

THEY CHANGE THEIR SKY:
THE IRISH IN MAINE

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IRELAND ALONG THE PASSAMAQUODDY:
RATHLIN ISLANDERS
IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MAINE

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IN A RECENT ARTICLE in *Maine History*, historian Alan Taylor argues that eastern Maine and the Passamaquoddy region—far from being an insignificant backwater—was actually an important crossroads during the early nineteenth century, one that was open to a variety of cultures and peoples.¹ This is particularly evident when viewed through the lens of Irish immigration. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Eastport and Lubec were portals through which thousands of Irish traveled by coastal schooner and on foot to the "Boston States." While most ventured to Bangor, Portland, and Boston, some Irish families made a permanent home in the eastern corner of Washington County. This essay focuses on the important patterns of migration to Maine during the mid-nineteenth century, exploring a unique case study of chain migration between Rathlin Island and the Cobscook Bay communities of Pembroke, Perry, Trescott, and West Lubec.

In 1850, Cobscook Bay had an air of enterprise and progress. Farming, fishing, shipbuilding, and cutting timber provided opportunities for newcomers. In addition, the Pembroke Irish Works, a thriving foundry situated along the banks of the Pennamaquan River, employed a steady stream of natives and newcomers, many of them Irish. By 1860 there were well over 120 Irish families in Pembroke and West Lubec, most of them drawn by links of family and community. Indeed, these downeast communities illustrate one of the essential patterns of the Irish experience in America: namely, chain migration. Scores of those who settled along the coves of Cobscook Bay ventured from Rathlin Island, a small outcrop of sea-cliff and hardscrabble farms off the coast of Antrim (near the northeasternmost point of Ireland). Between 1841 and 1861—a period

punctuated by the Great Famine—the island population declined from 1,010 to 453, many of them migrating to America. Notably, the vast majority of these migrants sought the same destination, the coastal villages of Washington County, Maine. The 1860 Federal Census of this county reveals over 230 people with distinctive Rathlin surnames. In the Catholic graveyards of St. John's (Pembroke) and St. Mary's (West Lubec), clusters of headstones bear silent testimony to homeplaces in "Rathlin Island." Family letters and encouragement, remittances, ready jobs in the iron foundry, and the early Catholic church in Washington County all acted to pull these island people to eastern Maine.

This essay will explore the experience of Rathlin immigrants with a comparative focus: investigating their Old World antecedents; seeking to understand the factors that prompted their departure; exploring the Atlantic routes they traveled; and unraveling the textures of community that they reproduced along the Passamaquoddy. I also seek to underline the larger context of immigration into eastern Maine—especially the contours of the Maritime timber and passenger trade—a migration corridor that brought thousands of Irish voyagers downeast. This migration is still remembered in the folklore of Rathlin Island—where Maine and the Maritimes faintly echo in the living tradition of those families who remained behind.

RATHLIN

Rathlin Island is located in the boiling tides of the North Channel between Ireland and Scotland. (See gallery, plates 19 and 21.) A rocky outcrop of basalt and chalk with hidden valleys and sparkling lakes, it has been a hotly contested middle ground since the earliest times. Early Christian monks took refuge here; marauding Norsemen found a place to plunder; and Irish, Scots, and English at various times exploited its strategic location. In 1746 the Reverend John Gage purchased a long lease of the island from the McDonnells, the Earls of Antrim; and Gage's descendants were resident landlords into the early years of the twentieth century.

In the centuries leading up to the famine, Rathlin was peopled by a variety of newcomers. Reverend Gage recruited weavers and spinners from the Antrim coast as well as a scattering of English families. There was also a fluid movement between Scotland and Rathlin. Island settlers included migrants from the Hebrides, exiles from the Highland

armies of Bonnie Prince Charlie in the aftermath of their defeat at the Battle of Culloden (1745), as well as women from the island of Islay who intermarried with families on Rathlin. Some settlers, fleeing landlord and established (Anglican) church discriminatory practices in Scotland, continued to travel the fourteen miles between Rathlin and the Mull of Kintyre. These Scottish connections continued well into the twentieth century as many Rathlin islanders traveled seasonally to the Scottish mainland to seek work.² Contemporary writers suggest that many Rathlin folk saw themselves as a people set apart, and spoke of the channel crossing to Antrim as if visiting "a foreign land."³

During the nineteenth century, Rathlin featured several distinct communities. In the rugged western reaches of the island (the "Upper End" or Ceann Ramhar), framed by mountains and sea cliff, one would have found kin groups who were primarily Irish speakers and who subsisted on herding, fowling, and sheep raising. The southern townlands (the "Lower End" or Ceann Caol), more fertile and with several navigable harbors, were the home of farming and fishing families. Here the descendants of Scots settlers spoke a distinct dialect of Rathlin Irish that reflected a greater influx of Scots-Gaidhlig and Lowland Scots traditions.⁴ Most Rathlin folk lived in kin-based farm clusters, called *clachans*. Families held the land through joint tenancy—leasing holdings collectively from the landlord. Duncan Bradley, for example, who migrated to Lubec in 1831, grew up in a close-knit cluster of cabins in the townland of Ballynegard. The Bradleys worked several holdings (much of it poor land) and lived amidst a scatter of families that included Craigs, McCurdys, and McGuilkins—likely extended kin.⁵

Like most of the families on Rathlin, the Bradleys and their neighbors lived in a "low whitewashed stone and thatch house." And, like most of their neighbors, they subsisted off a variety of pursuits: cattle and sheep raising, tillage of oats and potatoes, fishing, and weaving. Many of the islanders also raised barley and harvested kelp to barter with Scottish boats carrying coal and fuel. A few, living adjacent to the island cliffs, "are very dexterous in seeking for the nests of sea fowl, for which they swing themselves down the face of the precipices by means of a rope secured to a stake on the summit."⁶

In 1831 Duncan Bradley left the intimate world of Ballynegard, bounded by the familiar landscape of farm-cluster, boreen (a narrow lane), and rocky pasture. He walked the parish road to Church Harbor

where he took a boat to Ballycastle, on the Antrim mainland. It was the first leg of a journey that would lead him across the Atlantic—first to Eastport and eventually to the quiet farming community of West Lubec, Maine.⁷ Bradley was one of the first immigrants to make this journey from Rathlin, but certainly not the last. During a period of twenty-five years, between 1835 and 1860, over 500 islanders left for America, and more than half of these settled in Washington County, Maine.

EMIGRATION

Rathlin people had long been accustomed to migration and movement. For centuries the island was a busy crossroads—a stepping stone along the fluid cultural boundaries between Scotland and Ireland. Islanders, for example, regularly made short voyages to the mainland or Scotland to carry produce and fish to market. Members of the Ordnance Survey in 1830 also noted an outward looking mentality, stating that “a considerable number go to the Scottish [potato] harvests each year.”⁸ Some were tempted to stay on, settling in Greenock and Glasgow, or working in the burgeoning factory towns of the Midlands. For these folks, then, a seasonal sojourn was simply the first step of a longer journey; recent literature has stressed that many who journeyed to the New World during the early nineteenth century were already on the move in their native localities. Some had left the farms and villages of their youth to live and work in one of the larger factory towns or seaports. Others wandered as journeymen, tradesmen, or seasonal laborers.⁹ Rathlin is a case in point. Writing in 1851, Mrs. Catherine Gage, the wife of the local landlord, remembered that prior to the Famine a growing number of young men journeyed to Greenock in Scotland “where they learned the trade of shipwrights.” In time, “these young men made voyages to America as ship carpenters, where some of them settled and others brought home such favourable accounts of the country to their friends, that many of them were induced to emigrate there.”¹⁰ As John Mannion and Fidelma Maddock assert concerning Irish migration to the Canadas, “Transatlantic migration was a dramatic extension of local moves.”¹¹

In the decades preceding the Famine, emigration quickened out of Ireland, especially from the province of Ulster as well as the commercial agricultural regions of Leinster and the southeast. This migration was largely in response to the collapse of agrarian prosperity brought on

by the end of the Napoleonic wars. During the war the economy boomed in Ireland with Irish farmers supplying a significant share of foodstuffs to the British. The end of the war in 1815, however, brought recession and hardship. Many small farmers who had previously taken out long leases and improved their farmholdings could no longer support a large family or provide land for younger sons. Increasingly, emigration was seen as the only option for aspiring farmers.¹²

One of those who left during this period was Neal Black, who settled as a farmer in Washington County, Maine. In his naturalization petition he notes that he was born at “Roslin” [Rathlin in local dialect] in 1807. He took ship to Saint John, New Brunswick in 1828 and in June 1829 arrived at Eastport, Maine. Black, like many emigrants who crossed the border into Maine, continued on to Boston where he worked for a year. He eventually returned to the Passamaquoddy where he carved out a farm in Trescott, a budding town overlooking the Atlantic.¹³

Canada’s Maritime ports, especially Saint John, were the entry-point for many voyagers coming from the north of Ireland. Many, like Neal Black, chose the Canadian route since fares to the Maritimes were less than half the price of passages to America. They sailed aboard timber ships into Quebec, Halifax, Saint John, and St. Andrews, and then made their way south into New England, some by sea transport and others walking the coastal roads passing near Eastport, Belfast, and Portland. Maritime ports such as Saint John also were closely linked with Ulster commercial centers such as Derry. Sources reveal that “Of the 29,000 people who emigrated through Derry in the decade 1816-1826, almost 19,000 [or 65 percent] went to New Brunswick.” Houston and Smyth elaborate, “There was in the geography of the Irish trade a set of constraints that funneled emigrants from particular origins to particular destinations.”¹⁴ Rathlin lay within the recruitment ground of several Derry shipping firms, such as J & J Cooke, which predominantly traded with Saint John.

Eastern Maine and Washington County have significance for immigration that goes well beyond a Rathlin and Ulster context. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Eastport and Lubec were gateways through which thousands of Irish immigrants traveled on their way to the “Boston States.” The Passamaquoddy region—far from being an insignificant backwater—was actually a vital crossroads during the early nineteenth century, one that welcomed a variety of cultures and

peoples. It was a migration corridor that linked Atlantic trade routes into the Maritime Provinces with the burgeoning industrial cities of Irish America, especially Boston.¹⁵ Of course, while many immigrants ventured southward, some Irish families made a permanent home in the salt-water villages of eastern Maine.

Naturalization records offer a valuable lens for viewing these migration patterns into Maine and the Maritimes. During the 1840s, scores of Irish immigrants appeared at Washington County courts to declare their intention to become citizens of the United States. Courthouse records often specify place of birth, date of emigration, and ports of arrival. In the July 1844 session of the Supreme Judicial Court in Machias, one hundred twenty-six immigrants appeared before the clerk to petition.¹⁶ Most of those who specified a port of arrival traveled via Saint John, New Brunswick; St. Andrews, New Brunswick; or Halifax, Nova Scotia. They came from a variety of origins, most notably Ireland and England. Thirty-five immigrants, or 28 percent, were from Ulster, and many others hailed from the southeastern counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. This latter pattern reflects the steady migration stream between southeast Ireland and Canada, one that sent fishermen and immigrant families to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia (some of whom eventually left for America).

As in Neal Black's case, many who arrived in the Maritimes did not go directly to Washington County. Instead, they often worked for several years locally before acquiring property and settling in Maine. Donegal man Hugh McCool, for example, worked for five years in Saint John before coming to Eastport, Maine. Ports like Saint John were magnets for immigrants in need of work or looking for funds to continue their journey. It was one of the premier shipbuilding centers in the British Empire and attracted artisans from a wide swath of beginnings (including Rathlin). Its wooded hinterland also provided opportunity to work in logging camps, lumberyards, and sawmills that supplied the timber that flowed back across the Atlantic on the immigrant ships.¹⁷ These opportunities at the port of arrival were of pivotal importance in the adjustment of new immigrants in eastern Maine. As Houston and Smyth assert, "Temporary work in the colonies could provide immigrants with the possibility of acquiring cash for investment in land."¹⁸

Some immigrants to Maine ranged far afield before settling down in Washington County. Alexander McQuaig, a stone mason from Rathlin

Island, journeyed first to Scotland and then to New Jersey before homesteading a farm in Trescott. McQuaigs had long traveled to Greenock in search of apprenticeships and jobs.¹⁹ His neighbor in Trescott, Denis O'Donnell, from the "Glan" in County Antrim, declared that he first arrived in Holmes Hole, an isolated inlet in southern New England. From there he ventured to New Bedford, New York City, Savannah, and back to Trescott.²⁰ Their experience reminds us that many immigrants Down East were on the move before finding the "Maine chance."

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Trescott, along with West Lubec, Pembroke, and Perry, formed the nucleus of Rathlin settlement in the New World. Why islanders first came to these communities on the eastern periphery of New England is still unknown, but several explanations are plausible. First, places like Trescott and West Lubec were still relatively unsettled in the 1820s when the first Rathlin folk moved through. Cheap land was available, fuel was plentiful, and the numerous inlets of Cobscook Bay offered an easy means for transport (especially for islanders accustomed to sea travel). More central, perhaps, in explaining Washington County's attraction to Rathlin folk is chain migration. Communities such as Trescott were among the first to be settled by islanders in the New World—and quickly became a magnet that attracted others. Mannion and Maddock explain the process: "A pathfinder or pioneering family established a base; friends and kin followed through a system of information diffusion and remittances for fares."²¹ In the mid-nineteenth century over 200 islanders followed, drawn to eastern Maine through family letters and encouragement, pre-paid tickets, ready work, and the early presence of the Catholic church at Pembroke and Trescott. This process was echoed in contemporary accounts of Rathlin migration. Mrs. Catharine Gage remembered in her autobiography that early emigrants sent home such favorable accounts of the New World "that many were induced to emigrate there. They generally succeeded well and always showed great attachment to the home and friends they had left, sending presents of money and encouraging them to join them in the New World and, in numerous instances, paying their passage out."²² This pattern of chain migration would shift and accelerate during the mid-nineteenth century as a result of the Irish famine.

FAMINE

The Great Famine was a watershed in both the history of Ireland and the experience of Rathlin Island. Between 1845 and 1855 over one million people died in Ireland and it is estimated that upwards of two million emigrated to distant shores. This diaspora—which peopled the industrial cities of England and America, and sent emigrants to such widely dispersed destinations as Australia and Argentina—has only recently been studied on a micro-level.²³ The local experience of famine emigrants at home, and the patterns of chain migration, assistance, and family links they forged in the Atlantic world, still beckon to be fully explored.

Rathlin Island was one of those communities that made the trans-Atlantic leap during the famine era. Rathlin, whose poorer families subsisted largely on potatoes, experienced a marked degree of distress and destitution during the famine. Remarkably, there were no famine-related deaths recorded on the island. Contemporary accounts suggest that only through the response of landlord Reverend Robert Gage (who cancelled all rents due to him), and remittances from family members in America, was Rathlin able to avert a larger tragedy. As Catharine Gage described, "In the beginning of 1847 the distress of the people was very great, their entire crop of potatoes rotted in the ground and they had no visible means of support." Applications for assistance were made by Reverend Gage to a variety of charitable societies and agencies "who were most liberal in their donations of food and money, especially the Society of Friends, so that during this trying season, not one perished for want."²⁴

While efforts by Robert Gage played an important role in averting mortality on Rathlin, remittances from family members in America were also crucial in helping to avert a larger tragedy. What is more, folk memory in both Lubec, Maine and Rathlin Island asserts that Gage was not always the benevolent patriarch that he is painted in the historical record. Frank Craig, a Rathlin farmer interviewed in the 1930s by the Irish Folklore Commission, remembered hearing that Indian meal—purchased during the famine by Rathlin immigrants in "America" and shipped aboard the vessel *Erin's Hope*—was commandeered by Robert Gage before it could reach their relations in Rathlin.

He [my father] minded the *Erin's Hope* coming in to the Island, the Irish sent it from America. She had yellow meal. Gage [the landlord of Rathlin] got that. Now listen to this, Gage was the landlord, the Irish paid for that yellow meal to be given free, but Gage made people pay for it. My father's father, my grandfather, was a blacksmith, and he went for his share of the meal off Gage. What did Gage do? Says he, 'You're well fit to pay for it, you have money. Get the money and you'll get your share of meal'. . . . He made money out of that and it given free.²⁵

While the precise details of this account cannot be verified today, it echoes stories passed down in the Rathlin community of Washington County, Maine. The Down East version elaborates that the yellow meal commandeered by the landlord was actually purchased by Rathlin families in Pembroke, Maine, who had saved up their wages made in the Pembroke iron works. When their efforts were stymied by officials in Rathlin, they determined to forego any further relief.²⁶

Whether one acknowledges contemporary accounts by the Gages, or family tradition and recollections, there was nonetheless a dramatic outmigration from Rathlin during the famine and its aftermath. Between 1841 and 1861 the population of the island plummeted from 1,010 people to 453 (a 55 percent decline).²⁷ This dramatic decline left a shadow over the landscape and folklore of the island. Walking the hillsides today one still catches the faint echoes of the famine, especially in the abandoned farm clusters and *clachans* which dot the island. The impact of the famine is perhaps most poignantly remembered in the upland townland of Cleggan, where Clogh-na-screeve, the "writing stone," stands. Here, faintly etched in limestone, are the names of some of the islanders who left during the famine—a unique record of their leavetaking for America.²⁸

The historical record leaves us but a few faint sketches of this migration from Rathlin. Mrs. Gage tells us that in 1846 "when the potato failure set in . . . the number of emigrants the following Spring amounted to 107, leaving the population considerably diminished."²⁹ Some immigrants followed family to Scotland. Most, however, took ship to America, traveling aboard timber vessels to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Maine. Rathlin native Maggie McKinley, born in Craigmacagan in the decades following the famine, recalled this exodus:

My grandmother minded the Famine. She said there was a boat come into the bay here that took away over a hundred people, whole families. She

had five or six sisters and two brothers and they went away. A wild lot died on the boat going over. From here they went to East Port, Maine, and a lot went to Boston.³⁰

Historian Kerby Miller writes, "American grain ships [bringing Indian corn to Ireland] sometimes carried away small groups of people who begged to be rescued from isolated districts such as Rathlin Island."³¹ Since many of the American vessels carrying Indian corn to Ireland were registered in New England, this may have represented an opportune chance for Rathlin folk to travel to their relations in Maine.³²

One of those who left the island in the years surrounding the famine was John McFaul from the townland of Kilpatrick.³³ In many ways his experience encapsulates the story of famine migration from Rathlin. Kilpatrick is rugged and upland, with expansive views of the Mull of Kintyre, in Scotland. In the years before the famine, settlement was concentrated in two *clachans*. Five families—with surnames of McFaul, Black, and McCurdy—worked a harsh world of rocky pasture and upland, herding sheep and depending for survival upon their "lazy beds" of potatoes (or "rigs" as they were known on Rathlin), planted on the hilly slopes. In normal years Kilpatrick offered at best a marginal existence. Weaving provided some subsistence. Sons and daughters also regularly crossed the seas to Scotland as seasonal labor to work the potato harvest. They returned with enough money to tide the family over for another season. This all changed during the famine. Upland clusters like Kilpatrick were among the most devastated on the island (and throughout Ireland).³⁴ Indeed, by 1850, when government officials made a survey of householders for Griffith's Valuation, the townland was all but empty, with only one house still inhabited.³⁵

While many famine families throughout Ireland simply disappeared into the mists of time, we are fortunate that from Rathlin we have a clear picture of the fate of some who made the Atlantic crossing. John McFaul, for example, along with his neighbor Charles McCurdy (likely from Kilpatrick), journeyed to eastern Maine. McCurdy and his family worked as farmer-weavers in the town of Lubec—perhaps following Rathlin antecedents—while McFaul found work in the iron foundry in Pembroke and eventually purchased a small farm on the outskirts of town.³⁶ They were but a small part of a much larger migration between Rathlin Island and Washington County, one that continued for over a decade. By 1860 there were over 100 Rathlin families in the towns sur-

rounding Cobscook Bay, a colony that comprised a significant percentage of those who left the island in the years surrounding the famine.³⁷

FARMLAND AND FACTORY

In the wake of the famine, Rathlin people in Washington County, Maine settled into two distinct "communities": one of them agricultural, straddling the towns of Trescott and West Lubec; the other industrial, centered around the Pembroke Iron Works, a thriving foundry situated along the banks of the Pennamaquan River. (See gallery, plate 22.) The different paths of experience that Rathlin people chose to follow in downeast Maine raise a number of instructive questions. Why, for example, did some emigrants from Rathlin choose industrial jobs over farming? Did family traditions and experience in the homeland define who would be a farmer and who would labor in the foundry? Was there a perception of opportunity and upward mobility that came from working for cash wages? While the answers to some of these questions are still unknown, I would like to explore some tentative explanations. To begin, let us explore these communities in more detail.

In 1860 Trescott and West Lubec, which comprised the heart of the Irish farming district along the Cobscook, boasted seventy-five Irish families. This included forty-one families from Rathlin, fifty-four percent of the emigrants in the two towns.³⁸ Rathlin families began arriving as early as 1829, a migrant stream pioneered by Neal Black, Duncan Bradley, and Laughlin Black, who acquired land along Cobscook Bay. They joined other Irish families, many of them from Ulster, who were fishing the coves of Cobscook and farming the hardscrabble land straddling Lubec and Trescott—Bartholomew Gillise from Tyrone; Patrick Boyd from Donegal; and John Driscoll from Waterford, to name but a few. This growing community soon attracted the attention of the Catholic Church, which had established an early presence in eastern Maine. Circuit riders from Eastport and missionary priests on the Indian reserve at Pleasant Point ministered to this Irish flock. In 1852 a wooden Catholic chapel was built on a piney rise in Trescott.³⁹ Consecrated St. Mary's, it served as the geographical focus of the Irish community and it attracted new settlers to the town, many of whom settled within earshot of its church bell.

The 1860 Federal census provides a valuable snapshot of this com-

munity. The majority of the Irish were identified as farmers, although there was a scattering of artisans, especially in Lubec. These included Thomas Quirk, a master mason from Rathlin; Francis McBride, who had a shoemaker's shop in the village; and Patrick McEvoy, one of several coopers in the town employed in the packaging of fish. There were also several Irish immigrants among the merchant community in Lubec, including Patrick Gillese, from Tyrone, and Charles Keive, a Donegal man whose shop looked out on the channel separating the mainland from Campobello Island, New Brunswick. From the census one also catches a glimpse into the demographics of this community.

One of the most striking qualities revealed in the record was the longevity of Rathlin people along the Cobscook. In Lubec and Trescott, twelve householders were in their seventies or eighties and one, John Bradley, gave his age as 101! Besides this impressive longevity, what is implied in these examples is the sense of community that was preserved and nurtured among island folk. When emigrant families abandoned Rathlin en masse in the years surrounding the Great Famine they took everyone with them—extended families that ranged from young children to elderly grandparents. This community was subsequently transplanted to Washington County.

John Horan, age eighty-four, along with his sons Alexander and John were among the Rathlin voyagers who settled in Lubec at mid-century. As a pioneering farmer, Horan's experience was perhaps representative of many of his Irish neighbors. His experience also reflects the often-surprising upward mobility open to island folk in the New World. The Horans most likely came from the Demesne lands in Rathlin, which included a densely populated lane of cabins overlooking Church Bay. Many of the families on the Demesne were employed as weavers, flax spinners, and farm laborers—the descendants of artisans recruited from the Antrim mainland by Reverend John Gage in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ They were also among the first to leave the island in the years prior to the famine. By 1850 the eight cabins along the lanes were listed as "unoccupied."⁴¹ John Horan and his sons arrived in Lubec and eventually purchased a plot of land at the head of Federal Harbor, one of the coves opening off Cobscook Bay. By 1850 they had cleared upwards of 100 acres on which they raised potatoes, barley, and flax, reproducing some of the agricultural patterns they knew in Rathlin. Livestock owned by Horan was typical of the saltwater farms bordering Cobscook

Bay. In 1850 he had a yoke of oxen, four milk cows, and fifteen sheep which produced wool enough to clothe his family and a little more beside, to sell to the Pembroke woolen mills.⁴²

The prosperity of the Horan farmstead in 1860 was dependent upon a cooperative strategy through which his extended family formed a single economic unit. Rather than homestead farms of their own, his two adult sons (ages thirty-seven and thirty-one) pooled their resources and their work with their father, a cooperative undertaking that led to subsistence and success. The Horans also diversified their economic interests in Lubec. While many of their neighbors had long since abandoned the growing of flax, a laborious and time-consuming process, the Horans continued to spin and weave their summer linen. Only four families in the Cobscook region towns preserved this tradition—all of them from Rathlin Island!⁴³ Like many of the Rathlin farmers in Lubec they also fished on Cobscook Bay. Indeed, fishing was an important adjunct to farming; it provided Irish families with a ready source of cash or credit at the town store. One of the sons, Alexander, also worked in the rural lead mines near Bassett's Cove in West Lubec.

Horan's farm was located on Denbow's Neck Road—one of several Rathlin holdings overlooking Federal Harbor. In the midst of stump-strewn fields and rough pastures stood his farmhouse, a small wood framed structure that was a visible departure from homeland building traditions. Houses on Rathlin were constructed of stone and thatch, a style well suited to climatic conditions. This form, however, quickly became redundant Down East with its bountiful supply of timber. Building styles among the Irish in the Passamaquoddy region largely conformed to examples set by their Yankee neighbors, namely the wood-framed vernacular farmhouses ("Cape Cods") that still dot the landscape of northern New England.

Research in Washington County suggests that cultural continuity among the Irish families was a selective process at best. Rathlin families continued to hold onto their Catholic identity, but in terms of building styles, material culture, and farming, they quickly adapted to the new physical and economic environment. This is expressed clearly in the 1850 agricultural census for Lubec and Trescott. Rathlin farmers such as John Horan became acquainted with new implements and new methods of farming—for example, the use of oxen as draught animals—unknown in the homeland.⁴⁴

With respect to language, it is most probable that early Rathlin families coming to the Cobscook region spoke Irish, as even in 1910 a large number of people in Rathlin (almost two-thirds of the population) were still native speakers.⁴⁵ During the period of peak migration to Maine (1830-1860), Rathlin Island was a patchwork of linguistic traditions that reflected its diverse social history. Rathlin Irish, as historian Augustine McCurdy explains, was intermixed with a good deal of Scots-Gaidhlig, and this was not unusual considering the Scottish origin of many of the islanders. The eighteenth century, in particular, brought successive waves of Scottish Highlanders to the island (as mentioned earlier, some had fled following the defeat of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" at the Battle of Culloden in 1745).⁴⁶ Some of these refugees were given tenancies or employment by the Gage family. Indeed the migration of Scots-Gaidhlig speakers (who also carried some English or Lowland Scots in their linguistic baggage) "led to a dilution of Rathlin Irish." This was especially true in the Lower End of the island (Ceann Caol), where a distinct dialect emerged, one that was different in grammar and pronunciation from that in the Upper End of the island.⁴⁷

This difference in dialect between the Lower End and the Upper End of the island developed into a friendly rivalry that survived into the twentieth century. As Augustine McCurdy explains:

The Upper End people spoke, in the main, Irish. They were not impressed with the dialect and ways of the incomers and so they called them 'Cuddins'. This is the Rathlin Irish for a very small fish which used to come into the harbour area in large shoals. They were caught in nets and salted away for the winter. However, this description implied that the Lower Enders were not of much account. The Lower Enders, in turn, called the inhabitants of the Upper End 'Furns' [Gaelic '*forachan*']. This is the Rathlin term for puffins and other auks which gather in vast numbers every spring at the cliffs of Cnoc an Tirrive (*Cnoc an Tairbh*—the hill of the bull). Of course, this term implied that the Upper Enders were as wild and untamed as seabirds.⁴⁸

To what extent this rivalry was carried to Maine is unknown, but it seems certain that Rathlin Irish was spoken by many of these immigrants upon their arrival in the saltwater coves of Lubec, Trescott, and Pembroke during the mid-nineteenth century. Few artifacts of this linguistic heritage have survived in the Passamaquoddy region, with the exception of distinctive Scottish trace elements, such as the use of

Archibald, Laughlin, and Duncan as first names.⁴⁹ There is also the occasional tantalizing hint embedded in local memory and stories. In the 1940s, John L. McCurdy of Lubec (then a sheriff in Washington County), in his letters to Augustine McCurdy of Rathlin Island, remembered his mother singing Gaelic songs to him when he was a young child. His mother, born in Lubec, in turn had learned the songs from her own mother, who had emigrated from Rathlin during the famine.⁵⁰

PEMBROKE

On the northern shore of Cobscook Bay one finds the town of Pembroke—today a quiet community. In 1850 Pembroke had an air of enterprise and progress. Farming, fishing, shipbuilding, and cutting timber provided opportunities for newcomers. Most importantly, the Pembroke Iron Works (established 1828), a thriving foundry situated along the banks of the Pennamaquan River, employed a steady stream of natives and newcomers—many of them Rathlin Islanders. At its peak the foundry produced 5,000 tons of iron: nails, horseshoes, chain iron, and boiler rivets.⁵¹ By 1860 there were over sixty-eight Irish families in Pembroke, many employed in the iron works. There was also a vibrant community of English families in Pembroke who lived in an enclave called "the English village." Indeed, one detects a distinct ethnic division of labor in the irons works: skilled English puddlers were recruited by the foundry, while Irish were employed almost exclusively in lower scale positions as heaters helpers, puddler's helpers, and laborers.⁵² Irish workers in Pembroke were primarily wage earners and lived in company housing within the shadows of the iron yard.

We return to the question posed earlier: Why did some Rathlin people work in the factories when others found subsistence in the soil and the sea? Was it a perception of opportunity? Of cash wages? Kevin Whelan argues that Irish immigrants in nineteenth-century America were informed and opportunistic: they ventured to urban centers and industrial jobs not solely because they were poor, or had limited choices, but because factory work, with steady cash wages, offered the best options for moving ahead.⁵³ Family letters flowing between Ireland and the New World frequently mentioned the state of the economy and available jobs in America. As one immigrant wrote in 1853, "This is a good country for a labouring man . . . At this time he can earn at least

one dollar a day, equal to 4 shillings British. He is in good demand for this sum."⁵⁴

While the lure of employment may have been a factor in Irish migration to the industrial cities of the Northeast, the experience of Rathlin folk in Washington County is perhaps more complex. First, it appears that the choice to work in the industrial setting of Pembroke was dictated in some degree by the timing of migration. Many of the Rathlin people who took up farms along the Cobscook were early arrivals—"pioneers" who are able to purchase available land in the 1830s and 1840s. This window of opportunity was not always available to newcomers arriving after the Famine years, when emigrants left Rathlin with few resources and often out of desperation. Work in the iron foundry, then, was a safety valve that allowed newcomers to find their feet during the first critical years. In time, cash wages at the foundry enabled some immigrants to purchase land in nearby farming communities.

Foundry work was also a safety valve in another important way. The Pembroke Iron Works was at its peak in the 1850s and 1860s—just at the time when a new generation of Irish boys (immigrant and American-born) in towns like Lubec and Trescott were coming of age. These surplus sons—like many of their contemporaries throughout northern New England—faced several choices. Population was increasing and land in coastal Maine was growing scarce. Many had to choose between staying at home in a constricted economic environment, or to look West toward the new frontier of opportunity. Indeed, many of their generation in the 1840s and 1850s homesteaded land in the Midwest.⁵⁵ Yet while some of the Irish and Rathlin folk in Washington County followed this westward migration, many others stayed behind. Increasingly, some of this younger generation of islanders opted to work in the foundry, within sight and sound of home communities.

According to the 1860 Census of Pembroke, which recorded Irish workers at the iron works, many were relatively young and in their formative years. Rathlin-born Daniel McFall, twenty-five years of age and residing on his father's farm in Pembroke, worked as a roller at the iron works, along with two of his brothers. Neale McCurdy, an "Iron works laborer," lived within earshot of the foundry in a household with several other young men from Rathlin, including John and James Black, a roller and puddler's helper.⁵⁶ These examples suggest a different way of looking at our question. Industrial jobs, rather than simply being a sign

of Rathlin folk leaping into the capitalist world of wages and opportunity, may have also represented something more fundamental. Taking a job in the foundry was a way of maintaining a sense of community and a sense of cohesiveness within families. For surplus sons like Daniel McFall and his brothers, factory work may have been a way to postpone out-migration. For those like Neale McCurdy, who as a young boy on Rathlin Island had experienced the wrenching dislocation brought on by the Great Famine, taking a job in the foundry, and working alongside Old World neighbors, was a way to preserve a sense of place and community. Even after the foundry closed in the 1880s and the lead mines folded, Rathlin Islanders from Washington County held onto their cohesiveness and island identity, moving on in groups to new horizons. As one writer reflects, "islands may be the last places where self-reliance is coupled with a keen sense of community."⁵⁷

LEGACY

The Rathlin enclaves along the Cobscook Bay are important for several reasons. First they reflect the growing diversity and pluralism of Maine communities during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Farming, fishing, logging and factory work attracted to Maine a variety of people who settled in burgeoning mill towns and agricultural communities alike. These included Franco-American mill families in Lewiston, Scandinavian farmers in New Sweden, and Scottish, Italian and Finnish granite workers on Hurricane Island—immigrants who envisioned, but not always realized, a new world of opportunity in Maine.⁵⁸ Like the Rathlin Islanders of Lubec and Pembroke, their migration was facilitated by families who had gone earlier—pioneers who wrote home of jobs and opportunities and whose assistance often eased the adjustment of newcomers. And like Rathlin folk, their migration was often undertaken to preserve a sense of family identity and community and to pursue opportunities that were beyond their reach, or no longer accessible, in their home places.

The Rathlin migration to Washington County is also significant in that it illustrates the often fluid boundaries and migration corridors that crossed Maine during the nineteenth century. French-Canadian families, for example, moved back and forth between the farming villages of Quebec and the factory towns of Maine and southern New

England. Irish migrants, likewise, used Maine as a stepping stone in what often were extended migration patterns. Between the years 1815 and 1850, in particular, thousands of Irish crossed from the Maritimes into Maine on their way to Boston and beyond. Some of these voyagers, of course, remained Down East—exemplified by the Rathlin communities of Cobscook Bay, the farming enclaves of Aroostook County, and the urban Irish neighborhoods of Bangor and Portland. Their stories have enriched the cultural and religious heritage of Maine and has also proved to be an important legacy for immigrants and newcomers who would follow in their footsteps.

Migration to Washington County brought dramatic changes in experience for Rathlin Islanders. Local traditions and associations from Rathlin slowly faded as they adjusted to a new landscape, new building traditions, and new allegiances—which included celebrating the Fourth of July and, for some, serving in Union Regiments during the American Civil War.⁵⁹ In towns such as Lubec and Pembroke, they also came into close contact with a spectrum of newcomers—from New England Yankees to Irish from a variety of counties and localities. Perhaps most striking to island people were their encounters with Native Americans—Passamaquoddy and Maliseet Indians—who lived in remnant groups nearby. Pembroke, as late as 1860, had several Native American “camps,” and bands of native people continued to travel the roads and byways of Washington County and trade at local stores.

Yet, despite encounters and adjustments in the New World, a sense of “Rathlin” was still embroidered on the landscape in eastern Maine. We can visualize this in the 1881 Atlas of Washington County—where in West Lubec we find a “little Rathlin” clustered along the shores of Federal Harbor. (See gallery, plate 20.) Here were McCurdys, Blacks, Morrisons, McQuaigs, and Horans, linked by the physical boundaries of field, fence, and farm but also connected by an invisible “map”—one woven together by a web of personal relationships that stretch back to Rathlin Island. Many of these families and associations are gone today, but their memory still survives in the place names surrounding Federal Harbor. Approaching the cove by boat one is impressed by the headlands rising above the water—Horan Head and Black Head—named for the pioneer families along the inlet. Nearby one finds Bradley Mountain and Morrison’s Cove. Perhaps most intriguing of all is the elevation on the north side of the cove, called “Cobble Hill.” Was this perhaps in

memory of Kebble—an upland district of Rathlin cleared during the famine of some of the same families that settled in Lubec? Johnny Horan is silent on this question.

Today the fate of Rathlin Island resembles, in many ways, that of eastern Maine. It was once a busy crossroads—a stepping stone along the fluid cultural boundaries between Scotland and Ireland. During the last century, however, it has suffered from a decline in population, lack of opportunity, and the draw of brighter lights. Yet, both Rathlin and eastern Maine have much to share in their history. At the interface of sea and land the communities of Rathlin and the Passamaquoddy are bound together by the ever-present and ever-changing ocean. In facing the Atlantic they face each other across time and space.

1. Alan Taylor, “Centers and Peripheries: Locating Maine’s History,” *Maine History* 39 (Spring 2000): 3–15.
2. The most recent and authoritative work on Rathlin can be found in Augustine McCurdy, *Rathlin’s Rugged Story: From an Islander’s Perspective* (Coleraine, County Derry: Impact Printing, 2000); and *Gaeilge Reachlann: A History of Rathlin Irish* (Rathlin: An tEach Ceannann Dubh Publications [By author], 2002). Also see the pioneering work of Marie E. Daly, “Rathlin Islanders Downeast,” *Nexus* 6, no. 6: 196. Patricia McCurdy Townsend (formerly of Lubec), in her detailed family histories and website, has laid the important groundwork for continuing research on the connection between Rathlin and Washington County, Maine. See <http://members.tripod.com/~quoddybelle/index>
3. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837, reprint 1984), 2:502; *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland: North Antrim Coast and Rathlin* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, 1994), 24:129.
4. McCurdy, *Gaeilge Reachlann*, 7; *Ordnance Survey Memoirs*, 24:134; and Wallace Clark, *Rathlin: Its Island Story* (Coleraine, County Derry: Northwest Books, 1988), 131.
5. Tithe Applotment Books (County Antrim, Barony of Cary, Parish of Rathlin Ireland), Northern Ireland Series, Microfilm Reel #139, O’Neill Library, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.
6. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 2:502.
7. See Duncan Bradley’s Naturalization Petition in Supreme Judicial Court Records, Washington County, Maine, July Term, 1841 (Volume 5), Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine (hereafter MSA).
8. *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland*, 24:133.
9. On this stepwise migration, see Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 20–43. This phenomenon is also reflected in studies on Irish migration. See, for example, David Fitzpatrick, “‘A peculiar tramping people’: the Irish in Britain, 1801–70,” in W. E. Vaughn, ed., *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5:627–32; Edward Chafe, “A New Life on ‘Uncle Sam’s Farm’:

- Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1846–1859," (Master's thesis, Memorial University, St. Johns, 1982); and Edward T. McCarron, "Altered States: Tyrone Migration to Providence, Rhode Island during the Nineteenth Century," *Clogher Record* 16, no.1 (1997): 145–61.
10. *A History of the Island of Rathlin*, by Mrs. Gage (Coleraine: J. Margaret Dickson, 1995), 87. These accounts are corroborated in the writings of Dr. J. D. Marshall, who visited Rathlin in 1834. He noted that a number of men journeyed to Glasgow and Greenock to learn the trade of ships carpenter, and others took ships to America. "In one of the years preceding his visit, upwards of forty had left for America and during the summer of 1834 sixteen had emigrated. . . ." See McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 38.
 11. John Mannion and Fidelma Maddock, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioige Immigrants in Newfoundland," in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Kilkenny History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1991), 371.
 12. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), Chapter 6.
 13. Declaration of Intention, Neal Black, Washington County District Court, Eastern District, Records Volume 9, September term 1847, MSA.
 14. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 90, 31–35. It is probable that many of the Rathlin emigrants left from Derry. In 1847, for example, a ship, the *Charles Napier*, departed Derry for Saint John, New Brunswick, carrying several Rathlin families—Blacks, McCurdys and McFauls. See McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 44.
 15. This pivotal migration corridor through eastern Maine has, with the following notable exceptions, received scant attention from students of Irish America. See William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967); Marcus Lee Hanson, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940); and Marcus Lee Hanson, "The Second Colonization of New England," *The New England Quarterly* 2 (1929): 539–60.
 16. Supreme Judicial Court Records, Washington County Maine, Volume 8 (July Term 1844), MSA.
 17. Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 204.
 18. *Ibid.*, 128.
 19. See, for example, Sean McCouaig, "McCouaig Family Ships," *The Glynnns: Journal of the Glens of Antrim Historical Society* (Cushendall, Co. Antrim: The Glens of Antrim Historical Society, 1998), 70–73. On Alexander McQuaig, see his naturalization petition, Supreme Judicial Court Records, Washington County Maine, Volume 10 (22 September 1847), MSA.
 20. The travels of Denis O'Donnell are outlined in his declaration of intention, Supreme Judicial Court Records, Washington County, Maine, Volume 9, July Term 1847, MSA.
 21. Mannion and Maddock, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptation," 371. On the importance of chain migration in Irish movement and settlement, see David Fitzpatrick, "Emigration, 1801–70" in Vaughn, *A New History of Ireland*, 5:600–603; Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*,

- 90–95; and Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*. For a specific case study of chain migration from Tipperary, see Bruce Eliot, *Irish Emigrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).
22. *A History of the Island of Rathlin* by Mrs. Gage, 87.
23. Robert J. Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine, and Emigration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Tyler Anbinder, "From Famine to Five Points," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 (2002); and Edward T. McCarron, "Famine Lifeline: The Transatlantic Letters of James Prendergast," in David Valone and Christine Kinealy, eds., *Ireland's Great Hunger: Silence, Memory and Commemoration* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002), 41–62.
24. *A History of the Island of Rathlin* by Mrs. Gage, 87. It appears that Robert Gage also took direct responsibility for securing food and relief. In 1847 he purchased thirty-two barrels of Indian corn meal and three tons of Carolina rice—most likely intended for Rathlin. See McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 43.
25. Cathal Poirteir, ed., *Famine Echoes* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995), 198.
26. The story of Pembroke's efforts to sent Indian meal to Rathlin during the famine was told to me by Patricia McCurdy Townsend, whose family emigrated from Rathlin Island to Lubec, Maine in the years surrounding the famine.
27. Clark, *Rathlin: Its Island Story*, 140.
28. Clogh-na-screeve is described in Clark, *Rathlin: Its Island Story*, 140. It still stands in Cleggan and is remembered by natives of the island. Telephone interview with Noel McCurdy of Rathlin Island, 28 May 2002.
29. *A History of the Island of Rathlin* by Mrs. Gage, 87.
30. Poirteir, *Famine Echoes*, 245.
31. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 295. Augustine McCurdy also notes that in 1847 there is a record of Robert Gage negotiating with the J&J Cooke Shipping Line.
32. American Consulate records, for example, kept a record of American ships provisioning in Cork and carrying Indian corn to a variety of locations in Ireland. Many of these were "belonging" to ports in Maine. See "Dispatches from United States consuls in Cork, 1800–1906," National Archives, Microfilm Publications, microfilm D 359, Roll 1.
33. John McFaul's origins in "Kilpatrick, Rathlin Island" are recorded on his gravestone in St. John's Cemetery, Pembroke, Maine. It records that he died in 1867, at age seventy-seven.
34. On the famine's effect on Ireland, and the devastation of marginal uplands, see F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, and Matthew Stout, *Atlas of the Rural Irish Landscape* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997), 87–92. See also Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*.
35. Griffiths Valuation of Tenements, Parish of Rathlin Island, townland of Kilpatrick (Microfiche, County Antrim, fiche #4), O'Neill Library, Boston College.
36. 1860 Federal Census, Washington County, Maine, Towns of Lubec and Pembroke, Series 653, Roll # 455.
37. Marie Daly, of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, estimates that of the 550 people who emigrated from Rathlin between 1841 and 1861, at least 230 with Rathlin names settled in Washington County, Maine. See Daly, "Rathlin Islanders Downeast," 196.
38. Figures are gleaned from the 1860 Federal Census.

39. On Eastport and the missions of Trescott and Lubec, see William L. Lucey, *The Catholic Church in Maine* (Francestown, NH: Marshall Jones Co., 1957), 70–79, 115, 144.
40. My research points to the fact that all of these emigrants—including the Horans—were leaseholders rather than landowners. There were only three property owners on the Island in 1861, the largest by far being the Gage family. The remaining families, seventy-five in all, were tenants of Gage. See McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 44–45.
41. The Demesne lands in 1834 listed a John Horan as leasing just over two acres, and Edward Horan with eight acres. See Tithe Applotment Books (County Antrim, Barony of Cary, Parish of Rathlin Island), Northern Ireland Series, Microfilm Reel #139, O'Neill Library, Boston College. By 1850, these holdings are listed as "unoccupied" in Griffith's Valuation of Tenements, Parish of Rathlin Island, Demesne townland (Microfiche, County Antrim, fiche #4), O'Neill Library, Boston College.
42. Information on the Horan farm can be found in the Industrial, Agricultural, and Social Census, 1850, Washington County, Maine (Vol. 131), Microfilm Roll #2, MSA.
43. Industrial, Agricultural, and Social Census, 1850, Washington County, Maine (Vol. 131), Microfilm Roll# 2, MSA. It was very unusual to grow flax and make linen homespun in 1860—with the availability of factory cloth. See Clarence Day, *History of Maine Agriculture, 1604–1860* (*University of Maine Bulletin* 56, no. 11 [April 1954]): 155. Yet, it was still certainly a tradition on Rathlin Island, where in the years before the Famine (and before widespread mechanization of weaving) "nearly every house [in Rathlin] had a weaving loom." McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 42.
44. 1850 Agricultural Census.
45. McCurdy, *Gaeilge Reachlann*, 15. In 1835 there were six schools on the island, two of which (in the western townlands of Cleggan and Ballygill) continued to teach Irish. The active promotion of culture by such schools and their committed teachers throughout the nineteenth century was responsible for the preservation of the Irish language on Rathlin into the early years of the twentieth century. The local authority on linguistic traditions of Rathlin Island is Augustine McCurdy. Much of my discussion of Irish and Scots-Gaelic is drawn from his *Gaeilge Reachlann: A History of Rathlin*. For his efforts to reinvigorate Rathlin cultural life and the generous sharing of his knowledge by means of transatlantic telephone calls, I am deeply grateful. For more intensive linguistic analysis on Rathlin Irish see Nils M. Hulmer, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1942); T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1932). Also see Clark, *Rathlin: Its Island Story*. I am also grateful to Dr. Kenneth Nilsen for these three references.
46. McCurdy, *Rathlin's Rugged Story*, 36, 77; and *Gaeilge Reachlann*, 7. McCurdy emphasizes that this intermixture of Scots-Gaidhlig and Irish was not exclusive to Rathlin. The coastal areas, from the Antrim glens to west Donegal, had a similar ethnic and language mix.
47. This difference in dialect was recorded by Swedish linguist Nils Hulmer. When he came to Rathlin in 1937, as Augustine McCurdy relates, he found "a remarkable difference between the dialect of the Upper End and the Lower End, chiefly in pronunciation, but also in grammar." Indeed, in the center part of the island

- he noticed what he called "a more central form," which embodied features from both ends of the island. See *Gaeilge Reachlann*, 21. Notwithstanding these differences in dialect, the islanders were still able to converse with and to understand each other with ease, and differences seemed to dissolve whenever they found themselves under attack by outsiders.
48. McCurdy, *Gaeilge Reachlann*, 7.
49. Naming patterns for Rathlin families in Lubec, Trescott, and Pembroke, Maine, can be gleaned from the 1860 Federal Census, cited above.
50. Personal communication from Augustine McCurdy of Rathlin Island (son of the late Augustine McCurdy, recipient of the Sheriff's letters), 11 April 2003. While John McCurdy is remembered in oral tradition on Rathlin Island as being the "sheriff of Lubec," in Maine a Sheriff is a County officer.
51. Sidney A. Wilder, *Centennial Celebration of the town of Pembroke, 1832–1932*, unpublished mounted newspaper clippings (1932), Maine State Library, 21.
52. A puddler was a skilled artisan whose job it was to stir molten iron to the correct consistency in order to produce wrought iron.
53. Kevin Whelan, *The Killing Snows* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, forthcoming).
54. Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850–1900* (Chester, PA: Dufour Editions, 1997), 28.
55. On this migration from northern New England, see Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth Century New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Concerning the movement of Irish from Maine and the Maritimes to the Midwest, see Joseph A. King, *The Irish Lumberman Farmer* (Lafayette, California: By the author, 1982).
56. 1860 Federal Census, Washington County, Maine, Series 653, Roll #455 (microfilm), Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.
57. Chris Crossman, "Drawing with Light," in Peter Ralston, *Sightings: A Maine Coast Odyssey* (Camden, ME: Downeast Books, 1997), x.
58. For an overview of the Franco-American traditions, see the work of Yves Frenette in Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman, eds., *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Pre-History to the Present* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995), 457–59, 465–70; and on migration routes and settlement patterns his "Understanding the French Canadians of Lewiston, 1860–1900: An Alternate Framework," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (spring 1986): 198–229. On the workers of Hurricane Island, see Lawrence C. Allin, "Maine's Granite Industry," in Judd, Churchill, and Eastman, *Maine: The Pine Tree State*, 275–80; and Eleanor Richardson, *Hurricane Island: The Town that Disappeared* (Rockland, ME: The Island Institute, 1989), 28–30. For New Sweden, see Charlotte Lenentine Melvin, "The First Hundred Years in New Sweden," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* (Oct. 1970): 233–57.
59. A list of Washington County men drafted in August 1863 to serve in the Civil War included John McCurdy, Archibald Wilkinson, and L. McCurdy from Lubec, and John Bradley and John McFlail [McFall] from Pembroke. See *Vital Records from the Eastport Sentinel of Eastport, Maine 1818–1900* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1996) 198. At least two Irish soldiers from Lubec died during the Civil War. John Keive (born in New Brunswick of Donegal parents) was killed at the Battle of Fredericksburg in May 1863, and Daniel Keive, his twin brother, died at St. James Hospital in New Orleans in November 1863.