New York, 1968), p. 96.

¹³⁷ Apparently George's opposition to "pure" land nationalization stemmed from his concern of losing the conservatives' support for his schemes. Ford, on the other hand, wanted nationalization of land and "the subsequent distribution of that land by lot in Ireland." Despite these differences, Ford often identified George with his own schemes. See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 76-77.

society which would recognize all races and nationalities as equals. His first task was to gain popular support for his particular reforms and to then to hold the attention of leaders in America, Britain, and Ireland. In this time of crisis, radical rhetoric not only appealed to the desperate masses but also succeeded in catching the eye of the policy-makers. The success of the Skirmishing Fund, which was regularly charged with financing dynamite attempts, demonstrated the tolerance to radical nationalist endeavors which had developed within the discouraged Irish-American community. Ford's ideas on social reorganization were being taken very seriously by thousands of laborers - especially those in the urban factories of the big cities and the mining regions of Pennsylvania and the West. One Pennsylvania miner assured Ford that " We recognize ... the leading light to the great movement which is at present agitating the world ..."¹³⁸ While many extremists of the League applauded Ford's incendiary spirit - with little regard for his social objectives, the conservatives feared that Ford's calls for "ten or a dozen" men to set fire to London and for "vipers of darkness" to start a secret war against the English aristocracy, might be answered.¹³⁹

Conservative nationalists, however, could not ignore the large sums of money that the Irish World was contributing to the League, nor the coverage that the Land League was receiving in America and across the ocean as a result of Ford's efforts. Consequently, they tolerated his tactics. British officials watched nervously while monies from England, Ireland and America flowed into the Land League's coffers. Although members of the League opposed Ford's radical social philosophy, they gladly accepted

¹³⁸ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 168.

¹³⁹ Tom Corfe, The Phoenix Park Murders, p. 83.

finances obtained through the Skirmishing Fund and acknowledged Ford's well-publicized and explosive rhetoric as a necessary evil. Davitt alone claimed an income of approximately a hundred pounds daily while membership rose to 500,000.¹⁴⁰ The crucial role played by Ford in the League's success was also acknowledged by the most conservative members of the League:

He [Parnell] never failed to realize that the success of the whole movement depended upon the uninterrupted flow of money from America By May 1, 1881, the League sent over \$100,000 and by June over 1200 branches existed, 800 of which Ford controlled¹⁴¹

Ford's tactics were further legitimized by deteriorating conditions in Ireland and the British government's failure to deal with these conditions effectively. Anglo-American tensions rose in 1880 when it was estimated that 600,000 people in the counties of West Ireland would starve if not immediately supplied with food. The arrest of Parnell and others in Ireland on November 2 of this year intensified matters. Parnell's call for "peaceful picketing of landlords who evicted tenants" in September of 1880 had caused landowners and many British politicians to demand coercive legislation. Rather than granting such legislation, Gladstone appeased the groups by authorizing the arrest of Parnell, James Redpath (the American correspondent for the New York Tribune) and others.¹⁴² In this atmosphere it is of little wonder why explosive rhetoric held such an appeal for so many people: It appeared as though peaceful measures could do little to bring about desired reforms.

¹⁴⁰ Jules Abels, The Parnell Tragedy (London, 1966), p. 96.

¹⁴¹ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 82.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 77.

An examination of Ford's writings during his involvement with the Land League further clarifies his social convictions. Howard Harris writes that:

Large numbers of people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean associated such terms as freedom and equality with the protection of both individual and communal rights from the arbitrary misuse of authority by either a hereditary or a self-appointed aristocracy.¹⁴³

Ford's 1881 publication entitled A Criminal History of the British Empire clearly expresses this particular social philosophy. Consisting of letters written and published by Ford in the spring of 1881, addressed to Gladstone, this collection contains a tribute to Patrick Ford from friends and colleagues who compared Ford's "single-hearted devotion to a great cause" to the "defiance and irritation" of William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁴⁴ Although the editors of this preface viewed Ford as a crucial instrument in the promotion of the Irish cause, his importance in the struggle against all forms of tyranny was acknowledged. They wrote that Ford, like Garrison, "swung the scourge over the heads and upon the backs of the champions of human bondage"¹⁴⁵

The first of these letters was sent to Gladstone and published in the Irish World on March 31, 1881. This letter revealed Ford's contempt for imperialism, religious discrimination against the Catholic Church, and the British sense of racial superiority:

Any attempt to build up a centralized government in this world which could destroy identity and suspend self-action in individualities, in these races and nations, is contrary to the will of the creator.... Worst than all, you glory in your shame. Your aristocracy - 'the Noble' and 'Right Honourable' Felons of England, boast they are descendent from William the Robber. Your law - established Church was founded by a wife-killer and adulterer Of all men on earth 'the ruling classes' of Britain are

¹⁴³ Harris, "The Eagle to Watch," Journal of Social History, p. 582.

¹⁴⁴ Ford, A Criminal History of the British Empire, p.1.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 8-10.

the most impudent land pirates and, having disinherited the people, you then made wage serfs of them.¹⁴⁶

Patrick Ford's second letter to Gladstone, entitled "Ireland Under the Curse of the British Empire," illustrates Ford's ultimate plan to do away with racial and ethnic prejudice and the notion of natural ascendancy.

People, equally with the Irish, the Hindus, the Africans, and every other tribe in the nation that dwell in the shadow of your pirate flag, are the victims of an infernal system For this reason, all these peoples ought to combine in a holy crusade to destroy the system. Their cause is identical When the eyes of the oppressed are opened - when the peoples of various countries come to recognize one another as brethren born of one Father - when climes, languages, and complexions come to be regarded as accidents, then will the standard of Universal Brotherhood ... float victorious in the eyes of Heaven. No, it is not blind fate, it is blind ignorance, that keeps the peoples divided. It is the race antipathies fed by you [England's aristocracy] that is the cause. But the Light is spreading. The scales are falling from people's eyes. Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scotchmen, as well as Americans, are reading this Irish World; all these, equally with the Irish, meet upon the platform of its principles as upon common ground.¹⁴⁷

The third letter in this publication, "The British Empire in America," was sent to Gladstone on April 14, 1881. In it, Ford blames the English for making slavery the cornerstone of the New World yet he looks optimistically towards a future exempt from racial prejudice. Ford wrote of Gladstone;

Your course on the whole, has been one of evil. The son of a Liverpool merchant, who in the days of African slave piracy, had made a large fortune out of the trade in human flesh and blood But the Light is spreading, and the world is opening its eyes. Your wickedness will soon stand revealed.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

Ford also expressed his view that oppression of anyone on the basis of natural ascendancy and race is sinful, and that the Irish - or any other people - were not inferior races required to show deference to any "superior" race:

Our very conception of nationality implies communal individuality Now, these diversities do not imply antagonisms. In other words, the spirit of conquest, or of natural ascendancy is sinful An imperial nation is a nation which stands to its subject races in the position of a master to a slave Does it ever occur to you that you are under any sort of moral obligation to explain your conduct -to honest and rational beings? Did God single out you English alone to give laws to the rest of the human race? Where is your commission from Heaven for this sovereign assumption.¹⁴⁹

The fourth letter entitled "The Curse of the British Empire in Asia and Africa," accuses the English of "forcing opium down the throats of the people of China," while letter five summarizes over sixty crimes which Ford believed the English aristocracy should be charged with.

Ford, like many other "apostles of humanitarianism," believed that the Irish, as a race which had endured oppression historically, would be the most logical choice to act as protectorate of a new society in which social injustices and prejudice were denounced. In a letter from Wendell Phillips, dated November 2, 1881, in response to Ford's request that he travel to Ireland to advocate No-Rent, Phillips wrote that he acknowledged that "Ireland today leads the van in the struggle for right, justice, and freedom" but that he was forced to decline the generous offer (all expenses paid by the Land League) due to

¹⁴⁹ Ford rationalized the rights of the Irish and other oppressed peoples in the context of Christianity, and therefore felt compelled to refute England's claim of natural ascendancy, which was also based on Christian assumptions. In the past, the British and other imperialistic nations had been able to justify their Empires' oppression of peoples around the world by claiming that certain races were "inferior" and needed to be "civilized". Ford believed that by refuting this unfounded notion of race superiority, he could then proclaim all forms of oppression as a sin, and not as something ordained by God. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 48, 60.

ill health.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, Ford believed his journal to be crucial instrument in the realization of abolitionist and free-labor principles at home and abroad:

Men in your Landlord Cabinet have said this Irish World is an incendiary paper. It is not. They say it advocates violence. It does not. The Irish World simply wants to do God's will upon earth. It is through reason, not passion, that we want to effect a reformation of the social system. We don't want to kill landlords. The landlord is but the effect of the cause. We want to open the eyes of the people. We want to Spread the Light. Why will you not allow us to go on in our missionary work? The Irish World sincerely desires to see Ireland absolutely emancipated from British domination and take her rightful place among the nations of the world. But, as they are about it, the Irish social builders might as well lay new foundations for New Ireland. We want for men something more than a semblance of the thing called 'Liberty' - something more than a hollow privilege of casting a vote for one of two caucus-made politicians. We loath demagogues and are grieved at the wage-serfs who, when politically drunk, shout 'Freedom' and dance in their chains. What art thou, Freedom? Thou art lands, and homes, and happy firesides, and schools, and popular intelligence, and manly character, and womanly virtue - all under the hallowed influence of religion, and uncontaminated by statecraft. This is the Irish World's idea of freedom I am, Sir, in the cause of justice and human rights.

Patrick Ford¹⁵¹

Eric Foner draws many parallels between the campaign to eradicate landlordism and the anti-slavery movement. Just as Ford had hoped that abolition could help provide a new model for America's social organization, he looked to various aspects of land nationalization in Ireland and America as a possible solution to the suffering of the Irish serf, the laborer, and various racial and ethnic groups. In Ireland, nationalization of land

¹⁵⁰ World, Oct. 4, 1913, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ The full excerpt reads as follows: " ... This is the Irish World's idea of Freedom. But this idea, before it can take form, must first be apprehended by the popular intelligence; and the realization of this indispensable preliminary is necessarily a work of time. Hence, for this reason, the Irish World does not now offer any encouragement to an armed insurrection in Ireland. Neither do the advanced spirits of the Land League." Shortly after Ford's death, Robert Ellis Thompson, in a tribute to the editor, used this passage to help explain Ford's more moderate approach to social injustices after the demise of the Land League. See Ford, A Criminal History of the British Empire, pp. 63-64., and the Irish world, Oct. 4, 1913, p. 4.

would eradicate the evils of the landlord system, and offer salvation to Ireland, while in America, state control limiting the amount of land one would own could prevent land monopolization. Government control over vast tracks of land in the West could immediately improve the condition of the urban worker, who could purchase the land at an affordable price as determined by the state and use such an alternative as a bargaining point with industrial employers. Such control could also benefit other groups in America, such as the Negro. Ford saw the Land League as a vehicle, much like that of the abolitionist movement, which could help to bring about the America he envisioned - an America free of the hierarchial system and prejudice that had traditionally plagued European society. Foner writes that

the heritage with which he [Ford] wished his readers to identify was abolition. The crusade against slavery had acted as a central terminus from which men and ideas flowed into virtually every effort to change post-bellum society. Ford's own career reflected its influence, and he always regretted that Irish-Americans had adopted 'an attitude of seeming hostility to the friends of human freedom' The history of Reconstruction proved conclusively, he insisted, that 'there is no liberty without the soil.'¹⁵²

Ford was not alone in his application of abolitionist objectives, strategies, and tactics to contemporary problems. Wendell Phillips and James Redpath had also expanded upon Garrisonian ideology to deal with the grievances of the day. Foner points out that as early as 1869, Phillips told reformers of the American Anti-Slavery Society "that overcoming the 'intense prejudice' against the Irish was the next task confronting reformers" while James Redpath demanded the "total and immediate abolition of Irish

¹⁵² Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 159.

landlordism."¹⁵³ Henry George and his efforts with regard to the Land League also reveal the impact of abolitionist objectives and tactics upon the social reformers of post-bellum society. Like Ford, George tried to "refashion traditional republicanism to meet the immense social problems of the industrial age." Through the Land League, these men hoped to abolish landlordism in Ireland, land monopoly in America, and "related social ills."¹⁵⁴ Like the abolitionists, they shared a great faith in religion as an effective vehicle through which social change could occur. Christianity, they believed, should be used to attack the "vested wrongs" in society - an idea which contradicted the traditions of the Catholic Church at that time.¹⁵⁵ All of these men had shared belief in traditional American republicanism and insisted that a religious and moral attack upon the institutions which legitimized and encouraged social injustices was necessary in order to preserve the principles upon which the Declaration of Independence was based. Unlike Garrison, however, they felt that evils of the capitalist system, including monopolies and political corruption, had eroded the American dream. Here, the association between the Land League and the abolitionist movement is apparent.

In June of 1882, it seemed as though the Land League would finally adopt social reorganization as its primary goal. Davitt had been arrested on February 3 of 1881 for violating his ticket of leave. Tensions were mounting and in an effort to quiet the land agitators, the Land Act of 1881 was introduced by Parliament. The legislation proposed

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 183.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 183.

¹⁵⁵ Although Ford resented the Catholic Church's seeming ambivalence towards social reform, because he "envisioned America's future as a pluralistic cooperative commonwealth in which political unity and class harmony coexisted with cultural diversity," he often defended the Catholic Church when under Protestant attack. Poner, Politics and Ideology, p. 187.

fixity of tenure, fair rents established by land courts, and free sale of improvements made to holdings. While Ford made savage attacks upon the bill, Davitt, from his jail cell, called on his followers for a general strike against rents. When the Irish Land League met in Dublin on April 22 a resolution was adopted which forbade the peasantry to agree to anything short of the eradication of landlordism.¹⁵⁶ Although Parnell had agreed to hear a second reading of the bill, he was forced to reject the bill after Gladstone verbally attacked him, accusing the leader of stalling negotiations, and threatened to take more drastic measures if the bill was rejected.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, Parnell had little choice but to adopt a more radical position. This decision, Parnell believed, would save him from a humiliating defeat and serve to insure Ford's loyalty and the continued flow of funds from his Irish World to the League.¹⁵⁸ Parnell made a number of explosive speeches in Wexford attacking the British government and on October 13, he was arrested once again. From prison he issued the No-Rent Manifesto which called for the withholding of rents by the peasantry.¹⁵⁹ Also in October, Henry George, after presenting well-received speeches throughout New England and Canada, was on his way to Ireland to promote his ideas on social reform. Ford believed his No-Rent plan and social philosophy would now guide the League's efforts.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Brown, Irish-American, p. 113.

¹⁵⁷ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 83.

¹⁵⁸ By the end of April 1882, Ford gave more money to the Land League "than all other Channels combined" and "before dissolving his League in October, 1882, Ford had forwarded \$343,000 to Ireland." Funchion, Chicago's Irish Nationalists, pp. 62, 74.

¹⁵⁹ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰ Funchion, Chicago's Irish Nationalists, p. 70.

When Irish American nationalists met in McCormack's Hall, Chicago, on November 30, Ford, disappointed, realized that his principles would not be endorsed. At the convention, the conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Clan collaborated against Ford, and the No-Rent Manifesto "was endorsed as a political expedient, without reference to its social and philosophical implications."¹⁶¹ Even John Boyle O'Reilly, who held the teachings of George in great veneration, "was not prepared to support social reform at the expense of Irish-American solidarity."¹⁶²

The failure of the League to adopt social change as its primary goal should not have come as a surprise. However, despite Ford's obvious loss, signalled by the "half-hearted endorsement" of the Manifesto, many conservative Irish-Americans failed to realize that the efforts made on behalf of the radicals within the League had been frustrated. Fearful that the League had shifted sharply to the left, many withdrew their support and League membership fell from 45,000 in the winter of 1881 to 25,000 in the spring of 1882.¹⁶³ Fanny Parnell illustrated the apprehension of these conservatives towards the possibility of a League under the leadership of Ford.

I consider it a great misfortune that the Land League ever had any connection with the Irish World It is a recognised organ of the communists in America and has been excommunicated by all the Catholic Clergy ... while the paper is safe enough for educated people and contains some very excellent ideas, it is a paper calculated to do much mischief in the hands of an only partially - educated and simple-minded peasantry.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Devoy actually broke with Ford in April of this year after Ford embarrassed the Clan by printing certain details of the Skirmishing Fund. Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, pp. 109, 121.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁶⁴ Parnell to Sullivan, 1881, as quoted in R.F. Foster, Charles Stewart Parnell: The Man and his Family (New Jersey: Harvester Press Ltd., 1976), p. 249.

The spring of 1882 witnessed Ford's conclusive break with the League. In April of that year, Parnell agreed to sign the Kilmainham Pact with Gladstone on the condition that certain alterations be made to the Land Act of 1881 and Parnell be released from Kilmainham jail.¹⁶⁵ Ford denounced Parnell's actions as "a tragic betrayal of the Irish peasant while the conservatives welcomed the Kilmainham Treaty as a repudiation of violence and radical land theories."¹⁶⁶ Home Rule was officially proclaimed the number one priority of both the New National and New American National Leagues.

¹⁶⁵ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 86.

¹⁶⁶ Puchion, Chicago's Irish Nationalists, p. 75, 76.

CHAPTER IV

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION, 1882-1886

Many historians have argued that shortly after this division, radicals of the League abandoned their call for social reorganization and turned to the pursuit of middle-class respectability for themselves and other Irish-Americans. A change to a less radical approach towards societal injustices after 1886, is used as evidence by historians such as Thomas Brown to support their claim that "behind Irish radical rhetoric were fundamentally conservative demands." Brown argues that these social reformers, for the most part, "wanted to be middle class and respectable" and that "behind the flaming intransigence of the Irish nationalist ... there was nine times out of ten an ambitious Horatio Alger figure."¹⁶⁷

However, as we will see, the more moderate strategies employed by Ford, Davitt and others after the division of the League represented a change in tactics to suit the new historical situation that confronted them - chiefly, America's recovery from the depression. This shift in approach neither represented the abandonment of their social philosophy nor reflected a consuming desire to be accepted by the dominant American culture. Rather, it represented a logical response to events and circumstances that occurred between 1881 and 1887 which prompted Ford to alter his policies toward politics, the Irish question, the Church, and labor.

Only four days after Parnell was released from prison the Phoenix Park murders occurred. The Dublin murders of May 6, 1882, which involved the brutal stabbing of Ireland's newly appointed Chief Secretary and the Undersecretary by Irish nationalists,

¹⁶⁷ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 46.

aroused strong public opposition to any form of extremism and consolidated the victory of the conservative Irish nationalists over the humanitarian "apostles" of the League. Irish-American reformers such as Ford were now forced to pursue their social reforms in a much less radical fashion. After the dissolution of the Land League, reformers such as Ford and Davitt were left with few allies. They were alienated from American social reformers, such as Henry George, who were concerned primarily with the laborer and who did not seek such reforms in an Irish-American context, and from Irish-American nationalists who did not see social reorganization as necessary to the Irish abroad or at home.

The awkward position that these alienated reformers found themselves in was reflected their attempt to juggle their two loyalties. The actions of Davitt in the summer of 1882 illustrated the dilemma that would remain with these Irish reformers for the remainder of their careers. Upon his release from prison, shortly after the signing of Kilmainham, Davitt attended and spoke at a May 21 meeting at which he promoted the ideas of Henry George.¹⁶⁸ However, on June 19 - only a month later - Davitt made a speech at the New York Academy of Music in which he described land nationalization only as a "possible theoretical solution" and assured his audience that he would sooner have his arm severed than allow himself "to be an obstruction to any plan laid down by Mr. Parnell." While Irish nationalists welcomed Davitt's words, they would continue to mistrust him, and while social reformers acknowledged Davitt's concern for laborers,

¹⁶⁸ While in prison, Davitt was captivated by Progress and Poverty and became a strong proponent of George's land schemes. Apparently, Davitt had spoken at this meeting despite strong objections from Parnell. Davitt justified his challenge to the "aristocratic Parnell" by reminding Parnell that "the memory of my mother made me swear [that] Irish landlords and English misgovernment in Ireland shall find in me a sleepless and incessant opponent ..." *Ibid.*, p. 125.

they were quick to point out that "the little green flag with a harp on it" blinded him from wholeheartedly supporting their cause. Ford sympathized with Davitt's dilemma and decided to break with Parnell. He dissolved his factions of the Land League in October of 1882.¹⁶⁹ Also in this month, the Land League was replaced by the National League of Ireland. Ford would refrain from participating in any large national organization from this point until the summer of 1886. This stage in Ford's career can be seen as a period of transition in which Ford turned from one strategy to another in an effort to realize the social objectives he always held.

Prior to the Phoenix Park murders, Ford's use of violent rhetoric in the columns of the Irish World effectively served to draw public attention to the social injustices facing the laborer and various racial and ethnic groups in America. The success of his strategy was described by Henry George in a letter to his wife:

I can't begin to send you the papers in which I am discussed, attacked, and commented on I am getting advertised to my heart's content and shall have crowds wherever I go.¹⁷⁰

After the murders, however, radicalism would be associated with violence rather than social reform by the public at large, and men like Ford and George were forced to abandon the tactics which had worked so well in the past. Unlike Devoy and Patrick Egan, who took the "attitude of politic regret coupled with justification" towards the murders, Ford despondently suggested that the crime may have been staged by "some desperate Irish landlords."¹⁷¹ On May 20, the Irish World expressed its deep

¹⁶⁹ O'Grady, Irish-Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 89.

¹⁷⁰ George Jr., The Life of Henry George, p. 427.

¹⁷¹ Tom Corle, The Phoenix Park Murders, p. 209.

resentment against the assassins who had done so much to discredit Ireland's struggle against landlordism:

Public opinion, that great arbiter of human affairs in modern times, has been steadily ranging itself on the side of the Irish people, when suddenly the world is horrified by the ... murder that in its ghastly details is unparalleled in modern times.¹⁷²

Ford's more moderate approach to social reform after May 6 found favor among those who demanded social reform accompanied by the eradication of the "natural ascendancy myth" while it tended to alienate those who emphasized purely economic solutions to societal ills. In effect, Ford received support from several Irish-American social reformers and received criticism from social philosophers such as Henry George, who viewed exploitation in strictly economic terms. In a speech made in Manchester on May 21, Davitt stated that although he would not support Kilmainham in any way, he had abandoned his old strategy which rested upon "the efficacy of physical force and dynamite to bring reforms" On May 30, in response to Davitt's speech, George wrote Ford that Davitt "believes just as we do, but he is very much afraid of breaking up the movement and is sensitive to the taunt that he has been 'captured by Henry George and the Irish World.'" Only a few days after this letter, George wrote Ford again to express his disappointment upon discovering that Ford was going to support Davitt's new approach:

I have seen Davitt I told him I thought you had been extremely moderate; that I was sick of this undemocratic talk of 'leaders'; ... that instead of making a break, you were doing your utmost to prevent it

¹⁷² O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 91.

But whatever happens now, Davitt will be to those moderates - ... a bull in a china shop¹⁷³

George encouraged both of his colleagues to continue with their particular method of agitation: "Whatever temporary conditions may be," George advised them, "don't loose heart for a moment, however much you may be tempted. Those who oppose us most bitterly will help our cause the most."¹⁷⁴

Indeed, public outrage towards the Phoenix Park murderers soon subsided and Ford and Davitt were able to resume their incendiary attacks upon oppression - at least for the time being. Ford's 1883 editorials on the murders were very different from those found in the World immediately after the incident took place. On October 27, the paper described "the men who struck down Burke and Cavendish" not as "ruffians" but as "soldiers of Ireland fighting Ireland's battle."¹⁷⁵ Parnell's constitutional agitation appeared to be making little or no progress and impatient Irish-American nationalists once again called for violent action. In the spring of 1883, Rossa launched a dynamite campaign which was tied to attempts to blow up public buildings in London.¹⁷⁶ Although Ford defended dynamite as a "blessed agent" and dedicated a space for the new "Emergency Fund," which was supposedly designed to finance the efforts of Rossa and others, there is no proof to indicate that Ford was directly involved, financially or

¹⁷³ George Jr., The Life of Henry George, pp. 378, 380, 379.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 378.

¹⁷⁵ This editorial came out in defense of Patrick O'Donnell, who murdered James Carey, one of the "Park Murderers" who turned informer. Ford regarded Carey as having committed "an act of treachery to his own people." See Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 360.

¹⁷⁶ The Tower, Westminster Hall, the House of Commons, London Bridge and various train stations were targeted. Also, the discovery of a nitro-glycerine factory in Birmingham was connected with this campaign. Jules, The Parnell Tragedy, p. 205. Also see R.F. Foster's, Charles Stewart Parnell: The Man and His Family (New Jersey, 1976), pp. 12 & 13.

otherwise, with the bombing activities that took place. Ford's rather cool position with regard to Sullivan and the Clan after attempts were made to blow up the Local Government Board in London in March of 1883, further suggests that Ford was not prepared to be personally involved with such extremists.¹⁷⁷

It soon became obvious that dynamite campaigns would no longer advance the Irish cause. Rather than evoking a sense of crisis to bring about the immediate abolition of landlordism and capitalist exploitation, dynamite propagation was met with repressive legislation and severe public disapproval. British leaders, relieved by the dissolution of the powerful Land League, responded by rushing through the Commons an Explosives Bill "of the most drastic character" which met with no opposition from the Irish Party.¹⁷⁸ The dynamite campaign officially ended in December of 1884 after W.M. Lomasney and two other accomplices killed themselves while attempting to blow up London Bridge.¹⁷⁹ Propagators of dynamite were further discredited when a brawl broke out between two men in Rossa's office over an accusation that one of the men had leaked information about certain dynamite activity. The brawl ended when a woman walked into the office and shot one of the men, who escaped with minor wounds.¹⁸⁰

Americans "were tired of being accused of harbouring dynamiters." Prior to the election of 1884, many New England politicians seemed reluctant to form an alliance with the British against the dynamiters. One such politician was James G. Blaine. In

¹⁷⁷ O'Grady also points out that "Ford did not organize any of these acts, he merely propagandized them." See Jules, The Parnell Tragedy, p. 205., and O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, pp. 181, 197 & 200.

¹⁷⁸ Foster, Charles Stewart Parnell, pp. 12 & 13.

¹⁷⁹ Corfe, The Phoenix Park Murders, p. 257.

¹⁸⁰ Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, pp. 368 & 369.

an effort to hold the Irish vote in New York, Blaine refused to take a position with regard to the dynamite attempts in London. The success of Blaine's strategy, among Irish extremists at least, was evident in the notices posted outside the Joe Brady Club which advised their members that "all dynamiters who favor the election of James G. Blaine for President of the United States will meet here on next Tuesday night."¹⁸¹ Unfortunately for the extremists, Blaine lost the 1884 election and the new President, Grover Cleveland, was not as accommodating towards the New York Irish. Cleveland's proposal for a new extradition treaty with Britain illustrated America's intolerance for such activity, while dwindling contributions to the Clan reflected the more conservative attitude of the Irish-American toward the question of Ireland. Irish-Americans had turned their attention to Parnell in December of 1885 when - after Parnell's two years in seclusion - his Parliamentary Party had won eighty-six seats and Gladstone declared his commitment to the Home Rule Bill.¹⁸² Once again, Patrick Ford was forced to adjust his tactics to suit the new atmosphere which confronted him.

After 1885, Ford continued to propagate violence, but only as a last resort. His "conditional threats" were accepted by those Irish-Americans who had become critical of Irish extremists, and at the same time they allowed Ford to hold the attention of British and American officials. On March 7 1885, the World criticized Gladstone for his suspension of Mr. O'Brien from the House and warned him his act had "supplied

¹⁸¹ It is interesting that in a private letter to Foreign Minister West, Blaine wrote the following lines in reference to Patrick Ford: "It was a disgrace to permit the United States to be made the refuge for the scum of Europe. [There had been too much] demagoguery on the part of the Government in dealing with the Irish element in New York" It should also be pointed out, however, that it has been suggested that Blaine had written this to West in hope of gaining information from him. See O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, pp. 54, 58, & 183-184.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 202.

every Irish nationalist with an unanswerable argument against the plan of trying to persuade John Bull by words into doing justice to Ireland."¹⁸³ Statements such as these began to appear more regularly in the Irish World and were indicative of Ford's new approach. Not surprisingly, Ford also changed the "name and nature" of the Emergency Fund in this year.¹⁸⁴

In this atmosphere, it is not surprising that Ford's propagation of dynamite and violence declined in 1885. Rather than demanding a full-scale revolution involving force to abolish landlordism in Ireland and capitalist evils in America, Ford now looked to fair negotiation and other means to deal with the conditions of the Irishman and the laborer. Again, this change in strategy should not be misconstrued as evidence that Ford had abandoned his social objectives.

As mentioned previously, the repercussions of the Phoenix Park murders faded quickly and within a year radical social thinkers resumed their old tactics in their struggle against various forms of oppression - with the exception of propagating dynamite. Indeed, it seemed as though the social revolution had already commenced and that the social reformers were on the threshold of success in 1886 with Henry George's mayoralty campaign in New York. Unfortunately for Ford and his followers, 1886 was also the year of the Haymarket Riots.

The Riots of May, 1886 are seen by many historians as the catalyst which finally prompted radicals who were not deterred by the Phoenix Park Murders to pursue more moderate reforms. In Ford's case, this was a turning point signalling the need to adopt

¹⁸³ Irish World, March 7, 1885, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 202.

more moderate tactics - not more moderate objectives. It was immediately after the Haymarket Riots that Ford finally returned to "mainstream Irish politics" after four years of abstaining from them. In the summer of this year, Ford met with O'Brien, Davitt, Egan and Sullivan to discuss a new strategy for Irish-American reform. According to Joseph O'Grady's account of the meeting, Sullivan argued for renewed terrorism until O'Brien and Davitt finally convinced him that violent acts would only hurt the Irish cause. The leaders agreed that in the upcoming convention they would "issue a moderate platform and promise complete faith in Parnell's leadership."¹⁸⁵

On May 4, 1886, a group of workers gathered in the Haymarket, Chicago's West Side, for a protest rally organized by radical labor leaders. While policemen were attempting to disperse the workers, a dynamite bomb was thrown at the authorities and, although only one policeman was killed by the bomb, the action sparked a riot which resulted in the death or injury of over 100 people. The Haymarket bomb "was responsible for the first major 'red-scare' in American history, and produced a campaign of 'red-baiting' which has rarely been equalled." It also led to "the immediate condemnation of Socialism, Communism and Anarchism." Anarchism became a term used to attack anything as "disreputative or mad" while "'anarchist' became an epithet of defamation synonymous with 'vermin', 'rattlesnake', and 'cutthroat.'" The word had taken on such monstrous connotations within a few years that the Supreme Court of Illinois "held that in accusing someone as an anarchist, the Chicago News 'laid itself

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

open to damages for libel.'" The Court proclaimed that it would "protect a man from being charged with fellowship in this unpleasant school of philosophy."¹⁸⁶

The Haymarket affair created a string of national legislation directed against anarchism. Several bills which provided for the deportation of anarchists and for the prevention of their entrance into the United States were introduced. An anarchist was defined by Representative Stone as anyone "belonging to an organization 'which provides ... for the taking of human life unlawfully or for the unlawful destruction of buildings or other property where the taking of human life would be the probable result.'" The infamous Merritt Conspiracy Law of 1887 was also passed by the Illinois State Legislature. This law stated that anyone caught communicating in any way on any matter which promoted disturbance of public peace

'shall be deemed as having conspired with the person or persons who actually commit the crime ... and shall be punished accordingly, and it shall not be necessary for the prosecution to show that the speaking was heard or the written or printed matter was read or communicated to the person or persons actually committing the crime, if such speaking, writing, etc., is shown to have been done in a public manner.'¹⁸⁷

This bill, in effect, proposed the possibility of the death penalty for a suspected conspirator. The Cole Anti-Boycott Law of June 1887 was equally as drastic. This bill, passed by the Illinois Legislature, made boycotting a crime punishable by five years in prison or a two thousand dollar fine, or both.¹⁸⁸

The severity of such legislation was legitimized by the assassination of French President Carnot by an Italian anarchist, the assassination of McKinley by the anarchist

¹⁸⁶ Henry David, The History of the Haymarket Affair (New York, 1963), p. 436.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 444.

Czolgosz, and later by the assassination of King Humbert I of Italy by the anarchist Bresci in 1900. America's preoccupation with anarchism became evident when Senator Hoar suggested that the U.S. government purchase an "uninhabited island" to hold banished anarchists and when Senator Hawley offered "\$1000 for a good shot at an anarchist." Certain Chicagoans went so far as to pledge financing for the building of an armory in their city. America, David writes, was no longer the "haven for the politically oppressed everywhere."¹⁸⁹

Ford was fully aware that bills attempting to define "anarchists" were made with Irish nationalists in mind and realized that cities such as New York, would experience an especially harsh crackdown on radical reformers. Johann Most, one of the leaders of "the revolutionary movement" in New York, was arrested on questionable grounds only a few days after the Riots. Later, in 1902, a law was passed by the New York State Legislature which provided for severe punishment of any advocacy of "anarchistic principles and the publication and distribution of anarchistic literature." On March 3 1903, the first federal legislation against anarchists was passed in the form of an immigration act which prohibited "alien anarchists from entering the United States and prohibited their naturalization." Irish nationalists could now be labelled "anarchists" and denied political asylum in the United States. The provisions of this act were reinforced in 1906 and 1907.¹⁹⁰

The "red-scare" had a direct impact on the tactics used by Ford and other social reformers. Reformers like Ford had no choice but to change their insurgent approach

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 437 & 444.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

to a much more moderate one. Propagation of any type of force or violence among these men disappeared almost immediately after the Haymarket Riots. Labor leaders were especially alarmed at the resentment which had developed towards their cause. Terence Powderly "was convinced that the Haymarket bomb 'did more injury to the good name of labor than all the strikes of that year,'" while Samuel Gompers blamed the Riots for defeating the eight-hour movement. After the Riots, American labor "turned to politics to save itself," resulting in the establishment of the United Labor Party in August of 1886.¹⁹¹

The Chicago incident, coupled with the growing number of strikes throughout the country and the controversial extradition issue, placed Irish-American nationalists in a precarious situation. British press reports grabbed at the opportunity to implicate Irish-Americans in the Haymarket insurgece, although no evidence existed to suggest that any Irishmen took part. Ford responded by repeatedly declaring the innocence of the Irish in the whole affair and argued that the reports' primary objective was to "arouse prejudice" against the Irish-American.¹⁹² Despite the argument put forth in the Irishman's defence, fear and hostility towards the Irishman in America continued to grow and was clearly reflected in July of 1886 when the Extradition Treaty, which categorized dynamite acts that endangered life as "terrorist crimes against humanity" rather than political crimes, was finalized by a president proclamation.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ David also points out here that Powderly believed that even if the Haymarket affair had not occurred, the eight-hour strikes would have still failed because "conditions were not ripe." *Ibid.*, p.445.

¹⁹² Rodechko, *Patrick Ford*, pp. 93 & 94.

¹⁹³ O'Grady, *Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations*, pp. 206, 224.

This heightened nativist climate would last for many years to come. The 1888 election campaign in Boston featured a Baptist minister whose calling was to "rid the planet of Popery" and a retired nun who "exposed popish plots and sex orgies between priests and nuns," both of whom helped to defeat Boston's first Irish-Catholic mayor.¹⁹⁴

Ford's political position after 1886 reflected his continued commitment to intelligent voting. In the 1890's, it was a standard practice to head the editorial page of the World with the words of Archbishop Ireland: "The future of the Irish Race in this country will depend largely upon their capability of assuming an independent attitude in American politics." When a reader of the paper asked Ford what exactly Mr. Ireland meant by these words, the following answer was published in the October 7, 1893 edition of the World:

By an 'independent attitude,' Archbishop Ireland does not mean race isolation ... we should all consider questions affecting our common country as Americans, regardless of race extraction ... there ought not to be a consolidated Irish party or a German party or an English party The Archbishop does not care nor does the Irish World care, what party does any good work, if the good work is only done Nothing can be done to effect the reform desired - at least so far as the agency of Irish-Americans is to count; until they free themselves from the servitude of party and 'assume an independent attitude in American politics.'¹⁹⁵

Ford's flattering editorials of James G. Blaine in 1884 were no surprise. Florence Gibson tells us that "from the moment the Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, Patrick Ford was emphatically supporting Blaine." According to the editor, Cleveland proved himself to be an enemy of labor who would never come out in favor of the eight-

¹⁹⁴ Ryan, Beyond the Ballot Box, p. 61.

¹⁹⁵ World, October 7, 1893 p. 4.

hour work day because of his loyalty to the "conservative southern vote." Ford concluded that the Democrats' nomination of this candidate in spite of Irish-Americans' "clearly expressed antagonism" towards Cleveland was further evidence that the Democrats had learned to take for granted the votes of certain groups within American society - namely, the ethnic and immigrant population.¹⁹⁶ Blaine, on the other hand, the son of an Irish Catholic woman and brother to a mother-superior of a Catholic convent, was a public supporter of the Irish cause and an advocate of protectionist policies. In his acceptance speech for nomination in 1884, Blaine emphasized equality of opportunity and the safeguarding of "personal and civil rights" for "the American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored."¹⁹⁷ Blaine and many Irish nationalists would be disappointed in 1884, when Grover Cleveland won the election.

With the exception of 1886, when he supported Henry George's mayoralty campaign and the United Labor Party, Ford consistently supported Republican candidates. There were many factors behind his renewed enthusiasm for the Republicans. In an 1888 article published in the North American Review, Ford, while referring to the Democrats' accusations of Republican Know-Nothingism, explained why he could not bring himself to support the Democratic Party:

The truth is that ... both, Democrats and Republicans, [have been] tainted more or less with Know-Nothingism, and Democrats more so Any political force in this country which is organized or held intact, on a racial or religious basis is un-American I do not want to ponder vulgar prejudice. I have no respect for that loud and offensive Americanism

¹⁹⁶ Several Irish nationalists began to see the Democratic Party as "both a symbol and a cause of Irish inferiority" during the campaign of 1888. See Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 35., and Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 385.

¹⁹⁷ Gibson, Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 383., and Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage (New York, 1962), p. 170.

which, whilst it assumes to be the exclusive guardian of all national interest, is itself too often the offspring of race and religious bigotry
...¹⁹⁸

Ford also reminded his readers of the tragic consequences of their unflagging support for the Democratic Party:

Now, the Irish-Americans were not just to themselves so long as they were a solid vote The most intensely American element in the population, they suffered themselves to appear in a semi-alien character; loving liberty, they were made to assume an attack on the friends of human freedom; the victims of British tyranny and avarice, Irishmen in America became the strong, steadfast supporters of British Free Trade.¹⁹⁹

Ford's unrelenting attacks upon the Democrats paid off in the 1888 election, when many Irish-Americans, who had previously voted Democrat, joined Ford in his support for the Republicans. The Republicans advocated a high tariff policy that would prevent British goods from flooding the US market. During the 1888 campaign, Ford and other Irish-American leaders claimed that the policies of President Cleveland, who had been renominated by the Democrats in 1888, would only serve to better the position of the Englishman "at the expense of American labor."²⁰⁰ They were convinced that most ills "suffered by Ireland today can be traced directly to the free-trade system which England has fastened on that cruelly-misgoverned country."²⁰¹ Although Cleveland claimed that he did not want to do away with the tariff entirely and only favored a reduction in duties,

¹⁹⁸ Patrick Ford, "The Irish Vote in the Pending Presidential Election", North American Review (New York, 1888), pp. 186-188.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 187

²⁰⁰ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 142. The October 4, 1890 special edition of the Irish World dedicated 8 pages to the harmful effects of free trade.

²⁰¹ After Cleveland was defeated on November 6, the paper happily explained that "Everybody knew it was to be protection for American homes on the one side and British interests on the other." World, Feb. 11, 1888, p. 4; Jan. 5, 1889, p. 1.

he claimed that the protective tariff was "a violation of the fundamental principles of a free government."²⁰² In addition to the free-trade platform of the Democrats, Cleveland's service as President from 1884 to 1888 had already earned him a pro-British reputation with the Irish, who believed his signing of the Bayard-Chamberlain Fisheries Treaty to be "pro-Canadian." The Irish also understood his endorsement of the Phelps Extradition Treaty, which discouraged Irishmen who participated in dynamite campaigns overseas from seeking refuge in America, as a direct affront to Irish-Americans.²⁰³ The suspicions of the Irish were confirmed when a letter from the British minister "which implied that British interests were safe with Cleveland in office" was leaked to the public. Consequently, Republican candidate Harrison gained the vote of many Irish-Americans and received the financial backing of Republican National Chairman and politics boss in Pennsylvania, Matthew Quay.²⁰⁴ In the campaign of 1888, Ford was particularly supportive of James G. Blaine who decided not to run against Harrison for presidential nomination and who chose to pursue the Secretary of State position. This decision was received with great disappointment by the editor of the World who wrote under the headline "Universal Regret" on February 18, 1888 that Blaine was "the One Man Above All Others to Lead and Inspire the Forces of Protection."²⁰⁵

²⁰² Muzzey, David Saville. James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days (Port Washington, 1934), p. 361.

²⁰³ Funchion, Chicago's Irish, p. 53.

²⁰⁴ Cleveland was forced to expel Sir Lionel Sackville-West over the "letter incident." Ibid., p. 53.

²⁰⁵ In November, after Blaine severely criticized Cleveland's message to Congress asking for a revision of the tariff, during an interview in Paris, Ford wrote to Blaine congratulating him on "the great victory" which was, according to Ford, "'above all men's your victory. You struck the keynote of the campaign in your Paris interview'" Muzzy, James G. Blaine, p. 388.

Ford and other Irish-Americans were rewarded for their efforts on behalf of the Republicans. Despite losing the popular vote by 90,000, Benjamin Harrison took office in 1889 after taking New York by a narrow margin. Naturally, Harrison felt indebted to the New York Irish. Quay sponsored the World for its efforts on behalf of the Republicans.²⁰⁶ The new President appointed the former Land League treasurer, Patrick Egan, as Minister to Chile and reserved many minor positions within the government for Irish-Americans. On May 22, Blaine arranged a meeting between Harrison and Ford, "who carried a list of names to the President."²⁰⁷ Ford was delighted with the new state of affairs and wrote that he was "anxious about the effect on John Bull's nervous system."

With the Republican's election to office in 1888, Ford believed that one of the largest obstacles preventing the Irishman from assuming a citizen status equal with that of other Americans had been overcome. No longer would the Irish fail to take advantage of their right to vote by rallying behind a Democratic platform that only served to satisfy their "rebel temperament."²⁰⁸ The Republican victory in New York also refuted nativist charges that Catholics and other immigrant groups were incapable of voting responsibly in a democratic republic. The World would continue its strong support for the Republicans and the Protective Tariff into the twentieth century.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Ford was considered responsible by many for the Republican victory in 1888 as the Irish World and the New York Freeman's Journal, which had recently been bought by the Ford family, came out in strong support of the Party. See Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 139.

²⁰⁷ O'Grady, Irish Americans and Anglo-American Relations, p. 68.

²⁰⁸ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 35.

²⁰⁹ Irish World, January 25, 1890, p. 4.

Ford's approach to the Irish question altered substantially after 1886. All hope for land nationalization in Ireland had disappeared with the Land League, and Irish-American nationalists turned their attention to Parnell, leader of the newly formed National League, and William Gladstone. After a series of scandals involving nationalist leaders, radical endeavors to obtain Ireland's independence became increasingly unpopular among the Irish-American community. On May 4, 1889, Dr. Phillips Cronin was murdered by members of the Clan na Gael after he threatened to publicly disclose information that would implicate Sullivan in the misappropriation of funds.²¹⁰ Nationalist leaders were further criticized after Charles Parnell's affair with Catherine O'Shea, a married woman, was exposed in December of 1889. Although Ford refrained from participating in any large nationalist organization after the fall of the Land League, the World referred to the National League as "the chief agency for law and order in Ireland" and often covered the activities of Parnell and his colleagues.²¹¹ The paper looked to Home Rule as a solution to Ireland's problems and assured its readers that "Gladstone Means the Genuine Thing." After a plan to assassinate Gladstone was revealed in the spring of 1893, the World, comparing the Minister with Pope Leo XIII, observed that "the thought of assassination in connection with ... [each] of them caused a shudder among the millions who admire and reverence both."²¹² The World often quoted the words of Gladstone who advised his audiences that "no remedial measures short of the recognition of the nationality of the Irish people by the establishment of a

²¹⁰ Dr. Cronin started up a rival organization after being expelled by the Clan in 1885. See Function, Chicago's Irish Nationalists, p. 114.

²¹¹ World, January 7, 1888, p. 6.

²¹² Ibid., May 6, 1893, p. 5.

Parliament and Executive in Dublin can possibly solve the Irish question."²¹³ When the Irish National Federation emerged, a rival organization of the National League, former Land Leaguers - fearing yet another split within the Irish community - threw their support behind Parnell.²¹⁴ Unfortunately for the leader, negative publicity concerning his affair with Kitty O'Shea, coupled with the League's factional infighting and Parnell's deteriorating relationship with Gladstone, foreshadowed the dissolution of the nationalist organization on October 1 of 1891 - only a few days before Parnell's death. Not surprisingly, after the fall of the League, Ford continued to distance himself from organizations such as the Clan na Gael and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and dedicated his columns to the advice and activities of Gladstone and the Sons of St. Patrick whose spokesman reminded their members that "our activities should always be with the best citizens for good and honest government [and], with temperance movements."²¹⁵

Ford's position toward the Church had also changed significantly from the days of the Land League. Nativist resentment directed towards Catholics heightened with the Supreme Court of Wisconsin's decision to prohibit the teaching of the Protestant Bible to Irish Catholic pupils who chose not to learn it. This decision prompted responses resembling those made by the Methodist Bishop Vincent who warned that "the great question as to whether Americans or Roman Catholics shall control this country has

²¹³ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1890, p. 4.

²¹⁴ Extreme nationalists such as Devoy, Finerty, and O'Rossa, also rallied to Parnell. See Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism*, p. 176.

²¹⁵ Rodechko, *Patrick Ford*, pp. 262, 273.

reached a point where an open fight is inevitable They [Catholics] are building up a power in this country which threatens to prove disastrous to the United States."²¹⁶

Ford jumped to the defense of the Church. He went to considerable lengths to show that the Catholic Church was indeed an American institution and that charges that claimed otherwise infringed upon the rights of Catholics and therefore, were not in accordance with "the spirit of true democracy."²¹⁷ Another factor that lent to Ford's more favorable opinion of the Church after 1886 was simply that the Catholic Church had finally begun to seriously address societal ills. To attract the support of the workingman, Cardinal Gibbons convinced the Church to retract its condemnation of the Knights of Labor in the 1880's. Organizations such as the American Protective Association, which had begun to identify Catholicism with radicalism and union activity, forced the Catholic Church to pursue her new policy very cautiously. Nevertheless, the Church had begun a new course and Ford could finally boast that the Church was concerned with "the welfare of the masses of mankind without regard to distinctions of race or religion."²¹⁸ By looking out for the interests of the laborer while instilling in the laboring man "a feeling of duty and responsibility ... [which] makes him moral, sober, and honest," Ford maintained that the Church played a vital role in the well-being of American society.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ World, April 12, 1890, p. 4.

²¹⁷ World, March 15, 1890, p. 4.

²¹⁸ McShane, Sufficiently Radical, p. 3. Also see World, April 5, 1890, p. 4.

²¹⁹ Ibid. April 12, 1890, p. 4.

Ford's strategy with regard to labor had also undergone a transformation. By the late 1880's, Ford expressed his preference for arbitration over the strike and argued that the latter was harmful to the society and the worker. While supporting the Reading Railway Company strike in 1888, Ford warned strikers against the use of violence. After this, the World seldom came out in full support of any strikes and went so far as to suggest that long strikes actually benefitted the employer as the "acquisition of more stock was made easier."²²⁰ In January of 1888, in an article entitled "Who are the Plotter's," the World suggested that Pinkerton agents were behind the circulation of pamphlets distributed among strikers of the Reading Railway company which urged the workers to use "the torch, the bomb, and the bullet" to obtain their demands: "No more effective device for the ignominious and disastrous defeat of the men on strike could have been conceived by the Pinkerton detectives." The World claimed that these pamphlets were circulated "for the purpose of influencing public opinion against the striking workmen and with a view to justifying any tactics which the company may see fit to employ to crush them into submission."²²¹ This plan, would be foiled, according to the World, because the employees would "demonstrate by their consistent conduct that the struggle in which they are engaged is one which appeals to the approval of public opinion." When miners in Pennsylvania contemplated striking in 1889, the Irish World advised that they should "weigh well the chances of success before they resort to this

²²⁰ Ibid, Jan. 7, 1888, p. 7; Jan. 4, 1890, p. 4; and March 15, 1890, p. 4. Also see Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 8.

²²¹ World, January 7, 1888, p. 7.

method of protecting themselves" but noted that "if miners decide to go on strike they will have justice on their side."²²²

Ford abandoned land schemes as plausible solutions to the plight of the laborer. While admitting that Ford supported Powderly and his calls for land reform in many 1888 and 1889 editions of the Irish World, Rodechko notes that after 1889, the paper "completely reversed its former stand on the land labor issue." The World argued that Henry George's assumption, attributing higher wages in America to the country's abundance of land, was totally unfounded and pointed to the economic situation of Brazil, a country with more land than the United States, to discredit his claim. Land schemes, according to Ford, had become "untried theories of social reconstruction" whose advocates were "extremists" and "doctrinaires."²²³

As an alternative to such schemes, Ford turned to legislation to help the less fortunate. Rodechko is quick to point out that

while nationalization of land and railroads had once been considered important for the laborer, legislative enactments now better served his interests. The Interstate Commerce Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and the protective tariff, were all considered beneficial to labor.²²⁴

The 1890's also revealed Ford's modified views towards the harmful effects of monopolies.²²⁵ Monopolies began to be explained as a threat to the public at large, as

²²² Ibid., Jan. 5, 1889, p. 4.

²²³ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 103.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

²²⁵ In January of 1889, the World expressed its dislike for strikes but noted that a strike could be justified in light of monopolistic "corporate greed and black mail." See World, January 5, 1889, p. 4.

well as to the laborer.²²⁶ In January of 1888, The World published an article entitled "Gigantic Highway Robberies" in which Ford criticized the massive debt to the government that Pacific Roads had accumulated as an example of "systematic fraud." The editorial went on to denounce Jay Gould for "plundering right and left, utterly regardless of law."²²⁷ Jay Gould was also the victim of World defamation in the following year when he was charged with buying up competing railways for the purpose of creating a monopoly. The World applauded the Attorney-General for teaching Jay Gould "a lesson he would never forget" and blamed him for "depriving the public of the benefits it would derive from their [the rail lines] competing with one another."²²⁸

Also on the question of labor, Rodechko argues that Ford, acknowledging the vulnerability of Irishmen under increasing nativist attacks, concluded "that any identification with radicalism ... was untenable for the Irish-American community" and that "noting the contrast between respectable America and disreputable radicalism Ford rejected Henry George and what the nativists regarded as dubious theories and associations."²²⁹ Although this statement is valid enough, it is a very narrow interpretation of Ford's actions and writings immediately following the Haymarket Riots and is, in effect, very misleading. Ford's break with George involved much more than a "disreputable image" and cannot be used to support the claim that Ford abandoned his social objectives during these years and adopted the culture of the Protestant, nativist,

²²⁶ Rodechko states that while Roosevelt was busy "trust busting," Ford was attacking corporate interests "because they were injurious to the public welfare, not because they were especially harmful to the laborer." Rodechko, Patriek Ford, p. 108.

²²⁷ World, January 7, 1888, p. 4.

²²⁸ Ibid., 1889, p. 4.

²²⁹ Rodechko, Patriek Ford, p. 94.

middle-class. In fact, it could be argued that Ford broke with George as a result of the latter's adoption of a Protestant, nativist, middle-class reformism. A close examination of this "break" will do much to confirm Ford's continued commitment to "Universal Brotherhood."

Just as Ford's involvement and break with the Land League brought to light the editor's abolitionist social ethic, Ford's ideological heritage was revealed in his relationship with Henry George. As stated earlier, their fundamental differences centered around Ford's pursuit of social reorganization accompanied by progress on the race question and George's pursuit of social reorganization solely within the context of the economy. Although George had never viewed racism as a root of oppression, this distinction was overlooked by Ford in the 1870's and early 1880's for reasons explained in a previous portion of this paper. Discord among the two reformers, however, was evident as early as 1884 during the national election.

In that year, Ford became noticeably upset by George's support of Cleveland and his calls for the implementation of "the principles of free trade to its full extent," which George believed would lead to the destruction of capitalism through the "abolition of all taxes and the appropriation of land values."²³⁰ Ford, supporting Blaine, argued that Blaine's "die-hard" protectionist policies would protect the interests of the American workingman from international competition and pauper labor. Preserving the dignity of the workingman, and helping him to dispel myths of natural ascendancy, not an economic overhaul of the system, Ford believed, was necessary to counteract the oppression of certain groups within American society. George called for the destruction of the

²³⁰ George Jr., The Life of Henry George, p. 447.

capitalist system - in which free trade would play the central role. Ford, on the other hand, never escaped the individualistic assumptions of Garrisonian thought and continued to believe traditional American republicanism could exist harmoniously alongside capitalism - provided that racism and the evils of the capitalist system, which rendered equality of suffrage obsolete, were counteracted. Ford concluded that, in America at least, a unified resistance through the ballot box against monopolies, political corruption, "soulless corporations," "railroad thieves," and prejudice, would preserve the interests of the oppressed.²³¹ Moreover, George's obsession with free trade also stood in opposition to Ford's vision of an international community where all races were considered equal. In Ford's eyes, free trade would only benefit England, enhance her growing empire, and encourage England in her ambition to manipulate the world economy.

George's strategy with regard to land nationalization led to a further separation between the two men. Ford, along with men such as Terence Powderly, continued to view land reform as a labor issue and believed that land should be made available to the less fortunate. However, unlike George, they did not advocate nationalization of land without compensation in America. Previously, Ford had agreed to land nationalization without reimbursement in Ireland "where land owners did not really own the land, but were sustained by English arms." In America, "where government and laws were

²³¹ Poll taxes were often used to keep the very poor from voting. In the South, this tax was used to exclude the Negro from the voting process while long residency terms for citizenship served to prevent many immigrant groups from voting for many years. Voting restrictions were also placed on the American Indian, whose tribal membership disenfranchised him in many states up until 1948. See the *Irish World*, March 7, 1885, pp. 6 & 8 for Ford's continued attacks upon the evils of capitalism. According to the editor, George's proposal to destroy the present economic system through free-trade and the "abolition of all taxes and the appropriation of land values," was not necessary, if not counterproductive.

formed by the people," the editor argued that pure nationalization would violate property rights. He defended this distinction by claiming that "wise conservatism was entirely consistent with wise radicalism."²³²

Despite the reformers' disagreements, the Irish World continued its support of George until 1887. Headlines such as "Henry George: The Apostle of Land Nationalization" and "What He Has To Say About Land Reform" were commonplace in the columns of the World. Ford, along with Terence Powderly and Samuel Gompers, was among George's strongest advocates in the 1886 campaign. George's platform, which was based upon "union-building across divisions of ethnicity, skill and craft," held particular appeal to the labor leaders.²³³

Tensions began to mount, however, when George was forced to clarify his strategy which was to "cast out involuntary poverty from civilization."²³⁴ Attacks upon protectionism and the Catholic Church played a central role in George's plan. The Irish World editor felt that he had no choice but to distance himself from George, whose drastic economic policies were contrary to the interests of the laborer and whose charges against the Church served to increase prejudice against Irish Catholics and foreigners in the midst of heightened nativist temperament.

George's crusade "split the Irish-American community wide open." The suspension of Father McGlynn, a loyal follower of George, by a superior for his verbal attacks upon the Church just prior to the 1886 election strengthened the identification of

²³² Irish World, October 29, 1887, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko's, Patriek Ford, p. 100.

²³³ Foner, Politics and Ideology, pp. 198-199.

²³⁴ Henry George Jr., The Life of Henry George, pp. 478-9.

Catholicism with socialism and threatened native-American support for George. In an effort to regain public support, George and his colleagues sought middle ground and alienated Catholic Americans. Brown explains that these men affirmed a

traditional Americanism, which distinguished them from Roman authoritarianism, on the one hand, and German socialism, on the other. In short, George and his followers in 1887 sounded suspiciously like Know Nothings.²³⁵

When Archbishop Corrigan prohibited burial in the Calvary Cemetery of any Catholic who attended an Anti-Poverty Society lecture by Dr. McGlynn, the animosity between the George camp and the Catholic Church intensified. In response to these developments, Ford published three long articles explaining that he still considered George and McGlynn personal friends, but that he could no longer support their public actions.²³⁶ Ford withdrew his support from the United Labor Party just prior to the 1887 campaign and George responded by claiming that Ford had abandoned land reform and had become "a defender of the sacred rights of landlordism."²³⁷ Shortly after George's defeat under the ULP banner, the Irish World felt it necessary to point out that "his [George's] crusade against the church and his unwelcome enforcement of free trade were disintegrating influences that were sure to ruin the United Labor Party."²³⁸

This analysis of George's and Ford's strategies with regard to the Catholic Church, free trade and labor, in light of each man's objectives, reveals that Ford's break

²³⁵ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, pp. 148-9.

²³⁶ Henry George Jr., The Life of Henry George, p. 500.

²³⁷ The Standard, November 5, 1887, p. 1., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 101.

²³⁸ World February 11, 1888, p. 4. George received only 72,281 votes compared to a total of nearly one million for his Republican and Democratic opponents. Anna George de Mille, Henry George: Citizen of the World (Chapel Hill, 1950), p. 161.

with George was almost assured. It was not simply due to George's "disreputable image" nor was it simply indicative of Ford's new pursuit of "middle-class respectability." It was the result of the two men's conflicting philosophies and could be seen as evidence of Ford's continued pursuit of social justice.²³⁹

After his break with George, Ford chose to ally himself with the likes of Powderly, Gompers, and John Mitchell. Powderly, like Ford, had expressed his opposition to free trade, disliked violent strikes, patched up his differences with the Catholic Church, and joined Ford in breaking from George in 1887.²⁴⁰ Ford also became close with John Mitchell, a United Mine Worker leader who opposed militant labor activity, and Samuel Gompers, who, like Mitchell and others, viewed union power with caution.²⁴¹

²³⁹ George's "disreputable image" during this time can also be questioned as Brown points out that George went to great pains to distance himself from the socialists, who had once stood behind him, in an effort to gain the sympathies of the average American.

²⁴⁰ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 103.

²⁴¹ Powderly and Ford had shared a close relationship since the 1870's. Agreeing on basic social, economic, and political principles, the two were frequently accused of being "utopians" or "visionaries." Mitchell dreamed of the trade union's identification with the state and urged laborers within it to remain obedient to civil authority. With the decline of the Knights in the 1890's, Mitchell became a leading force behind of the American Federation of Labor, whose membership rapidly grew to huge proportions. Ibid., pp. 21, 70, 112.

CHAPTER V

FORD AS HUMANITARIAN PROGRESSIVE

Rodechko concludes that, after 1886, Ford's support of the Republican and Progressive Parties, his undaunting loyalty to the Catholic Church, his call for parliamentary endeavors as a solution to Ireland's independence, and his emphasis on racial characteristics and national concepts, represented Ford's gradual transition from radicalism to progressivism and was evidence of the editor's conviction that "to be a great Irishman ... was to be a good middle-class American."²⁴²

Ford's apparently conservative actions and writings after 1886 do not necessarily imply that Ford abandoned the social ethic he had inherited from the abolitionists. In fact, if we consider Ford's expedient nature and his relentless search for tactics, strategies, and vehicles capable of bringing about his desired reforms, Ford's more moderate approach after Haymarket becomes a logical development in his pursuit of the destruction of a firmly entrenched institution within American society: that of nativism.

Rodechko's failure to acknowledge the significance of anti-slavery ideology upon the formation of Ford's development led him to the same set of conclusions shared among critics of William Lloyd Garrison, who held that behind humanitarian and idealistic rhetoric was an individual who merely sought to further his own interests. Rodechko interprets Ford's identification with the native, Protestant middle-class after 1886 as an end rather than a means to a more noble cause. Rather than placing Ford in that group of Irish-Americans who "treasured their whiteness" at the expense of other races - such as those who formed the pro-slavery repeal association in the 1840's - I

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

suggest that Ford be placed in that class of Irish-American reformers characteristic of Daniel O'Connell, who refused to fall victim to nativist sentiment and who had continued to strive towards humanitarian ideals.

Ford's moderate nature and his increasing identification with progressivism after 1886 are undisputable. However, a closer look at the similarities and differences between Ford and his Protestant counterparts reveals fundamental ideological conflicts among the reformers, which, in turn, can be viewed as evidence of Ford's continued social radicalism. An examination of Ford's thoughts and policies with regard to the Republican and Progressive parties, the labor issue, the Catholic Church, Home Rule, and race and ethnicity during the Progressive era, in light of Ford's abolitionist background and strategic considerations, unveils Ford's continued crusade against universal injustice.

The similarities between Ford and most Protestant reformers - the latter category including social gospellers and progressivists - rest in the fact that both parties pursued "the revitalization of the founding ideals of the nation" and combined their idealism with "concrete measures" capable of attaining their goals. Each looked to the government for positive action toward social change and encouraged the laborer to rely on respectable methods to deal with his problems.²⁴³ "Agitation in good order and discipline," the Irish World claimed in December 27, 1888, was necessary to maintain the "sympathy of public opinion and prevent a repetition of the costly conflicts of other years."²⁴⁴ Like the social gospellers and progressives of the 1880's, Ford was optimistic that social

²⁴³ McShane, Sufficiently Radical, p. 8.

²⁴⁴ Irish World, January 25, 1890, p. 4.

justice was attainable in America. Both parties believed that society was on the brink of acknowledging its responsibility for ensuring the well-being of its people. Under the headline "Household Conversations," the Irish World described a discussion between a father and daughter in which the elder claimed that the wealthy Americans differed from the "confirmed idlers" of Europe as they realized the crisis which society had reached and "unlike European aristocrats, [will] give all their efforts and freely use their means to advance the general welfare of our people." The paper claimed confidently that "the days of the land monopoly are numbered" and that "the great social revolution has ... already commenced."²⁴⁵

While many Protestant reformers believed society was on the verge of acknowledging its responsibility to the less fortunate, a "great social revolution" was not what they had in mind. Ford continued to assure his readers that the time was coming when all races would live side by side, free of oppression by another race or group:

At first we were practically alone in asserting that there was no warrant for the nonsensical talk about [the] ... Anglo-Saxon ... it is gratifying to know that our efforts at discrediting the 'Anglo-Saxon' myth have not been without results. It is much more discredited today than it was when the Irish World first showed on what a narrow basis it rested.²⁴⁶

In April of 1890, the paper spoke of "the futility of all race rivalries and race animosities" and published a speech which declared that "God has made of one blood all nations upon earth" and that "the blood of all nations is so mixed and so blended that no pure race now exists in civilized Europe, Asia, or America."²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Ibid., March 7, 1885, pp. 8 & 11.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., May 13, 1893, p. 4.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., April 5, 1890, p. 4.

Although increased nativist attacks compelled Ford and others to adopt less "means" to deal with societal ills, the fundamental objectives embraced by Ford and other Irish-American radicals continued to separate them from the progressivist reformers who were, for the most part, middle-class Protestants with nativist tendencies. In other words, Ford had very different ideas as to the end of these "respectable means."

Rodechko argues that Ford's loyalty to the Republicans and Progressives after 1886 reflected Ford's desire to be identified with respectable reform.²⁴⁸ Ford's support of the Republican party, he writes, "not only provided funds for the World, but also helped the editor to slough off a radical image."²⁴⁹ Like Rodechko, Brown argues that "when in 1886 and 1887 there developed a showdown between power, represented by the United Labor Party of New York, even the reformers like Patrick Ford and John Boyle O'Reilly chose power." Brown added that "power for its own sake and for its subsidiary benefits would give them satisfaction."²⁵⁰ To substantiate this argument, Rodechko explains Ford's turn towards the Progressives in 1912 as resting upon Theodore Roosevelt's "advanced program that cut at the heart of the socialist arguments, but yet did not endanger the existing social order."²⁵¹ As we will see, Ford was not as consumed by power as Rodechko and Brown would have us think, and a preservation of the existing social order was definitely not on Ford's list of priorities. There was much more to his support for the Republicans and the Progressives. Ford's political

²⁴⁸ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 91.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 122.

²⁵⁰ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 179.

²⁵¹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 120.

philosophy of independent voting, which entailed supporting whichever candidate would best preserve the interests of the electorate, demanded that Ford enlist under the banners of those candidates who were anti-free trade and sympathetic to the workingman, the Catholic, and members of other oppressed groups throughout the world. These criteria should not have been judged by Rodechko and Brown as subordinate factors in Ford's political actions.

Throughout his dissertation, Rodechko emphasizes the financial difficulties encountered by the Irish World, and, at first glance, it seems probable that Republican patronage played a leading role in the paper's affiliation with the Party. A closer look, however, indicates that monetary gain did not determine the editor's political preference. Rodechko points out that in the midst of financial trouble the World obtained Republican patronage in 1884 and cites John Devoy's claim that the World received a total of \$50,000 from the Party in that year and received funds later in 1888.²⁵² Inconsistent with Rodechko's argument, Ford had stated that the World bothered little to secure advertising revenue - even in times of financial difficulty - and often claimed that it was "not a Republican paper, in the partisan sense," but that its support for the Republicans over the years was based on "the principles upon which the party of Abraham Lincoln was founded."²⁵³ If financial reward had been a primary concern of Ford, one would assume he would have been concerned with his lack of advertising revenue.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Ibid., p. 47.

²⁵³ Indeed, Ford did not hesitate to remind Harrison and others to remain true to these principles, or to criticize the Party for bending to the pressures of Mugwumps whose instincts were "English and not American." World, Feb. 18, 1888, p. 4. See also Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 47.

²⁵⁴ Ford's refusal to sacrifice World policy in return for financial gain is illustrated by the fact that the editor "never accept liquor advertisements," despite their ability to generate revenue. Shannon, The American Irish, p. 135.

Moreover, he would not have supported George in his 1886 mayoralty campaign, nor would he have abandoned the Republicans in 1900 if monetary gain had held such significance.²⁵⁵

Another primary reason behind Ford's alliance with the Republicans after 1886, according to Rodechko, was his desire to be associated with a respectable organization which could help him "to slough off a radical image." It should be remembered, however, that Ford had always leaned towards the Republicans for countless other reasons - the most important being Ford's policy of independent voting, which often ruled out the Democrats and at times caused him to support third-party efforts.

Nor should we underestimate the divisiveness of the free-trade issue in the politics of Ford's day. Ford's inextinguishable fear that free trade may one day become a reality was reflected in the World's first-page headlines from the 1890's until the editor's death in 1913. The Trade Protection Issue, which came out in October of 1890, dedicated an entire eight pages to the "inevitable" tragic consequences of free trade. All possible arguments against free trade could be found in the World. In one particular issue, Ford warned that free trade was part of an intricate British plan to subjugate the countries of the world. In America, the British scheme involved the manipulation of the republic's political processes:

There has been in quiet motion in the United States for some time past a movement that is destined to be of great political significance This movement is a general determination upon the part of the English

²⁵⁵ The World broke with the Republicans in 1900 over McKinley's blatant imperialist tendencies and gave its support to the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan. It should be noted that the paper soon returned the Republicans Anti-Free Trade camp, and in 1908, reversed its position on Bryan, blaming him for "saddling upon us the Philippines." World, Feb. 17, 1900, p. 4; April 11, 1908, p. 4., as cited from Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 151-152.

residents within the United States to become American citizens, so that they can exercise the right of voting.²⁵⁶

That free trade played a deciding factor in Ford's support of the Republicans was also illustrated in September of 1888 when Ford asked his readers "to subdue party feeling and to put aside party prejudice" in voting "on an issue so sharply defined as this Tariff question is." The editor added that

God knows I am not actuated by any sense of party glorification. The question is not whether the Democrats as such or the Republicans as such shall win. So far as mere names go I care nothing. I view this entire question from the point of view of a citizen of the Republic.²⁵⁷

The controversy surrounding the free-trade issue was sufficient to divide colleagues on a personal level - as was the case with Ford and George. As mentioned previously, George was a free-trader who had denounced Tammany and the Democrats in his earlier days, but then joined the ranks of the Democrats in 1888 - an act which evoked "marked pleasure" in Patrick Ford. It was clear that the two men, who had been so close in the past, now clashed on the basis of their economic theories.²⁵⁸ Why must we see Ford's association with the Republicans and his disassociation with George as solely the outgrowth of a need to "slough off a radical image," when it was free trade that appeared to be the dividing factor?

Ford's enthusiastic backing of the Progressive Party in 1912 after Theodore Roosevelt broke away from Taft and the Republicans is not surprising and should not be seen strictly in terms of Ford's desire for respectability. Not only did the Party have a

²⁵⁶ World, October 4, 1890, p. 6.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., Sept. 8, 1888, p. 4.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., Feb. 11, 1888, p. 4., as cited from Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 143.

protectionist platform, but it was headed by a man who successfully portrayed himself as a friend to the oppressed. Rodechko explains that Roosevelt and his colleagues were alarmed by growing socialist sentiment and felt that the Progressive Party required a "mildly socialist" platform in order to survive the socialist tide. This may be so; however, when we consider that Roosevelt was understood by his contemporaries as a Republican bordering on radicalism, Rodechko's argument tends to loose force. Robert Ellis Thompson, for example, acknowledged Roosevelt's intention to effect much needed changes, but also warned that Roosevelt did not confront "the question whether the needed changes can be effected without upsetting the system under which they occur." Roosevelt "argues like the Socialists," he added, "from remediable evils to a work of destruction as though we had exhausted all the possible remedies" ²⁵⁹

Roosevelt's image as a protector of the laboring masses by virtue of his "vigorous" political and economic reformism was precisely the factor which appealed to Ford. Rodechko notes, in all accuracy, that Roosevelt's call for "the popular election of Senators, the direct nomination of party candidates, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, were all reminiscent of what the Irish World had supported in the late 1870's." ²⁶⁰ Roosevelt's ideas on economic reform were equally attractive to Ford. First and foremost, Roosevelt was a strong opponent of free trade, which he claimed was "one of the laissez-faire theories that has been abandoned by every serious student of

²⁵⁹ Rodechko tells us that Thompson's support of Taft and Ford's backing of Roosevelt constituted the only point of dissent among the editor's. Ibid., March 2, 1912, p. 5.

²⁶⁰ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 154.

economics ..."²⁶¹ If Roosevelt's political ideas echoed those held by Ford during the radicalism of the 1870's, it is difficult to see how Ford's support of the Progressive leader was symbolic of a change in his social objectives.

Roosevelt advocated government intervention to deal with the laboring man's problems (although it may not have always been on the laborer's behalf), called for action against monopolies, demanded a lower cost of living, took actions to ensure that corporations accepted responsibility for injuries in the work place, created an inheritance tax, and initiated legislation such as "the eight-hour law, minimum wage standards, protection for child labor, and social insurance to guard against illness, unemployment, and old age." This agenda gained Roosevelt the confidence of many laborers while it alarmed many conservatives.²⁶² Despite this rather radical program, Rodechko suggests that "Roosevelt was simply against huge accumulations of capital achieved through dishonest methods" and that Ford supported Roosevelt's party as it allowed him "to show a real interest in the Irish-American laborer's problems without abandoning respectability." Ford's enthusiasm for a program which would - in conjunction with spiritual, intellectual, educational, and cultural advancement - elevate the conditions of the laborer and disintegrate class lines without inciting prejudice against the working classes, is consistent with the social philosophy expressed by the editor during the radicalism of the 1870's and 1880's and should not be interpreted as a disguise for self-serving motives.

²⁶¹ It should be noted that up until the mid 1880's, Roosevelt encouraged proponents of free-trade, and that by the mid 1890's Roosevelt was pronouncing that "the previous indulgence in the doctrine of Free-Trade seems inevitably to produce fatty degeneration of moral fibre" See Albert Bushnell, Theodore Roosevelt Encyclopedia (Westport, 1989), p. 195.

²⁶² World, August 24, p. 4; October 26, 1912, p. 4 as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 119.

Roosevelt's liberal attitude towards Catholics also steered Ford in the Progressive Party's direction. At a time when nativist sentiment ran high, Ford became increasingly sensitive to candidates' posture with regard to Catholicism. Roosevelt went to great lengths to portray himself as partial to the Irish race. Before the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in New York, in 1905, Roosevelt told his audience that "the people who have come to this country from Ireland have contributed to the stock of our common citizenship qualities which are essential to the welfare of every great nation. They are a masterful race of rugged character"²⁶³

The World emphasized Roosevelt's friendly disposition towards peoples of other cultures and reminded its readers that he had called for the fair treatment of Filipinos, avoiding allegations which claimed that Roosevelt was an imperialist.²⁶⁴ Only in 1910, when Roosevelt visited Rome and made a diplomatic blunder which cost him a meeting with the Pope, did the World acknowledge that Roosevelt was a "pro-British sympathizer" and an "imperialist."²⁶⁵ This indiscretion, along with Roosevelt's "pro-British" and "imperialist tendencies," was overlooked, however, in the election of 1912, with Roosevelt's New Nationalism platform.

"In accepting the New Nationalism," Rodechko concludes, "Ford no longer proposed schemes to dissolve class lines."²⁶⁶ To augment his argument he points out that Ford's attacks upon socialism after 1886, were "very unlike the editor's attitude in

²⁶³ Bushnell, Theodore Roosevelt Encyclopedia, p. 271. Rodechko tells us that as early as 1904, Roosevelt had expressed a "predilection for Catholicism" which, some have charged, was responsible for the desertion of many Catholics and Catholic hierarchy from the Democratic party in this year. Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 179-180.

²⁶⁴ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 179-180; World, October 8, 1904, p. 12.

²⁶⁵ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 179-180; World, May 28, p. 4, June 11, 1910, p. 4.

²⁶⁶ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 119-121.

the late 1870's."²⁶⁷ But to suggest that Ford had ever been a socialist is wrong and is a misleading measure of his radicalism. Even in the radical atmosphere of the 1870's, Ford often expressed his concern over government restriction and regulation in America. In fact, he agreed to Henry George's land tax scheme in the early 1880's because it involved "minimum government intervention in the social and economic order."²⁶⁸ Rodechko admits that Ford was never "an advocator of class warfare" and that "his land program would have actually lessened the possibility of a confrontation between labor and capital." He added that "Ford's theories were designed to provide the laborer with a more substantial stake in America and ultimately to eliminate the notion of a distinctly laboring class."²⁶⁹ If Ford had any use for socialism, it lay with the mere threat of the doctrine's existence. When unemployed workers were deported from San Diego in 1912, the World condemned officials and claimed that the action only served to strengthen anarchist and socialist teachings.²⁷⁰ The growth of socialist organizations supported Ford's argument that more must be done for the laborer.

In September of 1894, Robert Ellis Thompson, Ford's most trusted editor, explained the World's position on socialism. He praised the early socialists for their "philanthropic instincts" and their encouragement among "all classes to adopt their methods of bringing about the universal brotherhood of mankind." The later socialists, Thompson regretted, "hold that the handy, sharp-edged weapon of hate is the surest

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁶⁸ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 119.

²⁶⁹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 88-89.

²⁷⁰ World, April 13, 1912, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 117.

means for the conquest of the world."²⁷¹ Father Bernard Vaughan also held serious reservations as to the means by which socialists intended to obtain a "Universal Brotherhood of Mankind." Vaughan, whose speeches were often published in the World, acknowledged socialism's struggle "against the evils of modern capitalism, of fierce individualism, of iniquitous competition, and of colossal wealth in the hands of a few," and noted that in these respects, the doctrine appeared to have much in common with Catholicism. He noted, however, that a socialist state would impinge upon the freedom of its members, who would be prohibited from choosing their occupations and prevented from holding sufficient power to achieve reforms or to correct injustices done to them by the state: "He could turn only to that ... privilege of the tool, knave, and ... the anonymous letter."²⁷²

With respect to the issue of labor, Rodechko tells us that after the decline of the Knights of Labor in the 1890's, Ford showed little support for organized labor and adopted a progressivist policy to the labor question. Although Rodechko acknowledges that Ford often gave favorable coverage to John Mitchell, a leading spokesmen spokesman of the American Federation of Labor, he points out that the World made little effort to ally itself with the Federation, and only did so on account of the organization's "non-radical policies" which were "considered more 'desirable than the Socialists.'" Rodechko argues that Ford now shared Henry George Jr.'s cautious view of labor and regarded many labor leaders as corrupted.²⁷³ "In point of fact," Rodechko observed,

²⁷¹ World, Sept. 22, 1894, p.5.

²⁷² Ibid., March 9, 1912, p. 5.

²⁷³ World, May 5, 1906, p. 10., as cited in Rodechko, Patriek Ford, pp. 112, 113, & 118.

"the Irish World was not really concerned with what unions could do for the laborer or with what might be considered direct and basic solutions to labor problems." To support his claim, Rodechko writes that by 1906, the "Labor Column" had "disappeared entirely."²⁷⁴

Contrary to Rodechko's hypothesis, which depicts Ford as maintaining a strictly progressivist approach to labor after 1886, the question of organized labor proved to be a major point of dissension between Ford and most Protestant reformers. Progressivists held an exaggerated fear of placing power in the hands of special interest groups and sought political reforms of government in hope of creating a system more responsive to the voters.²⁷⁵ In contrast to these reformers, Ford felt that the existence of special interest groups such as labor unions was necessary to counteract the political power of large corporations and wealthy individuals. Provided that these special interests were permitted to exercise their political rights, Ford believed, reform through the political system would inevitably follow.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ The significance of the labor column's evanescence and the paper's increasing focus on Irish ethnicity cannot be understated. However, it should also be mentioned here that the page entitled "News From All Parts of the United States," continued to cover subjects of interest to the laborer. World, May 5, 1906, p. 10., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 112.

²⁷⁵ McShane, Sufficiently Radical, pp. 10 & 11.

²⁷⁶ McShane writes that in many ways, "Ford's ideological development offers striking and illuminating parallels to [Reverend John A.] Ryan's development." Ford believed in a natural rights philosophy and on many occasions, wrote that "It is in accordance with natural right that those who have one common interest should unite together for its promotion" (World, October 4, 1890, p. 4). Like Ryan, Ford realized that the laborer, who had the right to work for a living wage and must work for wages, could not compete with large sources of capital and therefore, should turn to unions or the state to defend their rights: "The decision to use one and then the other of these agencies was to be made upon pragmatic considerations of expediency and optimal efficacy." McShane tells us that Ryan thought that unions were not powerful enough to bring about urgent changes within the social system and that this led the Reverend to "opt for reform legislation" and prompted him to advocate state intervention. Ryan's strategy was guided by "what was feasible and would represent a partial step toward justice." In August 1909, Ryan's article entitled "A Programme of Social Reform by Legislation" was published in the Catholic World. Ryan's support for the eight-hour work day, better working conditions for women and children, labor boards for the monitoring of unfair labor practices, employment agencies, social insurance, public housing, and public ownership of utilities reflected his adherence to a progressive program which looked to legislation in pursuit of a welfare state. Ryan believed, McShane writes, that

In January of 1889, the World explained its more moderate views toward labor organization while reminding its readers that labor organization was still necessary.

Again, traces of anti-slavery and free-labor ideology permeated Ford's radicalism:

After the closing of the War in 1865, for more than a decade there was a general condition of industrial prosperity The withdrawal from circulation of a great part of the paper currency of the country, and the final resumption of specie payments in 1879 proved such a burden upon the debtor and producing classes as to place the industrial interests of the country at a serious disadvantage for a time, and universal reductions of wages resulted in consequence ... workers ... began to reorganize their common interests and to appreciate the necessity of a cosmopolitan movement, which should include within its folds the workers of all trades and callings, bound together by the pledge of mutual assistance and inspired the emergency in which the great organization of the Knights of Labor had its birth, and such was the fraternal and cosmopolitan spirit actuating its early founders and inspiring confidence amongst the thousands of wage-workers Successes [restoring of former wages etc.] aroused a degree of enthusiasm amongst the workmen which proved a serious element to mischief to the cause. Excitable and reckless agitators assumed leadership in many localities Thus arose the conflict between the radical and conservative elements in the Order which had resulted so injuriously to the organization ... a return of activity ... would indicate that the wave of restless dissatisfaction is subsiding and that the conservative and conciliatory element are again assuming control of the movement and it suggests the possibility of their being able to agree upon the question of hours and wages without a recurrence of the great labor troubles of past years²⁷⁷

Ford had adopted a more cautious approach to organized labor by the 1890's, but does this necessitate the inference that Ford was no longer concerned with the laborer's problems in a growing capitalist economy? On the contrary, it illustrates a thoughtful examination of the laborer's situation and the negative effects that a radical image would

"Catholic care for natural rights should lead logically and pragmatically in an industrial society to greater and greater dependence on the regulatory and welfare state" and that the Church was "an avenue to self-confident action in social matters through a program that was demonstrably Catholic and truly American." McShane, Sufficiently Radical, pp. 43-53.

²⁷⁷ World, January 5, 1889, p. 7.

have upon his struggle to improve his condition. Ford's concern for the "producing classes" and his careful evaluation of their successes, failures, and opportunities for advancement in a society undergoing change, and under a government of their own making, reflects the legacy of eighteenth-century radical republican thought. Rodechko himself acknowledges that by the twentieth century many workers were resorting to socialist and anarchist activities and that the two ideologies had become a "particularly awesome threat."²⁷⁸ A series of anarchist outbreaks throughout the country, coupled with the growing membership of the Socialist Party and the creation of the revolutionary Irish Socialist Federation, convinced the editor that middle-class methods would be most effective in helping the laborer achieve his goals.²⁷⁹ Organized labor had become less and less effective in its ability to sway public opinion in the new conservative atmosphere, and like John A. Ryan, who supported unions but believed them to be lacking in power, Ford realized that reform legislation initiated by the state was the only way to compete with large conglomerations of capital.²⁸⁰

Up until the 1890's the World's trust in the ability of organized labor to help better the condition of the workingman had not wavered. The World held that without "trade organizations and union discipline they [laborers] would be powerless to maintain their wages against such a tremendous flood of cheap and ignorant labor farmed out by the labor contractors." For this reason, the World declared that "we shall not stop to answer at length ... charges against organized labor, as they have been answered over

²⁷⁸ Rodechko, Patriek Ford, p. 115.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 113, 115.

²⁸⁰ McShane, Sufficiently Radical, pp. 43-53.

and over again."²⁸¹ In April 1889, the World supported the employees of the Fall River cotton mills in their call for increased wages and suggested that the "cold-blooded cruelty" of the mills had resulted in a "slave trade more cruel and demoralizing than its predecessors."²⁸² Not long after, Robert Ellis Thompson, whose editorials dominated the columns of the paper throughout the 1890's, wrote the following passage:

Let me not be understood to argue that the condition of labor in the United States is all that it ought to be. I know it is not. But I believe that the remedy for the evils and wrongs which exist here are in the workingman's own hands, and that it is to be found in a more general co-operation of workmen with each other for the promotion of their common interests. I believe in trade unions and in strikes The day may come when some methods of arbitration may remove the necessity for these Till it comes I can see only this rough-and-ready way of settling their mutual difficulties.²⁸³

Also in 1890, under the headline "Labor's Sacred Rights," the World claimed that "paramount among the rights of the laboring classes is their privilege to organize or form themselves into societies for their mutual protection and benefit. It is in accordance with natural right that those who have one common interest should unite together for its protection."²⁸⁴

While the Irish World hailed the new policy of Bismarck in which the emperor had "boldly [advocated] for the workingman the right of organization" and recognized "the necessity of its being legalized and protected by the State," progressivists shivered

²⁸¹ World, July 28, 1888, p. 4; September 8, 1888, p. 4.

²⁸² Ibid., April 13, 1889, p. 5.

²⁸³ Ibid., October 4, 1890, p. 4. (Protection issue).

²⁸⁴ Ibid., October 4, 1890, p. 7.

at the thought of a state endorsement of organized labor.²⁸⁵ Progressivist reformers believed it was "special interest groups" that had corroded the workings of government in America; therefore, they opposed any legislation that would produce such groups. Although both parties advocated legislative reform during this period, Ford believed that reform legislation was brought about by the "organization of a great disciplined army, moving with a uniform step, and concentrating [its] united force upon a definite and practical purpose." These disciplined armies, the paper added, should be "directed by conservative and practical leaders who understand agitation in its true character."²⁸⁶ In accordance with this, organizations such as the Knights of Labor, and later the American Federation of Labor, had continued to receive favorable coverage in the Irish World. The editor congratulated the unions on their successful efforts aimed at preventing capitalists from "piling up their millions."²⁸⁷

As late as 1894, the World acknowledged the importance of labor organizations and called for greater unity among them. In response to growing animosity among Protestant and Catholic laborers, the paper demanded solidarity under the labor banner:

Labor unions cannot hope to accomplish anything without union The organizations which have been formed to protect the welfare of the wage worker have found the task of fighting the wealth and influence arrayed against them hard enough without having to fight within their own ranks traitors like the members of the A.P.A. who are aiding labor's enemies by arousing prejudices which set the Protestant wage worker against his

²⁸⁵ The World also praised Bismarck's intention to make it the responsibility of the state to regulate and monitor working conditions of the laborer. Ford was also impressed by the emperor's call for an extension of government insurance, but, the paper pointed out, the independent nature of Americans, which looked down upon charity and government assistance, would render such a system obsolete in the United States. Ibid., February 15, 1890, p. 4.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., April 15 and 19, 1890, p. 4.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., February 18, 1888, p. 4.

Catholic brother and which in the end will reduce both to the industrial slavery from which organized labor would emancipate them.²⁸⁸

The paper continued to back unions in their pursuit of the eight-hour day, better working conditions for women and children, and profit-sharing. It also encouraged the laborer to take advantage of shorter hours and to educate himself. The World reminded the laborer of his responsibility to God and that to heed such advice, was "to bring us the social peace we need."²⁸⁹

Not surprisingly, the role of organized labor and its power to help the laborer were understated in World editorials during the Cleveland Administration. Ford sought to illustrate the chaos that Cleveland's free-trade policy had caused among the ranks of labor. To those labor leaders who had supported the Democrats and then revelled in the Party's victory, the World asked why they were "now silent when the working people, whose cause they professed to champion, are in such dire and universal distress?" The paper claimed that "bitter and biting experience is demonstrating how utterly helpless is mere organization ... when the industries of the country have been prostrated by the impending threat of hostile and ruinous national organization."²⁹⁰ The editor explained his seemingly contradictory disposition towards organized labor in August of 1893 when he wrote an article condemning the policies of the Cleveland administration:

It is hardly necessary to state the position of the Irish World in regard to organized labor. We have advocated its cause from the first issue down

²⁸⁸ Ibid., Sept. 29, 1894, p. 4.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., Sept. 29, 1894, p. 5.

²⁹⁰ Ford's identification with Ryan becomes apparent in this passage as the former acknowledged the important work unions had performed in the past, but remained sceptical of the union's effectiveness in the modern capitalist society. Like Ryan, Ford began to place increasing faith in legislative agitation as a means to deal with the laborer's problems. Ibid., Aug. 5, 1893, p. 4.

to the present day. We ... appreciate the great advantages derived from wage-workers acting as a unit. But we also recognize and on more than one occasion have declared that a ... [problem] may arise when trade unions will be rendered powerless to carry on the purposes for which they were organized.²⁹¹

It was not organized labor from which Ford hoped to distance himself, but rather the volatile socialist leaders involved with the labor movement. In a March, 1912, article defending union members during the Lawrence Strike in Massachusetts, the World argued that while the strike was reflective of the fact that American laborers were experiencing the same problems as European laborers, it was good sign that the American laborer would not tolerate the conditions that their brothers in Europe endured:

So long as any body of workmen are held well down in the dirt, they are, seemingly at least, well contented with their position The Italians of Lawrence are far better off than in the cities from which they immigrated But they have achieved something, and they begin to work for more. Experience has shown them that misery is not an inevitable fate .. .

The paper warned, however, that the participation of socialist leaders in the strike would do much to injure the "social peace" which had been preserved by leaders such as Mitchell and Gompers.²⁹² A year later, Thompson commented that America, despite its impressive labor record, still had a long way to go before the laborer received the respect he deserved. Under the heading "We need a New Public Opinion in This Country," readers were reminded that

the workingman is a man, a person, and not a beast of burden, or a wheel in the machinery of great factory A horse or a machine may work, but only a man can labor. And labor is never to be regarded as merely

²⁹¹ Ibid., August 12, 1893, p. 4.

²⁹² Ibid., March 9, 1912, p. 5.

'hands,' but also as hearts and heads and wits So long as we leave the working people to suppose they are nobodies in our social estimate, we cannot expect them to be content with that estimate. It offends all that is best in them. As a people, we have come nearer to the right point of view than has any other, but there still is a great gap between our practice and our duty. The subject is so big I shall have to postpone much to my next paper.²⁹³

Rodechko observes that Ford, after the 1880's, had looked to religion as a means to "encourage Irishmen to avoid labor violence, to respect property rights, and to seek peaceful solutions to their problems." This may be quite true; however, Rodechko's suggestion that Ford's intimate alliance with the Church after the 1880's was indicative of his concern over "the preservation of the existing social order" and of his own "respectable image," is misleading. Ford's interests with regard to the Catholic Church can be explained by examining the fundamental ideological changes undergone by the institution since the 1880's, as well as Ford's treatment of temperance and his support of various Catholic "Social Activists."

Prior to 1884, the official policy of the Catholic Church on the condition of labor was one of seeming indifference. Growing socialist opinion among the working classes, however, prompted members of the clergy to address the laborer's problems as something other than the result of idleness, intemperance, or impiety. The Church's policy towards labor was significantly altered following the Third Plenary Council meeting in 1884 at which the "liberal elements within the Catholic hierarchy, led by James Cardinal Gibbons, John Ireland, and John Lancaster Spalding, echoed sentiments that were shared by the Irish World." Their speeches were such that they served to

²⁹³ Ibid., September 22, 1894, p. 5.

divide the hierarchy into "liberal" and "conservative" factions.²⁹⁴ The World offered increasing coverage to the activities of the Church and its "liberal" clergymen and was eventually listed as a Catholic journal by the American Newspaper Annual of 1898.²⁹⁵

Although Ford and his Protestant counterparts shared a belief in the benefits of temperance, social gospellers viewed temperance as a means to rid society of crime, poverty and disease, while Ford saw it primarily as a means to improve the image of the Irishman and the laboring classes, refute nativist attacks, and ultimately, to destroy the myth of natural ascendancy upon which, he believed, oppression in any society was based. That Ford's temperance crusade was directed towards the Irish and the laboring classes was most evident with the World's frequent placement of the temperance columns on the Labor Page of the paper.²⁹⁶ The columns often stressed that temperance was in "every interest of labor - moral, material, and religious" and "means much for the future of people in this industrial section."²⁹⁷ Ford "never accepted liquor advertisements in the Irish World" and frequently published the speeches and addresses made by Archbishop Ireland and Father Matthew on the temperance cause.²⁹⁸ The World viewed intemperance as an evil equivalent to that of slavery and often compared the crusade against intemperance to that of abolition:

²⁹⁴ Rodechko, Patriek Ford, p. 157.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 177.

²⁹⁶ See for example, Irish World, October 4, 1890, p. 7; November 1, 1890, p. 7; December 6, 1890, p. 7.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., January 5, 1889, p. 6.

²⁹⁸ Shannon, The American Irish, p. 134.

There was money in our American Negro slavery, and nought but a war of giants could have purified our soil of its slimy touch. There is [also] money in the liquor traffic²⁹⁹

To counteract the "rum, romanism, and rebellion" myths that surrounded the Irish image, the World featured headlines such as "What Drunkards Come To" and "A Notable Change" which were aimed at showing the cultural and political benefits of temperance.³⁰⁰ For Ford, temperance would serve to increase the self-esteem of the Irishman and the laboring classes and discredit nativist charges against them. Social gossellers and progressivists, on the other hand, often viewed temperance in terms of industrial discipline.

Along with Ford's support of the Republican and Progressive Parties and his increasing identification with the Church, Rodechko points to the editor's call for parliamentary measures, after 1886, as a solution to Ireland's independence as further evidence of Ford's abandonment of social reform. During the 1870's depression, Ireland's independence seemed to be of secondary importance while the social and economic situation of working-class Americans appeared to dominate Ford's concerns. After 1882, he resumed his campaign for Irish independence with new vigor. Rodechko writes that Ford "modified his views and supported Irish national efforts along peaceful lines" in subsequent years as it "lent support to the editor's inculcation of middle-class values among Irish-Americans."³⁰¹ Ford's earlier attacks upon the Home Rule Bill in the early 1880's and his keen acceptance of Home Rule in 1912 has naturally prompted

²⁹⁹ World, October 11, 1890, p. 5.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., March 7, 1885, p. 6.

³⁰¹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 183.

historians to question Ford's "humanitarian reformism." Like Brown, Rodechko views Irish-American nationalism in the 1870's as a mere diversion in a larger effort to achieve middle-class respectability in America.

One wonders if Ford's turn to parliamentary endeavors was prompted by an appreciation of the fact that violent rhetoric and tactics, such as the call for the dynamite and the overthrow of the British government, had become an ineffective strategy in the climate following the Riots. Factors already discussed, suggest that this was most likely the case. Ford clearly explained his change of heart with regard to the question of Home Rule in the December 6, 1890 editorial of the World entitled "Stand by Gladstone," when he stated that his rejection of Kilmainham in 1882 (the agreement between Parnell and Gladstone which stipulated a halt to Land League agitation in return for Parnell's release from prison) was based upon the circumstances of that time and that his condemnation of the pact he "then believed to be both just and expedient." In other words, at the height of the Land League agitation, Ford had little choice but to denounce Parnell's compromising disposition.³⁰² After 1886, however, memories of the Phoenix Park Murders, Dr. Cronin's murder, and the use of dynamite by Irish nationalists clearly contradicted Ford's claim that no-one "sought liberty more than the true Irishman, while no-one wanted order in union with liberty more than a true Catholic." A strategy resting upon peaceful parliamentary efforts was more conducive to Ford's ultimate social objective.

The ease with which Ford changed his approach to Irish independence was indicative of his expedient nature. During 1882 and 1883, the height of the land

³⁰² World, December 6, 1890, p. 4.

nationalization movement, Ford dismissed Home Rule as an ineffective solution to Ireland's woes. After Parnell received considerable support from Ireland and America during 1884 and 1885, however, Ford expressed his support for parliamentary measures "even with the existence of the Emergency Fund."³⁰³ In a similar fashion, the World did not hesitate to advocate dynamite in 1885 after parliamentary efforts had failed. During another moment of discouragement the World called attention to Gladstone's comment that "Ireland generally received concessions only when she resorted to force."³⁰⁴ Later, in January of 1887, the World claimed that violence as a solution to the Irish question was counter-productive and "would only bring quick British suppression by force of arms."³⁰⁵ Finally in 1890, after a "scandalous" affair with Catherine O'Shea had discredited Parnell among British liberals, Ford broke with Parnell and defended Gladstone's call for a new leader as a practical one.³⁰⁶

Indeed, after 1886, it seemed as though much more progress could be made through the negotiations of Gladstone and the United Irish League than through the efforts of Sinn Fein.³⁰⁷ Gladstone had made many endeavors since 1882 to gain the allegiance of Irish-Americans. Working closely with often hostile British Liberals, Gladstone appeared to have had adopted the Irish cause on a personal level. He portrayed himself as a friend of the Irishman and the laboring man. According to the

³⁰³ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 192.

³⁰⁴ Rodechko points out that the World "later rebuked Gladstone for suggesting that concessions only came with arms." See World, April 16, 1887, p. 4.; Aug. 4, 1888, p. 4.

³⁰⁵ World, Jan. 1, 1887, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 196.

³⁰⁶ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 200.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 201.

World, Gladstone invited the organized laborer to give his opinion on "the great questions of the day and does not hesitate to say that on many of those problems their judgement is more reliable than that of the educated classes." The World reminded its readers that Gladstone

was in favor of an eight-hour law in the mining industry ... [and] on the question of strikes and lock-outs Mr. Gladstone's utterances ... might be profitably studied by some of the bitter anti-union, Mugwump organs of Free-Trade in this country ... He [also] advised labor organizations as the most effective means by which the laboring people could enforce their rights. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the workingman to cultivate freedom of action, reliance upon themselves, and unity of policy as a class and as individuals. This is sound and practical advice³⁰⁸

Ford was not the only one to possess a calculated approach to the Irish question. Although John Devoy and the Clan publicly called for physical force, they "generally adhered to parliamentary efforts" and it was not long before the Ancient Order of Hibernians encouraged the parliamentary cause.³⁰⁹ The considerable stir that had occurred among Irish-American quarters subsequent to Maud Gonne's speech, made at the New York Academy of Music in February of 1900, in which she indicated that many Irish-Americans thought the constitutional efforts employed by the United Irish League inadequate, reflected the tensions within the Irish-American community surrounding the question of Ireland's strategy for dependence. The World, which had been flooded with mail reacting to her remarks, eagerly published the letters condemning Maud Gonne for attempting to destroy the Irish unity and strategy which had brought them so much success in recent years. Levenson explains the conflict as follows:

³⁰⁸ World, Nov. 1, 1890, p. 7.

³⁰⁹ Rudechko, Patrick Ford, p. 272.

[It] was not between those who advocated freeing Ireland by the violent and immediate overthrow of the British Empire and those who did not (an interpretation of this squabble that Maud Gonne favored in later years). Rather, it was between those who wished Irishmen to bury their differences and present a united front that would speed the coming of self-government within the empire, i.e., Home Rule; and those who believed that more militant steps (short of insurrection) would hasten attainment of the same goal.³¹⁰

Ford was one of those who were willing to employ whatever strategy was most capable of achieving self-government in the fastest manner possible. After John Redmond, Patrick McHugh, and Thomas O'Donnell came to New York to organize an American United Irish League in October of 1901, Ford backed Redmond enthusiastically while denouncing John Devoy and the Clan for its revolutionary tactics.³¹¹ Even John F. Finerty, a former revolutionary and editor of the Chicago Citizen, supported the non-violent policies of the U.I.L. and later went on to become the organization's National President. Although Redmond appeared to be advocating physical force in 1901 and occasionally expressed his desire that someone should strike a blow at England in times of discouragement, he, like Ford, acknowledged the significant progress made for the Irish cause under the peaceful measures policy and encouraged his fellow Irishmen to stay the course.³¹² In the commemorative issue of the World, dedicated to the memory of Patrick Ford, Robert Ellis Thompson recalled Ford's incendiary approach to Ireland's cause in earlier years and his later call for peaceful measures in the following manner:

That was healthy Irish National sentiment while British rule in Ireland was coercion Opposition to that rule, with resolve to overthrow it by any and every honorable means available - constitutional or 'unconstitutional' -

³¹⁰ Samuel Levenson, Maud Gonne (New York, 1976), pp. 183-4.

³¹¹ Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American Relations, pp. 14 & 79.

³¹² Ibid., pp. 15 & 20.

was the patriotism of true Irishmen under such conditions. So Patrick Ford viewed the position Holding more that 'Parliamentary methods' was necessary to force from England justice for Ireland, he took action and shaped the policy of his paper accordingly.³¹³

Rodechko's suggestion that Ford's new emphasis on Ireland helped the editor to distance himself and other Irish-Americans from a socialist image, and that "cultural and parliamentary endeavors were more compatible with [his] ... social objectives in America," has validity. It is difficult, however, to see how this, coupled with Ford's support of the Republican and Progressive Parties and his identification with the Catholic Church, is evidence of Ford's desertion of humanitarian reform.³¹⁴

The last significant point upon which Rodechko's argument rests is Ford's emphasis on racial characteristics and national concepts after 1886. Again, Ford's shift in focus does not imply an abandonment of his social reformism in favor of the adoption of a dominant middle-class culture, which was predominantly Protestant and nativist in nature. Emphasis on ethnicity, first and foremost, served to instill confidence among Irish World readers and counteracted nativist arguments. While accepting many of the values of the middle-class, Ford refused to fall victim to nativist sentiment. His continued sympathy for Blacks, Catholics, and other oppressed groups within American society, along with his willingness to form labor alliances across ethnic lines, his opposition to discriminating immigration policies and his unrelenting attacks upon imperialism, clearly illustrate that Ford was not prepared to sacrifice his humanitarian

³¹³ World, Oct. 4, 1913, p. 4.

³¹⁴ Rodechko writes that in an effort to refute nativist charges against the Irishman, the World called attention to "the Green flag of St. Patrick, as a symbol of conservatism and nationality, and the Red flag Socialism." World, March 23, 1895, p. 1., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 214. See also p. 272.

objectives, or the freedom of any group of individuals, for the purpose of promoting his own interests or those of his own people.

Ford emphasized the Irishman's role in America, attempted to help him "realize his own self-worth," and urged him to be conscious of his role in America.³¹⁵ Rodechko explains that prior to the 1870's, Ford had participated in a re-evaluation of American history along ethnic lines - with a keen eye on the contributions made by Irish-Americans - and then was forced to abandon such a strategy with the onslaught of the depression. He observes that "emphasis on racial distinctions was hardly in keeping with the pursuit of an international movement for economic justice." Only after Ford sought to distance himself from foreigners and radicals in the 1880's, Rodechko claims, did he resume such a strategy.³¹⁶ By focusing on the racial characteristics of the Irish and the Irishman's contributions to America, Rodechko suggests, Ford hoped to distance himself from foreign elements in American society at the latter's expense.³¹⁷ Rodechko points to several examples as evidence of Ford's nativist character - all of which can be explained in such a manner as to reach an alternative conclusion.

Rodechko points to a series of World editorials in reference to Italian-Americans to augment his argument: "Since nativists identified newcomers as radicals who endangered American institutions ... the editor indicated that the newcomers were more

³¹⁵ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 216-218.

³¹⁶ To assume that this was not in keeping with the pursuit of an international social movement is premature. Ford often emphasized the qualities of the Irish in the radical years of the 1870's to convince the Irishman that his people, "depressed throughout the world," should be "among the leaders in the fight for social justice." Ibid., Patrick Ford, pp. 221 & 214.

³¹⁷ Rodechko points out that nativist sentiment in the 1890's directed to foreigners and Catholics, far exceeded that of the Know-Nothingism in the 1850's, and that more than ever, it was being claimed that America "was and always had been and Anglo-Saxon nation." This, he adds, prompted Ford to respond by providing his own re-evaluation of American history. Ibid., pp. 216, 218, 221 & 244.

prone to accept socialist teachings than the Irish" and that "new immigrants were disorderly and likely to disregard legal authority The Italians were especially notorious."³¹⁸ Rodechko cites an article in the September 22, 1894 edition of the World to illustrate his point. However, he fails to describe the context in which the column appeared. In response to the great railroad strike of that summer, and under the heading, "Security for Public Order is Greater in a Free Country than in Despotism," the following remarks were found:

The whole people are enlisted on the side of order and not merely a class or caste. It is only when race prejudice is aroused ... that a republic finds it hard to hold the even scales of justice ... on the other hand, if our system worked rightly in all respects, there would be no need for the suppression of outbreaks It was native Americans who planned and did the worst things. It would be pleasant if we could lay the blame of all the disorders of this past Summer at the door of the immigrants who have come from despotically ruled countries ... no doubt the existence of great bodies of Poles, Hungarians, Bohemians and Italians in our country does greatly increase the chances of public disorder. Cut off by their language from contact with the public opinion of America ... and unfamiliar with any sense of the word liberty ... these people are just the material for Socialistic and Anarchistic demagogues. But they were not the only participants in the riots and they furnished none of the leaders. It was native Americans who planned and executed the worst things that were done ... we are creating a dangerous class of our own, which enjoys all the benefits of American institutions only to plot for their overthrow

....³¹⁹

This article defends the Poles, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians. It portrays them as victims of demagogic regimes and as vulnerable pawns in the hands of "Socialistic and Anarchistic" leaders in America, not as the sole initiators of industrial violence.

³¹⁸ World, Sept. 22, 1894, p. 5.; March 9, 1912, p. 5.; March 24, 1906, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patriot Ford, pp. 263-264.

³¹⁹ World, Sept. 22, 1894, p. 5.

Rodechko also writes that the World indicated that new immigrants were "incongruous elements" who were "penniless" and "ignorant of the language and institutions of this country." He neglects to note, however, that these comments were part of a larger argument which held that mass immigration to America was "proof ... that the condition of labor in America is incomparably better than in any other country" and that free trade would destroy "the advantages which we undoubtedly possess."³²⁰

Context is also disregarded in Rodechko's interpretation of the March 9, 1912 article in the World which deals with the Lawrence Strike. While acknowledging Ford's remarks on the mass importation of "Hebrews, Slavs, and Italians," many of whom were "untaught," "unskilled," "illiterate" and "very often imbued with Socialist and Anarchist opinion," Rodechko does not mention that the column criticized socialist leaders - not the immigrants - and argued that with "the careful exclusion of Anarchists and Socialists ... I see no need to increase the restrictions on immigration."³²¹

Rodechko writes that the World distinguished the Irish from the Italians by claiming that the former were "well suited to self-government" while the latter, "were unable to govern themselves in Italy."³²² The paper "suggested," Rodechko continues, "that the Irish were known for their business and professional qualities, while the new immigrants were wedded to the rougher forms of manual labor."³²³ Although I could

³²⁰ Ibid., Sept. 8, 1888, p. 7.

³²¹ At the time, many Massachusetts newspapers were calling for stricter immigration policies. In reference to Rodechko's notes, which cited March 24, 1906, p. 4., as another editorial containing derogatory remarks with regard to Italians, I failed to find any indication of hostility. Ibid., March 9, 1912, p. 5.

³²² World, April 13, 1889, p. 5., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 264.

³²³ World, Feb. 27, 1909, p.1., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 264.

find little reference to the nature of immigrant labor in the February 27, 1909 issue of the World cited by Rodechko, I was able to find the April 13, 1889 article that Rodechko cited as evidence of the World's belief that the Italians' demise was their own doing and not that of a foreign aristocracy. It should be noted, however, that the primary purpose of this article was to explain the vast Italian immigration to America, and that this conclusion was derived from the introduction of this essay which simply began by accusing Mazzini and his colleagues of deceiving their people.³²⁴ Although Rodechko suggests that Ford had adopted a nativist position toward the Italian community, he was forced to acknowledge that

in spite of his alarm ... Ford generally believed that the legalized exclusion of European Catholic immigrants would lend strength and support to Nativism [and] ... in calling for a curtailment of pauper Italian immigration ... the paper claimed [that] 'the fact that the Italian Immigration Society was equally as emphatic in opposition to this wholesale immigration as were the labor associations freed the agitation from the appearance of Know-Nothingism.'³²⁵

Also objectively, Rodechko recognizes that Ford was "opposed to the general exclusion of Europeans during the 1890's" and "simply objected to the importation of pauper labor under contract as a threat to American labor."³²⁶

On the issue of assimilation into American society, Rodechko informs us that the World believed that Asian immigrants were "incapable of being assimilated" and that the Mongolian was a "product of a civilization totally different from ours," and therefore

³²⁴ Ibid., April 13, 1889, p. 5.

³²⁵ World, July 28, 1888, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 265.

³²⁶ One should also include Rodechko's footnote which mentions that union leaders at this time "maintained 'a sharp distinction between voluntary immigration and that induced or controlled by capitalists.'" Rodechko concludes that "this was an attempt to avoid a nativist position."

would remain "what he was the first day he landed on these shores." It is important to note, however, that this remark was made in opposition to the importation of contract laborers from Asia, and that although the article considered deportation of these laborers on the grounds of their threat to the American laborer, the World stated that the immigrants should still be entitled to "the security guaranteed by the Constitution" and the laws of the country during their stay.³²⁷ Again, in a rather awkward sentence, Rodechko was obliged to note that

overlooking the fact that exclusion of Asiatics would provide a precedent for further restriction, in 1893 the editor showed resentment against Chinese immigrants, but criticized a proposed literary test that would bear directly on the new immigration.³²⁸

In another effort to strengthen his hypothesis, Rodechko writes that "as the 1890's passed, the Irish World went so far as to suggest that various races contributed to the making of a distinctly American nationality."³²⁹ This concept of nationality becomes irrelevant when we consider that the World had always emphasized a national identity comprised of the best qualities of different cultures and races. The paper often stressed that cultures should retain their particular character in America but learn to appreciate American institutions. This idea was clearly expressed in Ford's A Criminal History of the British Empire, which was written in the radical atmosphere of the Land League. In consistency with what Foner calls Ford's vision of a "cooperative commonwealth" in

³²⁷ World, May 4, 1893, p. 4. Also see Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 264.

³²⁸ World, Jan. 21, 1893, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 265.

³²⁹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 266.

which distinct cultures could live in harmony, the World in 1893 claimed that "the union of different families and ... races would result in a strong, stalwart people."³³⁰

Rodechko thought it significant that Ford, writing to Benjamin Harrison, claimed that the various racial groups had come together to compose an "American Nationality" that had "a character distinct from all the peoples on the planet."³³¹ Indeed, that Ford had felt deeply on this matter was further illustrated when the World published the thoughts of Charles Welsh, who contended that

transmitting into terms of national individuality, all the romance, all the culture, all the art, and all the literature of the past and present, of all the nations of the world ... we are evolving a culture distinctly American, an art distinctly American, and a literature distinctly American.³³²

To this rather tolerant, humanitarian concept of American nationality, Rodechko responded with the following interpretation:

While the Irish World admitted that others contributed, the process was something less than a true melting pot. The paper neither demonstrated the specific qualities that others provided nor did it show that all contributed equally. Ford always pointed out that the Irish were the chief contributors to America. Furthermore, although a new nationality would presumably emerge, existing racial strains would not be altered³³³

In light of Rodechko's interpretation of Irish-American nationalism, it is not surprising that he concluded the following:

Ford's emphasis on racial characteristics, the desire to distinguish the Irish from the new immigrants, and the attempt to associate Irishmen with qualities that were traditionally reserved for Anglo-Saxons, reflected his

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 266.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² World, Jan. 7, 1905, p. 2., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 266.

³³³ Furthermore, in the process of emphasizing the Irish's contribution to this nationality, the paper did not fall victim to a nativist nature by discrediting the contributions of other races. See Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 267.

increasing effort to identify the Irish with anti-radical traditions [In] an age that was characterized by a respect and admiration for race and rationality ... Ford spoke in terms that native American journalists ... employed ... [and] therefore, Ford was demonstrating his identity with a broader American community.³³⁴

Again, Ford never argued that existing racial strains be altered, even during the radicalism of the 1870's and 1880's. With this in mind, it seems that Ford's concept of cultural distinction contradicts rather than supports Rodechko's argument. Rather than interpreting this conception of America's nationality as evidence of Ford's increasing nativist attitudes, it should be seen as evidence of continued tolerance and respect for other peoples.

By examining Ford's sympathetic disposition with regard to members of other oppressed groups within American society, his willingness to form labor alliances across "divisions of ethnicity," his strict opposition to discriminatory immigration policies, and his involvement with the anti-imperialist movement, it becomes clear that there was much more than shedding a radical image behind Ford's emphasis on race and nationality, and that he was not willing to sacrifice the dignity of other races for the sake of his own interests and those of his fellow Irishmen.

Unlike the majority of Irish-Americans, Ford was, and always had been, sympathetic to the plight of the Negro. The World denounced the oppression endured by the Negro and refused to regard him as a threat to Irish-American laborers. In contrast to the characters in David Roediger's book, Ford did not "treasure his whiteness," nor hold the Negro in contempt. Instead, Ford continued to affirm the rights of the Negro. He condemned the "race hatred" which permeated the South as a

³³⁴ Ibid., pp. 269-270.

"disgrace" which stood in full opposition to the "Christian sentiment of the whole United States." In February of 1890, the World pointed out that

the leaders of the South say that the 'superior race' cannot maintain their rights unless the black man is deprived of his! Their argument is the argument of the bully and the monopolist.³³⁵

The act of lynching was heavily criticized and regarded as a "disgrace to our civilization" while its participants were labelled as bloodthirsty "hyenas" and "murderers."³³⁶ In May of 1893, the World attacked Governor Tillman, who sent a Negro, wrongly accused of assaulting a young white girl, back to the community where the alleged crime had occurred for punishment. It was here that the Negro was attacked by an "angry, irrational, bloodthirsty mob [who] took him into the woods and killed him while he protested his innocence." The World expressed its hope "that public opinion in that section of the country will eventually assert itself in a way that will make lynching a dangerous business for the murderers who engage in it."³³⁷ Ford regarded the failure to punish the lynchers of three Negroes in South Carolina in August of 1893 as the "worst feature of this latest lynching [as] it is a practical endorsement of the action of the mob by those whose duty it was to see the law enforced."³³⁸

The World went so far as to defend violent reactions by angered Negroes. After a lynching of a black man in Kentucky accused of murdering two girls, there were

³³⁵ World, February 8, 1890, p. 4.

³³⁶ Ibid., July 15, 1893, p. 4.

³³⁷ Under the headline "And So An Innocent Negro Was Lynched by an Angry Mob," the World praised the efforts of John Boyle O'Reilly from the Boston Pilot in his struggle to bring justice to all of oppressed humanity. Ibid., May 6, 1893, p. 3.

³³⁸ Ibid., August 5, 1893, p. 4.

indications of a "negro uprising" occurring. The World reported that such an incident would be

one of the legitimate results of the disregard for law shown by the mob who took part in the recent lynching To the negroes they set an example of lawlessness that has naturally suggested to the latter the taking of the law in their own hands. If the negro who was lynched had a regular trial ... there would have been no need to send for those hundred winchesters to overawe the negroes of Bardwell Such are the fruits of that worst form of anarchy known as lynching.³³⁹

After two negro boys, accused of murdering their father, were pursued by lynchers and forced to defend themselves with "volleys of lead," the World, again, came out in defense of the Negro. In response to the incident, which left ten lynchers dead and six wounded, the paper commented that

Those murderous gangs who have been watching for pretexts to hang, torture, and riddle with bullets unfortunate wretches suspected of having committed some crime have been taught at last one wholesome lesson And every American citizen, who has regard for the reputation of his country , or its institutions, will say in his heart that the would-be lynchers got just what they deserved³⁴⁰

The World was very supportive of efforts aimed at improving the social condition of the black man. In April of 1889, the paper praised Senator Blair and his advocacy of educational reform in the South. New voting qualifications which required the ability to read and write were behind the reform program which was seen as a major progression from the "older times" when the Southern States "not only did not encourage education of the working classes but prohibited it as to the colored people, making it a felony to teach black people to read and write."³⁴¹ As far as emigration schemes were

³³⁹ Ibid., July 15, 1893, p. 4.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., Aug. 12, 1893, p. 4.

³⁴¹ Ibid., April 13, 1889, p. 5.

concerned as a solution to the plight of the Negro, the World stood in complete opposition to such proposals. The paper regarded such plans with as much animosity as William Lloyd Garrison had. Such plans implied that the two races could not live together harmoniously. After Senator Bradwell expressed his support of the Emigration Bill in 1890, which was designed to encourage Negro emigration from the South, a disappointed World editor commented that "the race problem is still far from solution and the pledges of the nation still far from fulfilment."³⁴² Later in this year, when the issue of emigration re-emerged, the World reacted by publishing Cardinal Gibbons' view on the Negro problem which the paper deemed to be "in good taste." Gibbons, World readers were informed, was opposed to emigration and colonization schemes.³⁴³ The World preferred to see the Negro improve his lot through political channels and heavily criticized laws proposed by Southern politicians which provided for the disenfranchisement of the Black man: "The Negro Was Made a Voter That He Might Not Be a Slave."³⁴⁴

The World was also a strong proponent of various Church leaders, such as Cardinal Gibbons, who worked to better the Negro's lot. The paper featured a column following the travels of Father Mathew in America which put special emphasis on his "Crusade against the Demon of Intemperance" and his humanitarian conduct towards the Negro. The World explained how Father Mathew, while passing through a southern town, helped a Negro who had been left to die on the road after being rolled over by a

³⁴² Ibid., Nov. 1, 1890, p. 4

³⁴³ Ibid., November 1, 1890, p. 5.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., Jan. 7, 1905, p. 5.

passing carriage. The paper then observed that the oppression of the Negro in the form of slavery, along with intemperance, were two evils that Father Mathew had sought to eradicate.³⁴⁵ Schemes such as Father Byrne's plan to "procure a tract of land in one of the Western States and sell it to the colored people on easy terms," were also applauded.³⁴⁶

The World's flattering and frequent editorials on Archbishop Ireland also reflected Ford's continued concern for the Negro. The paper became a strong advocate of the bishop who had devoted his life to relieving the plight of oppressed peoples everywhere. The World noted that "Men of all races and color command his [Ireland's] active sympathy" and that he pleads with the President of America on behalf of "the red man" and "our black brethren." Like Ford, Ireland believed that definite progress was being made with regard to prejudice in America and that the days of racism were numbered:

My solution of the negro problem is to declare that there is no problem to be solved, since we are all equal ... and we will, in consistency with our American and Christian principles, treat alike black and white. I know no color line; I will acknowledge none Aye, untimely today ... my words will be tomorrow timely. My fault ... would be that I am ahead of my day. The time is not distant when Americans and all other Christians will wonder that there ever was a race problem. Storms are passing over the land, arising from sectarian hatred, and nativist or foreign prejudices. These are scarcely to be heeded; they cannot last. Day by day, the spirit of Americanism waxes strong³⁴⁷

The World also came to the defense of Catholics everywhere. The paper regarded its Catholic counterparts north of the border as co-victims of British tyranny.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1890, p. 7.

³⁴⁶ This article covered "Addresses ... Made by Brilliant Colored Men and Women" who thanked various Church leaders for their guidance. Ibid., Dec. 16, 1893, p. 5.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., Sept. 22, 1894, p. 1.

It denounced the expulsion of the Acadiens and the execution of Louis Riel, for instance, as grave injustices.³⁴⁸ It charged that the Orangeman had made himself "a nuisance ... in every country afflicted with his presence" and that an appointment by the Canadian Dominion Government of a lieutenant who served with Louis Riel had led to a "pathetic exhibition of bigotry" by members of the group.³⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, the paper strongly denounced Canadian Orangemen for trying to prevent French-Canadians from holding office.³⁵⁰

Although Ford often criticized Italian laborers for initiating violent demonstrations and promoting radical ideas, he did not forget that they, too, were often the innocent target of religious and ethnic prejudice. In August of 1893, the World claimed that "the brutal lynching" of an Italian in Denver, "covered the whole nation with shame and humiliation."³⁵¹

Women's equality was yet another cause undertaken by the World. Ford, observing that a society's laws were "always the surest index to its mental and moral advancement," noted the cultural elevation of Irish society "2000 years ago," prior to the onslaught of English landlordism: "Women, whether married or single, were protected in the enjoyment of their property and natural liberty to the fullest extent."³⁵² The paper reminded its readers that Archbishop Ireland "believes that she [woman] has been

³⁴⁸ Ibid., July 1, 1893, p. 5.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., April 26, 1890, p. 4.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., April 26, 1890, p. 4.

³⁵¹ Ibid., Aug. 5, 1893, p. 3.

³⁵² Patrick Ford, The Irish Question as Viewed by One Hundred Eminent Statesmen of England, Ireland, and America with a Sketch of Irish History (New York, 1886), p. 5.

too dependent upon the stronger sex ... and because of her deep charity and exhaustless energy he thinks her capable of working out great social and moral reforms" and that "Archbishop Ireland's sphere of usefulness has been greatly widened by reason of this immense and broad patriotism, which has gone a great way to stem the spread of the new Know-Nothingism."³⁵³ The paper's concern for women's equality was still more apparent when the paper began a "Woman's Page" under the editorship of Emily Kayner in the 1890's.³⁵⁴

The World's position with regard to the Jewish population was also one of tolerance. Contrary to Thomas Brown's assumption that Ford's monetary policies reflected an anti-Semitic side of the editor, it appears as though Ford's earlier conviction that "usury was theft" was an outgrowth of his Catholic affiliation and had little to do with his opinion of the Jews.³⁵⁵ In fact, the paper commended Jews for their piety and deemed it comparable to that of Irishmen. The paper published the speeches of Cardinal Vaughan, who explained that "the distinctive characteristic of the Irish race, as it was with the Jewish" was their endless struggle "to carry to the regions of heresy and infidelity the light of God's word and truth, and to do so by their example and

³⁵³ World, Sept. 22, 1894, p. 4.

³⁵⁴ Common topics of discussion in the column centered upon fashion, books, religion, and music.

³⁵⁵ The Protestant Reformation and Protestant denominations "provided an immediate theological justification for saving and lending money at interest" and that "Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli defended the payment of interest on money lent, and thus significantly increased the return on money." It is not surprising, then, that Ford, a devout Catholic who was terribly sensitive to nativist charges against Catholicism, was annoyed with Henry George, a Protestant reformer who refused to accept that "usury was theft" in the days of the Land League. By the 1890's, Ford's contention that usury was theft had vanished, along with the printing of the phrase which could be found weekly in earlier World editions. See James Dale Davidson, The Great Reskoning (New York, 1993), p. 77; and Brown, Irish-American, p. 179.

teaching."³⁵⁶ In addition to this flattering comparison, the World often published the activities of various Jewish organizations within the city and naturally supported the Jewish call for religious toleration. The religious discrimination that both groups were subject to fostered a sense of common cause which was evident in September of 1894 when the World published the words of Julius Harburger, Grand Master of the Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel, who denounced "bigoted fanatics" for their attack on "Catholics, who ... are among the best citizens the country has produced." Harburger added that Catholics "are organized to better the condition of the people for humane, religious and benevolent purposes" and that "we must stand united ... against the attacks upon any denomination."³⁵⁷

The World also promoted an alliance between the Irish and German populations. In the same issue of Harburger's address, another article covered the activities of the convention of the German Catholic Central Verein and published "The German Answer to the A.P.A. [The American Protective Association]." The spokesman for the German organization claimed that his members were "tolerant in the true sense of the word, and we declare that we are ready to protect the religious liberty of all our fellow citizens of any creed"³⁵⁸

In fact, the World's frequent and vigorous attacks upon the A.P.A. illustrate the editor's refusal to conform to popular nativist sentiment. The American Protective Association was not only anti-Catholic but anti-foreign as well. The organization accused

³⁵⁶ Rodechko uses this remark by Cardinal Vaughan, published by the World, to illustrate Ford's emphasis on the Irishman's piety. Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 247.

³⁵⁷ World, September 22, 1894, p. 1.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., Sept. 22, 1894, p. 1.

both political parties of being "controlled by foreign ecclesiasticism" and criticized each for not daring to "declare itself in favor of restricting immigration," or willing to change "naturalization laws as to compel all foreigners to forswear their allegiance to any prince ... [and to possess the ability] to read the Constitution of the United States before being permitted to vote."³⁵⁹

Ford's willingness to form labor alliances across ethnic lines also distinguished him from his Protestant counterparts. Progressivists did not endorse any alliance which they felt would encourage the formation of special interest groups, let alone an alliance between native and immigrant workers - the latter of whom they feared would promote radical and socialist ideas among the former. Opposed to the policies of these Protestant reformers, the World dedicated space to organizations such as the German House-Painters Union or the Hebrew Tailor's Union.³⁶⁰

During the height of the A.P.A. movement, the World encouraged the formation of labor alliances across ethnic and religious lines to counteract the dissension caused by nativist laborers. As we have already seen, the paper published the speeches of Jewish and German spokesmen who called for unity among peoples of all "religious denominations" and "of any creed" against the increasing nativist attacks of organizations such as the A.P.A..³⁶¹ Under the headline "Anti-Labor as Well as Anti-Catholic," the World informed its readers of the intention of the A.P.A. "to create enmity among workingmen on account of religious differences" which "must, if successful, necessarily

³⁵⁹ Ibid., Sept. 29, 1894, p. 5.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., Jan. 5, 1889, p. 7.

³⁶¹ Ibid., Sept. 22, 1894, p. 1.

result in the disruption of the labor organization." The paper warned that if this occurred, "Catholic and Protestant workingmen will no longer be able to act as a compact body" and will be reduced to endure "the industrial slavery from which organized labor would emancipate them." Labor organizations, the World claimed, "cannot hope to accomplish anything without union."³⁶²

Ford's eulogizing of Michael Davitt is also reflective of Ford's approval of union building across ethnic lines. Davitt, who had spent much of his career attempting to unite the Irish and English laborer in the British Isles, encouraged the Irishman to put aside his contempt for the English and their "sense of superiority" and accept the existence of honest and "sensible" Englishmen who would ally themselves with the Irish workingmen in the name of labor.³⁶³ Davitt was one of the chief organizers of the Irish Democratic Labor Federation, which supported the causes of "the English Labor Party, Indian nationalism, Zionism, and Women's rights."³⁶⁴ Upon Davitt's founding of the Labor World in October of 1890, the World congratulated the new editor and his new paper, whose purpose was to focus "week by week the attention of workingmen

³⁶² Organized labor, according to the editor, played a key role in the struggle against prejudice. During the Philadelphia Coal Strike Commission Hearings in 1903, the World published the following speech made by Mr. Darrow, a counsel for the union miners, in which Darrow defended the union members against charges of "out-throats or criminals": "No matter what language they speak, you would find the picture of the Madonna and her Child, with its same lesson in every language and in every clime ... and upon their walls also I have found the picture of John Mitchell ... Any organization that could take that heterogeneous mass, drawn from every nation on earth, from every land and every clime, and weld it into one common homogeneous mass, with common aims and aspirations and hopes - any such organization must be grand and glorious and doing good on the earth."

With regard to the A.P.A. movement, the paper suggested that American railroad managers were following the example of Canadian railway representatives who made it impossible for their employees to strike by encouraging dissent among its Catholic and Protestant laborers. As evidence of the A.P.A.'s sinister plans in America, the paper accused the American railroad representatives of financing the A.P.A. for this very purpose. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1903, p. 12; Sept. 29, 1894, p. 4.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1890, p. 4; April 15, 1890, p. 4; and April 19, 1890, p. 4.

³⁶⁴ Foner, Politics and Ideology, p. 197.

upon the movements and efforts that are being made throughout the World of labor to better and brighten the lives of those 'who toil and spin.'" The World would continue to hail Davitt as the most worthy and able man "to speak in the name of those 'who toil and spin.'" ³⁶⁵

The World stood in complete opposition to discriminatory restrictions on voluntary immigration. As noted earlier, Rodechko acknowledged that Ford, despite his alarm at the influx of Asian immigrants to America in 1893, criticized a proposed literacy test that would bear directly on the new immigration. ³⁶⁶ The fact that Ford upheld this policy at the risk of being alienated from much of the Irish-American community, who "treasured their whiteness" and looked upon immigrant labor as threatening their well-being, assigns yet greater significance to this point. Although Ford objected to the importation of contract labor by corporations for reasons that adversely affected the laborer, he did not consider voluntary immigration as impinging upon the welfare of the laboring man. An excerpt from the following article, entitled "Features of Immigration Legislation" is worth noting:

The laws relating to the regulation of immigration which have already been enacted by Congress ... are more restrictive in their character than has been generally supposed. The additional restrictions asked for ... are entirely distinct from the authority given to the President to suspend immigration where the danger of importation of epidemic disease is threatened, and the people should not be led into a demand for permanent restriction of an exclusive and unjust character on the pleas of such an

³⁶⁵ World, October 4, 1890, p.4.

³⁶⁶ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 275. It seems as though immigration had long been a sensitive area in the hearts of many Irishmen. Howard Harris tells us how the Native American Program, proposed by the Native American Democratic Association of New York in the 1830's, was strongly opposed by a group of Irish-American "democratic-republicans" and "anti-nativists." The document called for a residency requirement of twenty-one years for citizenship or election to public office, among other things. The Irish-Americans argued that "limiting access to citizenship would turn the United States into 'a seat of oppression,' rather than an "asylum for the oppressed." See Harris, "The Eagle To Watch," Journal of Social History, p. 591.

emergency, which is already provided for. A bill ... enlarging the list of excluded classes ... provides for a declaration by every immigrant giving name, place of departure, former residence etc. Much of this seems to us practical and in right direction, but it is difficult to see the occasion for arbitrarily excluding honest and industrious voluntary immigrants, as the bill would do, 'who cannot read and write with reasonable facility their own language' ... [Its] use would affect comparatively few immigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, France, or Germany, but it would exclude a great number of most worthy intending immigrants from other European countries who come to this country to reside in districts where their country people have settled in advance and where they are received in welcome and act a useful part in the cosmopolitan life of the country. It would not serve any purpose in excluding criminals, for the deliberately criminal classes have been fully shown by statistics to be by no means confined to the illiterate There need be no exclusion of the healthy and well-meaning, voluntary immigrant who desires to cast his lot with the American people and bring up his family under American institutions. There is ample room But let there be rigid prohibition of the traffic in imported cheap labor ... because of its demoralizing and debasing effects and the animosities it engenders. Let ...[us] not turn our backs upon the traditions of our country because of a sudden impulse of alarm for which no adequate cause can be found.³⁶⁷

This article refutes much of Rodechko's argument. It clearly demonstrates that the World resisted nativist sentiment. In addition, it illustrates that the idea of the "cosmopolitan" nation, in which races remain distinct, was not simply part of an effort to emphasize Irish ethnic qualities, as Rodechko suggested, but rather an expression of tolerance towards other races. The passage also discredits Rodechko's suggestion that the paper, while mentioning the contributions made by Irish-Americans to America's "cosmopolitan nationality," failed to mention "the specific qualities that ... [other groups] provided." This article referred to the immigrants from other countries outside "England, Ireland, France, or Germany" as "honest," "industrious," and "most worthy intending." The reference further detracts from Rodechko's claim that Ford "indicated

³⁶⁷ World, Jan. 21, 1893, p. 4.

that the new immigrants [Poles, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Italians] were disorderly and likely to disregard legal authority."³⁶⁸ Finally, the column indicates that the World's opposition to involuntary immigration stemmed not only from Ford's concern for the American laborer's wage, but also from the fact that such importation was "debasing" for the laborer and lent itself to furthering prejudice among American laborers.³⁶⁹

The World's policy on immigration was often intertwined with the free trade issue. "Tinkering with the tariff" by Cleveland's Democrats was seen as chief cause of unemployment, and editorial assaults upon the importation of contract labor were often used to attack the policies of the free-trade administration. According to the World, no longer could those "industrious and freedom-loving people of every country" hope to "come with their families to our shores and take a part in developing the resources of our country and enjoy prosperity under our institutions." The paper went so far as to suggest

³⁶⁸ The article from which Rodechko drew this conclusion is found on page 5 of the Sept. 22, 1894 edition of the World and is signed by Robert Ellis Thompson.

³⁶⁹ An earlier article, found in the July 28, 1888 edition of the World, explained, in a detailed manner, its opposition to the importation of contract labor. It criticized transportation agencies, land speculators, labor contractors, and foreign governments for their role in "shipping abroad the poorest portions of their communities who were not self-supporting at home." Italians, for instance, "of the poorest and most ignorant class ... were made at once the victims of Padroni and Italian labor contractors, who make a business of farming them out to corporations and [then] reap a rich profit from the beggarly wages allowed them." The World contended that the situation had come to the point where the "Italian Immigration Societies were compelled to protest and to communicate with their people at home to discourage it." The article also pointed out that the situation was a "serious menace to the working people here who are endeavoring to maintain the American standard of wages and home comfort" and was in total violation of the anti-contract labor law. The commentary ended by stating that the World would watch closely the developments regarding the question of involuntary immigration and hoped that the issue would be resolved "in the spirit of justice and true American sympathy for the oppressed." In another edition, involuntary immigration of Chinese to America was blamed on "the greed of American, British, and German shipowners." World, July 28, 1888, p. 4; July 8, 1893, p. 4.

that the Democrats were to blame for American emigration outnumbering "those coming to our shores."³⁷⁰

Ford's abhorrence of autocratic institutions, justified by "natural ascendancy myths" was evident throughout his career. Not only was imperialism particularly offensive to Irish-Americans by virtue of its British origins, but the underlying assumption of imperialism as a natural transcending development which would allow "superior races" to civilize "inferior" races, was, like slavery, based upon racist principles and offended those who believed racism was a moral wrong which required eradication. Ford's hatred of imperialism was unmistakably present in the early 1880's with the publication of A Criminal History of the British Empire. In January of 1890, the Irish World reminded its readers that

whenever England seizes upon a vast tract of territory in Africa or some other part of the world for the purpose of acquiring new customers for the products of her industries ... she asks the rest of the world to applaud her for the great work she has accomplished in the 'interest of civilization.'³⁷¹

England's claims to certain lands in East Africa and her treatment of Portugal and other countries were incessantly denounced in the columns of the World.³⁷² In May of 1893, the World claimed that "from the day England's work in Ireland began, the purpose of England's 'civilization' in Ireland was the utter extermination of the native race."³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Ibid., Sept. 16, 1893, pp. 5 & 6.

³⁷¹ Ibid., January 18, 1890, p. 4.

³⁷² Ibid., Jan. 25, p. 4; and Feb. 1, 1890, p. 4.

³⁷³ Ibid., May 6, 1893, p. 4.

In January of 1889, the World condemned England's efforts "to spread her gospel in Africa and kill all whom they cannot convert ... so ... Christianity ... [will] flourish and the glory and the continent will belong to England alone."³⁷⁴ To expose such ulterior motives, Ford would go on to become an outspoken officer of the Anti-Imperialism League.³⁷⁵ The World criticized every nation for conquering "in the name of their gods" and denounced England, Germany, Italy, and France for "dragging their surveyor's lines across ... [Africa] as though no African had any rights in his own country which any white man is bound to respect." The paper often expressed its concern of the "slave trade" that was being perpetuated by the British government in Africa in conjunction with Arab slave traders and missionaries, the latter of which were "obligated to return runaway slaves."³⁷⁶

Although the World made a special effort to expose the evils of British Imperialism, the paper did not excuse any country for harboring imperialist ambitions and continually reminded Americans that such endeavors stood in total contradiction to the democratic principles laid down by George Washington.³⁷⁷ Despite the editor's overly-patriotic zeal, in 1900 he vigorously opposed American imperialist schemes engineered to gain the country spheres of influence. He withdrew his support from the Republicans and McKinley, who was said to have extreme "imperialist tendencies," and

³⁷⁴ Ibid., Jan. 5, 1889, p. 1.

³⁷⁵ Berkeley Tompkins, Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890-1920 (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 142.

³⁷⁶ "Modern civilization," the World printed, "demands that the vile traffic in human flesh shall be abolished. It is disgusting to think that Christian ministers should be bound under a penalty to assist in maintaining slavery at this stage of the world's history." World, Jan. 5, 1889, pp. 4 & 5.

³⁷⁷ The World often argued that American imperialism would ultimately serve British interests. World, Jan. 6, p. 5.; Feb. 3, p. 4.; Feb. 10, p. 11., 1900; May 31, p. 4, 1902, as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 179.

backed William Jennings Bryan, despite his distaste for the Democratic Party.³⁷⁸ By 1908, the height of the imperialist movement had passed and with it passed its main exponents within the Republican Party. Consequently, Ford resumed his attack upon the Democrats and now blamed Bryan with "saddling upon us the Philippines."³⁷⁹

In 1903, the World paid special attention to events in the Philippines. The paper heavily criticized Senator Lodge and the Republican members of the Senatorial Committee for their "conspiracy of silence" regarding "the crimes against humanity committed in the Philippines." Most significant was the World's defense of Roosevelt's call for a reduction in the tariff which would allow Filipino staples to be sold at a profit in American markets and ultimately put money back into the Philippine economy:

The Senatorial agents of the trusts ... are holding out against this measure of relief for the seven million Filipinos who have been 'benevolently assimilated' against their will. It is humanity versus 'Trust-dividends ... with the shutting up of the tobacco factories ... thousands of [Filipino] workingmen will be thrown out of work ... compelled to face actual starvation Such will be the price the victims of 'benevolent assimilation' will have to pay if the trust magnates insist upon having their pound of flesh [It] will be another calamity added to the long series of calamities that have afflicted the Philippines since the Stars and Stripes were planted on its soil [Roosevelt] figuratively goes down upon his knees to beg the Senatorial agents of the sugar and the tobacco trusts to save ... [the American] flag from the deep disgrace of floating over famished millions, the victims of a trust-made famine For seven centuries the Irish people have fought for the re-possession of their own country What they claim for themselves that they demand for others likewise³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ By 1900, John Devoy and Patrick Egan had joined Ford and others to form a "solid anti-imperialist Irish front." World, Feb. 17, 1900, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 151., and Ward, Ireland and Anglo-American Relations, p. 39.

³⁷⁹ World, April 11, 1908, p. 4., as cited in Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. 152.

³⁸⁰ The intentions of Germany and France to "intervene in the domestic affairs of Venezuela" was also heavily condemned in this issue. World, March, 7, 1903, pp. 4 & 6.

America's history in the Philippines was not the only blemish on her diplomatic past:

America's skirts are not quite clear in the matter of the neighbor's landmark. Many of our transactions with our Indian tribes will not bear examination. The invasion of Mexico was a grand inequity.³⁸¹

Imperialism stood in direct violation of the basic principles of traditional republicanism. In a 1903 issue, under the heading "The Harvest of Hatreds," the World reminded Americans that their own freedom had sprung from their independence and that America's territorial ambitions have made her oath of allegiance "a symbol of degradation ... [to] those who suffer by our lawless ambitions for territory and power."

Mr. Stowe's slave-trader, who wished he could find 'a breed of niggers whose mothers did not make such a fuss over being separated from their young ones,' must have a great many among the rulers of the modern world who feel as he did. It is not so hard a matter to get a weaker country conquered ... but to get them to stay content with being conquered, and to cease 'making a fuss over' the loss of their native government and their national self-respect - that is the difficulty There is Poland squirming under the foot of both Russian Czar and Prussian Kaiser, and resisting every effort to wipe out its language or assimilate its character to those of either Russia or Prussia. There is India There is South Africa ... and there are the Christians of the Balkan peninsula, who came under Turkish rule in the sixteenth century ... [in] Macedonia No religious equality has been conceded to Christians and Jews But sympathy with oppressed and struggling peoples has gone out of fashion We see France tyrannizing over Algeria, Tunis and Madagascar, Germany over Alsace-Lorraine, half of Poland and a big slice of Africa; Austria over Bohemia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia; Italy ... on the Red Sea; England and Russia round the earth; and America in Hawaii and the Philippines The world needs to know that the spirit which animated Leonidas, Arnold of Winkelried, Joan of Arc, Washington, Kossuth and their resistance and suffering, is not dead yet.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Ibid., Aug. 12, 1893, p. 5.; April 15, 1905.

³⁸² Ibid., March 7, 1903.

Despite his concern over America's flawed humanitarian record, Robert Ellis Thompson admitted how "handy ... it would be to abolish the Canadian frontier" and gave America credit for resisting recent imperialist ambitions: "It will be a dark day when we turn our face in the other direction, for imperialism means ... the practical extinction of popular liberty "³⁸³

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1893, p. 5.

CONCLUSION

FORD AND HIS PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

To fully understand and appreciate Patrick Ford, both before and after 1886, it is necessary to analyze his actions and writings with regard to politics, labor, the Catholic Church, Home Rule, and other ethnic, racial, or otherwise oppressed groups in the context of anti-slavery ideology. By slighting the influence of abolitionist thought upon Ford, historians such as Rodechko and Brown have misinterpreted his social objectives. In a wider perspective, their particular interpretation of Irish-American nationalism has discredited the contributions made by men such as Ford to the evolution of working-class republicanism in America through the melding of abolitionist, Irish nationalist, and labor ideologies.

Aileen Kraditor's work on Garrison reveals how crucial it is to understand the fundamental objectives of Garrisonian abolitionists, and the important role that strategy and tactics played in their pursuit of a prejudice-free republic. Resembling Daniel O'Connell and Wendell Phillips, Ford struggled to harmonize the conflicting elements of abolitionism and Irish nationalism, and, in the 1870's, strove to merge the contradictory elements of abolitionist and labor ideology. By the 1890's, Ford had succeeded in broadening Garrisonian republicanism to accommodate the Irish nationalist and the workingman, while maintaining the fundamental social objectives of anti-slavery ideology.

The discrimination Ford was subjected to as a young man, his employment with the Liberator, his participation in the Civil War, and his disillusionment with Republican ideology during Reconstruction, all helped to shape his particular approach to social

injustice. An analysis of Ford's early career as a journalist clearly indicates that Garrisonian thought had an immediate and profound impact upon the editor. An examination of Ford's writings and actions during the radicalism of the 1870's and the 1880's reveals Ford's continued adherence to the guiding principles of anti-slavery ideology and his efforts to apply abolitionist social objectives to the problems of a rapidly industrializing society.

The interplay between strategy and tactics and its significance in Ford's pursuit of social justice was revealed in the period 1882 to 1886. It was between these years that the Irish-American community was shaken by numerous scandals, the Phoenix Park Murders and the Haymarket Riots. America, which had recuperated from the devastating effects of the depression, responded to these events with little tolerance of any form of radicalism, as was reflected in the heightened nativist sentiment and harsh legislation designed to combat any challenge to the existing social order. In such an atmosphere, Ford was forced to alter his radical image. Politically, Ford maintained his faith in the power of "intelligent voting." Often through the process of elimination, Ford backed the Republicans. With regard to Ireland's independence, Ford supported parliamentary endeavors as the most effective strategy in the reactionary climate of repression which had developed. Ford was also compelled to defend the actions of the Catholic Church, which had come under increasing nativist attack. On the labor issue, Ford abandoned land theory as obsolete in an America that had recovered from economic stagnation, and encouraged arbitration and reform through legislative channels.

Historians such as Rodechko and Brown interpret Ford's more conservative approach to the issues of the day as evidence of Ford's obsession with the achievement

of middle-class respectability. They argue that his calls for social justice for all peoples in American society during the 1870's was merely a "Flirtation with Radicalism." Rodechko went so far as to suggest that by the end of his career Ford possessed a visible nativist disposition and "spoke in terms that native American journalists ... employed."³⁸⁴

Thomas Brown's influence upon Rodechko's studies is unmistakable. In Irish-American Nationalism, Brown writes that:

We would deceive ourselves were we to take their words [those of Patrick Ford and Denis Kearney] too literally. Their fight against monopoly appears by their writings to have been a titanic struggle against demons - Gould, Vanderbilt, Armour, and the rest - with the entire American industrial system at stake. But this might be better understood as evidence of Irish frustration, which demanded a demonology, than of Irish objectives.³⁸⁵

Humanitarian reform, according to Brown, never played a part in the Irishman's scheme of things. Instead, "entrance into middle-class respectability dominated immigrant aspirations."³⁸⁶

This "narrowness in vision," Foner notes, has often been the result of a failure to acknowledge the significance of ante-bellum reform, first evident in the abolitionist movement, upon men such as Ford. Similarly, John Bodnar argues that

if monopoly of land in Ireland was wrong, so was the monopoly of capital in America Unlike the explanation of historian Thomas Brown, Irish-American nationalism was more than a defensive reaction to nativism but

³⁸⁴ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, pp. 269-270.

³⁸⁵ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, p. 53.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 94.

a step in the assimilation of immigrant laborers into American working-class traditions of anti-monopoly and labor organizations³⁸⁷

Rodechko does make many valid observations and there can be no question that middle-class respectability preoccupied the minds of many Irish-Americans. However, Rodechko fails to recognize, as Thomas Moody suggests, that Irish-American nationalism was not "motivated merely by the immigrant's sense of grievance," but had a "positive, humanitarian, idealistic aspect derived from consciousness of being American."

To Ford, the sufferings of Ireland and those of the common man in America and everywhere were inseparable. Slave emancipation, temperance, monetary reform, and above all, the abolition of private monopoly of land were causes on which he lavished his overflowing energies. American speculators in Western land, railroad companies, and mineowners were incessantly denounced in the Irish World in no less extravagant terms than Irish landlords.³⁸⁸

By slighting this aspect of Irish-American reformism, Rodechko does not fully grasp the reasons behind Ford's change in strategy and tactics. In fact, Rodechko writes in bewilderment the following lines in the preface of his book:

Ford never openly revealed his motives for altering Irish World policies and in fact, claimed that his paper was always consistent. Certainly, he never admitted that he viewed Ireland in terms of American events, or that he desired respectability.³⁸⁹

A consideration of the ideology surrounding the abolitionist movement and the significance of this particular "reform impulse" in relation to later movements such as the Land League perhaps may have revealed to Rodechko the potency and consistency of a social philosophy which challenged the conservative middle-class reformism of

³⁸⁷ John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America (Bloomington, 1985), p. 111.

³⁸⁸ Moody, Davitt and the Irish Revolution, p. 142.

³⁸⁹ Rodechko, Patrick Ford, p. vii.

America, rested upon a belief in traditional American Republicanism, expressed a faith in religion as an vehicle to effect social change, and held to the conviction that America could overcome prejudice.

By neglecting the explanatory possibilities of native reformism, Rodechko was forced to conclude that Ford was modifying his objectives "in search of an ideology."³⁹⁰ Rather than "Patrick Ford and His Search for America," perhaps "Patrick Ford and His Pursuit of Social Justice" would be a more appropriately titled study, considering that Ford had always held close to his heart the anti-slavery ideology which had developed during the 1830's.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.26.

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