

Unfinished Business: A New Timeline For The Wartime
Experiences Of The Irish Language Community

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The CATTUVVIRR Project

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere.

Signature:

Acknowledgements

Putting this thesis together, and creating the accompanying digital artefact, has been a challenging process, in the sense that I have had to balance my own heartfelt desire to encourage a broader view of Irish history, whilst at the same time, being mindful of the advice of others to adopt a specialized approach towards doing so. For their advice and assistance in helping me achieve those two (hopefully compatible) goals, I would like to thank the following:

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Introduction

...the military history of Ireland cannot concern itself only with battles and campaigns, army organisation and recruitment nor even about the relationships and interactions between the armed forces and society at various periods: all of these matters are important.... However, the thorny issue of Irish identity should also be confronted and the role that the belief in an Irish military tradition has played in its formation should be examined. (Jeffery & Bartlett, 1996, p. 6)

‘In truth it was not the "Wild Geese" who forgot the tongue of the Gael or let it perish.’
(MacManus, 1979, p. 477)

Description – this project is composed of two parts:

1. A 20,000-word dissertation.
2. A digital artefact consisting of a time-map (a combination of a timeline and a map) operated by TimeMapper.

Origin of title: the term CATTUVVIRR comes from Primitive Irish¹. According to McManus (2004), it is a compound of the words *wiras* (‘man’) and *catus* (‘battle’).

What will this project add to the digital humanities that doesn’t already exist?

CATTUVVIRR is a seeks to create a timeline which highlights the activities of a specified group (people involved in Irish language scholarship and activism) over the course of several different chronological periods of military history whilst in the service of a variety of different nation-states/military powers. Other digital projects have been created for other such groups (native speakers of indigenous North American languages). However, those particular projects are not in timeline format.

Some are video trailers produced for the purpose of advertising books (see Bruchac, n.d.), and others take the form of collections of audio and video files, such as the American Indians section of the “Stories from the American Veterans History Project” website (see Fenner, 2009). Furthermore, these sources deal solely with one military conflict, the Second World War, whereas my own artefact deals with multiple conflicts.

¹ The language in which the majority of Ogham inscriptions were written.

What is the specific humanities-related objective to be informed?

The humanities-related objective which CATTUVVIRR seeks to attain is to create a digital artefact which emphasizes both the military history and the language-related activities of a select group. Many other such initiatives, when covering similar groups, tend to cover either the military dimension (see National Library of Wales, 2016) or the language one (see VCH Explore, n.d.), or when covering both, do not do so equally.

Is military history explored through a linguistic facet?

I concur with the notion that military history has, from time to time, been explored through a linguistic facet. The projects I referred to in my first point constitute a precedent for this. Furthermore, if we turn to the field of non-digital factual works, Titley (2011) offers examples of military-themed biographies (e.g. Friseal, 1979), memoirs (e.g. MacDhòmhnail, 2011) and diaries (e.g. Moireach, 1970) in Scots Gaelic, and he contrasts this with the dearth of similar material in Irish Gaelic. There are some exceptions, namely Cín Lae Uí Mhealláin – an account of the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland from the perspective of the Gaelic Irish in Ulster – and the letters of an tAthair Pádraig Mac Giolla Cheara, a British army chaplain during the First World War.

The latter has been the subject of full study and analysis by de Brún (2004), and was the subject of a recent documentary film (Ní Chatháin, 2015). Although non-fictional texts concerning military conflicts are relatively rare, they are by no means unheard of. One such book (Mac Cóil, 2007) describes the conflicting memories of an Irish Brigade officer of the battle of Fontenoy 1745. However, the war which appears to have drawn the most attention of Irish language writers is the Cromwellian Invasion, which has been the subject of no less than four novels (see Mac Cóil, 2007; Mac Grianna, 1956; Ó Baoill, 2010 and Ó Liatháin, 1966) over the past 60 years.

With regard to poetry, a survey of 18th century poetry in Irish yields numerous examples of references to the Wild Geese (examples include Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill in Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 2011 and Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin in de Fréine & O'Donnell, 1992). These were Catholic Irish soldiers in the armies of Europe, who left their own country to seek their fortune and, it was hoped by the poets, would one day return to liberate their homeland and establish religious freedom. McCarthy (2009) takes an unusual route in that it is both an anthology of poetry and diary entries belonging to an officer who served with the Irish Guards in the Second World War. Harmon (2009) assures us, however, that this officer was fictional.

Of course, even though the aforementioned works deal with factual events, they are still subjective, personal and literary in nature. How do things present themselves on the academic non-digital front? Allen & Reynolds (2001) argue that when studying the military history of the so-called ‘Celts’, one has no choice but to explore them through a linguistic facet. Such an approach is grounded in the fact that most historians (e.g. James, 1999) now believe that such groups were united more by language, culture, social structure or religion, than by common ethnicity or ancestry.

As such, Irish military history has been partially explored through a linguistic facet, but not in a complete manner, and mainly in the realm of fiction. Non-fictional works have, however, merely scratched its surface. CATTUVVIRR aims to speed up this process.

Why are language studies and linguistic studies relevant to the study of military history?

It is my considered opinion that language studies and linguistic studies are highly relevant to the study of military history. I make this assertion because it stresses the contributions of both individual people and small communities to military history. This is something which is utterly crucial because far too often, works in this field take a ‘big picture’ approach by studying conflicts (e.g. Bradford, 2001) and campaigns (e.g. Holland, 2016) in their entirety.

A variation on the ‘big picture’ theme is the tendency of military historians to concentrate on the collective actions of military units². The formation in question could be a corps (e.g. Barlow, 2013), a division (e.g. Staniforth, 2012), a brigade (e.g. Doherty, 1994), a regiment (e.g. Gleeson, 2003), a battalion (e.g. Fitzsimons, 2004) or a company (e.g. Hanna, 2002). Whilst these studies are undeniably valuable, the emphasis which military history tends to place upon them poses the risk of obscuring the stories of the individual people involved in such units.

This, in my view, ultimately serves to narrow our view of the field. I argue that this is detrimental, because the armed forces of a military power often reflect the societies which established said power³. If the armed forces are a reflection of a particular society, then so are the people who serve in them. Language plays a special role here because, as Tylor (1974)

² In such a category, one could also include biographies of generals such as Napoleon Bonaparte (see Barnett, 1997) or Thomas Francis Meagher (see McCarter, 2003). As major personalities in the war, such people would easily overshadow the ‘ordinary’ people involved in conflicts.

³ What makes Ireland’s connection to military history special is that it is a story of people engaging with countries other than their own.

reminds us, competency in it is a capability or a habit attained by a human being due to his/her membership of society.

How does this expose & leverage the linguistic elements?

I shall expose and leverage the linguistic elements primarily by using and citing Irish language sources in the creation of the timeline. However, the project itself will be carried out in English. This is essentially because most producers (i.e. historians) and consumers (i.e. readers) of Irish historical works are Anglophone, and my project needs to be in a language which such groups can comprehend if they are to appreciate its value. Whelan (2004) criticises the tendency amongst certain Irish historians to deliberately ignore Irish language sources.

He rightly questions this on the grounds that Irish had been the majority language of the country far longer than English has. Furthermore, he places this negligence in the context of Ireland's historical revisionism, which he considers to be largely political, rather than scholarly, in nature⁴. Fundamentally, this project has the purpose of impressing upon others the value of viewing an aspect of Irish history through a language-orientated lens. The linguistic aspect is addressed by shedding light on the activities of members of a specified language groups.

Have similar initiatives been conducted in other languages?

Similar initiatives have been conducted in Cornwall, Scotland and Wales:

- *Cornwall*: VCH Explore (n.d.) offers digitized versions of scholarly works by the eminent Cornish language supporter William Scawen. Although it emphasizes his linguistic activities, some details of his career in the Royalist forces during the English Civil War are also mentioned.
- *Scotland*: numerous radio programmes in Scots Gaelic have been produced recently in conjunction with centenary commemorations of the First World War. Examples of this include *Blàr an Somme* (BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, 2016) and *Seachdain sa Chogadh* (BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, 2014).
- *Wales*: 'Cymru 1914 – the Welsh Experience of the First World War' is an online database consisting solely of written or printed first-hand documentation concerning the First World War originating in Wales. This

⁴ See Tóibín (1993) who not only maintains that they have been motivated more by politics than by factual accuracy, but defends them for having been so.

project places equal importance upon both civilian and military-based accounts of the war, and does not the language question.

What does it provide to the user base that did not exist previously?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to first define the user base. It shall be comprised of Irish military historians (professional or non-professional) and military history enthusiasts. CATTUVVIRR will provide this particular group with a digital artefact that is wholly unique because it manages to balance specialization, i.e. an emphasis on the military activities of a linguistic and cultural group uniquely associated with Ireland, with an internationalist ethos by showing their exploits on the world stage and focusing upon multiple conflicts, military powers, theatres of war and time periods.

How does the technology (a) enable superior understanding of the subject, (b) what patterns does it expose and (c) what new questions does it pose and answer?

- a) *Superior understanding*: it enables superior understanding of the subject by focusing on a linguistic group within Irish military history rather than on a profession (e.g. Quinn, 2006) or a particular formal military formation (see O’Riordan, 2005).
- b) *Patterns exposed*: the patterns which I hope to expose using the data from CATTUVVIRR include what are the periods of greatest engagement of military figures with the Irish language, what are the military powers with which they are most strongly associated with, which are the military conflicts in which they were most deeply involved, and which were the theatres in which they were most numerous.
- c) *New questions posed and answered*: the most important question which I would like to pose as part of the project is why there has been so little interest in this particular area. Those I would like to answer are (i) what are the military powers with which speakers/scholars of Irish are most strongly associated with and (ii) what are the conflicts in which they were most visible.

Are good digital development practises being followed?

Good digital development practises are being followed (a) in the manner in which project users shall interact with the data, and (b) in how they shall use it for their own ends:

A: Interaction with the data

Users shall interact with the data in several ways:

- i. By pressing the arrows on the digital artefact's timeline function, they can see for themselves which are the time periods and military conflicts with which individual Irish speakers were involved with.
- ii. The mapping function allows them to view the various parts of the world in which said Irish speakers are associated with. This can be either the place in which they were born or the theatres/localities in which they served.
- iii. If the user is someone of Irish descent with both an interest in the Irish language and experience of serving in a foreign army, he or she can contact the CATTUVVIRR project administrator, be accepted as a user and input his/her own details into the spreadsheet section of the project, thus automatically creating new data for both the timeline and the map.

B: Future use of the data

I foresee data from the CATTUVVIRR project being used in the following ways:

- As a means of researching information about Irish military history with a view to focusing upon individuals, rather than as members of military units. This focus will be important for researchers because it offers an insight into the motivations and of each entry for having participated in military conflict(s), and for having connections to the language community, and any social or political loyalties for either kind of activity. I feel that such matters are important in Ireland's case because given that these people are part of a military diaspora, the expected loyalties of an ethnic group to their own nation-state (which would apply in a non-diaspora project) do not apply.
- Returning briefly to my chosen theme, it also offers an opportunity to stress the much-neglected language dimension of the field as well.
- It is a highly-visual project, and by using maps and Creative Commons-based images, can illustrate the diversity of the Irish military diaspora.
- As a visually-based project, it also has the potential to be used as a teaching tool.

Research Question

My research question shall be: ‘What is the best way of digitally documenting the experiences of the Irish language community in world military history from the mid-16th century to the early 20th century?’ I shall argue that the most effective way of doing this is by using a time-map, which is a Google spreadsheet/map/timeline hybrid created by Time Mapper. Although it is my intention to elaborate upon this process in more detail during the Literature Review chapter, I would like to outline why a timeline/map combination is presently the most effective tool for offering specific and hitherto-unavailable opportunities for researching analysis.

There is a lack of organized and substantiated data for Irish-speaking military figures as members of units simply because for many centuries, there had been no formalized system for documenting data about individual soldiers. As such, it is extremely difficult to make definite judgements as to whether or not Irish speakers made a difference to military history based on traditional non-digital research methodologies. A well-sourced project such as CATTUVVIRR, which not only documents stories of Irish speakers at war but also makes the effort to strictly define them, can build a foundation for asserting whether they have had a significant influence upon military affairs or not.

Furthermore, the relatively few sources from which one can glean information about them are overwhelmingly textual in nature. Such a state of affairs could cause difficulties for teaching the subject because, when doing so, it would be neither attractive nor practical to rely solely on non-visual techniques. Therefore, a time-map offers a chance to rectify this difficulty. Another advantage of the digital artefact is that the spreadsheet function offers researchers and analysts the chance to add their own information to the database responsible for the timeline entries. Thus it is possible for such scholars to participate in the project and collaborate with it. By doing so, they are focusing on Irish military history in an entirely new way.

In the Literature Review chapter, I shall conduct a review of a representative sample of Irish military history literature and timeline projects of relevance to CATTUVVIRR.

Literature Review

My literature review shall consist of the following:

- I. The thematic approach.
- II. How the Irish language community is perceived in the military history field.
- III. A literature review of works dealing with digital data visualization.
- IV. A brief summary.

I: THEMATIC APPROACH

When taking such literature into account, the following themes (in no particular order of importance) will be identified as being relevant:

- The experience of the Irish language community in military history as it has been dealt with up to now.
- Digital data visualization displays, and their merits in comparison with the timeline functions of my own digital artefact.

II: HOW THE IRISH LANGUAGE COMMUNITY IS PERCEIVED IN THE MILITARY HISTORY FIELD

Review of selected texts

In this section, I argue that there are two common themes in the study of Irish military history today: (i) there appears to be an overall interest in it as a discipline, and (ii) the overall lack of a focus the military experiences of the Irish language community. Ross (2008)'s assertion that Irish historical discourse often seems to concern solely the presence of the British in Ireland appears to be correct in this case. This has led to a vacuum in the field, and that this is not only unnecessary, but also limiting, and potentially damaging, to it. I offer a review works by the following selected authors (listed in order of how they deal with the Irish language dimension):

- i. Kevin Myers: ignores the topic completely without giving a reason.
- ii. David Murphy: does not deal with the topic, but gives adequate reasons for not doing so.
- iii. Damien Shiels: engages with the topic with great effectiveness within the confines of his chosen period of war.

Kevin Myers

Shiels (2016) argues that there is a current theme within Irish military history circles at the moment, that of a disproportionately strong focus on the service of Irishmen in the British army. Ferriter (2014) considers this to be a consequence of the peace process⁵. Although it has been a subject of interest for many, the man most closely associated with the theme in the eyes of many (e.g. Ó hÁinle, 2015) is the journalist Kevin Myers. Myers has mainly tackled this subject as a journalist with various Irish newspapers – usually with an emphasis on the Irish who served Britain during the First World War – and has also published a book on the subject as well (specifically Myers, 2014).

Whilst I have no doubts or qualms regarding his specialist knowledge, my main criticism is his lack of engagement with the role of Irish speakers in British forces during the First World War. In his book, he makes a brief reference to the origins of some of the surnames to be found amongst certain soldiers from the Donegal area, some of which were Gaelic in origin, and some of which were not. He does not, however, treat Irish speakers as a group in and of themselves deserving specific attention. This negligence seems to have carried over into his newspaper work.

By way of corroborating the previous statement, I direct the reader's attention to Clarke (2015). This was a *Sunday Times* review of a documentary film (Ní Chatháin, 2015) about the experiences of Father Pádraig Mac Giolla Cheara, a priest who served as a chaplain in the First World War, and whose first language was Irish. He is noteworthy for having sent a series of letters in Irish to a newspaper called *An Crann* in which he described his experiences during the conflict. Collectively, the letters go down in both military and linguistic history as one of the few accounts in Irish of that war.

What is interesting to note is that Myers, a regular *Sunday Times* columnist, did not mention the documentary in any of his articles concerning military history for that paper. This is somewhat strange given that he is not only synonymous with interest in the Irish connection to the First World War, but also frequently professes admiration sympathy for the Irishmen who fought in it. My own theory is that this is due to two definite themes within Mr. Myers' work:

- a) His association with/regard for the 'revisionist' camp within Irish history.

⁵ The term given to the efforts by the Irish and British governments to encourage greater peace and understanding between the sharply-divided (largely Roman Catholic) republican/nationalist community, and the (mainly Protestant) loyalist/unionist one.

b) A distaste for the Irish language and everything associated with it.

With regards the first theory, Myers is considered by many (e.g. Bradshaw, 1998) to be generally supportive of the revisionist⁶ view of Irish history. This sets him in opposition to those interested in Irish language sources for history, because as Whelan (2004) points out, revisionist historians have often trained in such a manner as to disregard sources in Irish on the grounds that they were subjective. I would argue that this is a flawed methodology on the grounds that it is the duty of a historian to take into account as many viewpoints as possible when examining a scenario in history, and not to simply make subjective judgements of their own as to what is or is not worthy of consideration.

Moving on to the second – yet equally important – theme in his work, it is the considered opinion of many that Myers has an irrational hostility to the language and all events, objects and people associated with it (e.g. Carson & Rosenstock, 2005; de Barra, 2009; Delap, 2008). Such an accusation can be neither verified nor falsified at the time of writing, since Myers does not appear to have answered them in either the negative or the affirmative. Although, given the content of some of his articles, it seems more than likely that he would agree with such assertions (see Myers, 2011 and 2013). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that his disinterest in the Irish language dimension of First World War British military service is down to this particular antipathy.

If that assertion is correct, then any potential scholarly value of his work is automatically tainted by his personal feelings and subjective opinions on the language question. Most importantly for the case against Myers, he cannot claim to be an authority on the subject unless he is prepared to explore it from as many different angles as possible. Another personal criticism I would make of revisionism is that it focuses solely upon the relationship between Ireland and Britain. Such a preoccupation is, in my view, narrow, insular, anti-internationalist, and therefore little better than the nationalist view which they claim to counteract.

On that basis, I conclude that whether Myers' disinterest is down to a revisionist tendency or simply hostility, the result is the same. The view which he promotes is fundamentally tainted

⁶ The term 'revisionism' – in the general context of Irish history – refers to the school of thought that (a) takes a more consistently sympathetic view to British rule in Ireland, and (b) looks at the causes and effects of the nationalist pro-independence project in a somewhat cynical light. Adherents to this viewpoints are called 'revisionists'.

on the grounds that it is (a) based upon a personal bias, and (b) that it is anti-internationalist and severely limiting.

David Murphy

Here we are presented with a work that is unique in the study of Irish military history. Mr Murphy's work (namely Murphy, 2007) is a gazetteer of Irish military service beginning in the 1680s and ending in the late 2000s. It covers the Irish regimental⁷ contribution to the militaries of 10 different military powers⁸ between the dates mentioned above. The emphasis in his work is on the service of Irishmen serving together as ethnically-designated military units, rather than as individuals serving in largely non-Irish formations. Whilst he does acknowledge the existence of an Irish regimental tradition before the 1680s (e.g. Hollick, 2011), his choice of period is based on the fact that a more well-defined regimental system began to develop in Ireland at around that time.

Due to the range of military powers and conflicts covered in his book, Murphy's work is highly ambitious. Given his own family's British army background (see Murphy & Embleton, 2007), he could have easily (but subconsciously) imitated the approach of Kevin Myers *et al.* and focused solely on the British connection. He could also have taken a military formation-based look at the Irish serving one particular military power (Rodgers & Hook, 2008, for example) instead of examining multiple regimental traditions at the same time as he did.

It could be argued that by shifting the focus away from the pre-1680s Irish regimental tradition, that Murphy is, like Myers, ignoring the Gaelic dimension to Irish warfare. However, unlike Myers, he makes his reasons for this extremely clear in the introduction to his book. He is to be commended for at least offering a credible explanation. However, certain regiments, such as the 88th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment and the 10th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Irish) Confederate States Volunteers, are thought to have contained considerable numbers Irish-speakers (Gleeson, 1993; C. McCarthy, 2009; D. Smith, 2006). Both of those regiments, having served opposing sides during the American Civil War, are referred to in Murphy's work.

Although it is not his stated aim to delve into the individual backgrounds of the soldiers in them, culture can often play a role in the ethos of a regiment, and language is a crucial part of culture. Indeed, there are several instances of regimental mottos in Irish in the British and

⁷ Of course, he does not deal merely with regiments. Divisions, brigades, battalions and companies are given due consideration as well.

⁸ This list includes the Republic of Ireland, so Murphy does not concentrate solely on the military diaspora.

American armies (see Ó Maolfabhail, 2011). In the British case, Irish regiments in Commonwealth nations such as Canada and South Africa have adopted mottos in Irish as well. The sole remaining officially-designated Irish regiment in the U.S. military, the 69th Infantry Regiment, offers an interesting modern case study for those interested in the language dimension.

One of its sergeants, James Fennessey IV, or Séamus Ó Fianghusa as he likes to be known, has achieved prominence in recent years for his love of, and fluency in, Irish (Nic Giolla Easbuig, 2011). This story is especially unique, considering that it has not been a uniformly ethnically Irish-American regiment for quite some time (see Flynn, 2008). Thus I would argue that any full study of the Irish regimental tradition to be undertaken in future should place some emphasis on the linguistic tradition.

Damien Shiels

Of the literature reviewed thus far, the work of Damien Shiels is by far the most impressive in language terms (see Shiels, 2016b). His blog – called ‘Irish in the American Civil War: Exploring Irish Involvement in the American Civil War’ – does not have a linguistic focus *per se*, however. Like Myers, Shiels has decided to focus upon one conflict⁹. Its objective is to evaluate the overall Irish connection to the Civil War. Needless to say, there are endless angles from which Shields can examine this subject, whether that be looking at the activities of mainly-Irish military units, as Murphy has done, or those of individual soldiers. When it comes to assessing the Irish language connection specifically, the approach he chooses is a combination of the two.

Thus Shiels’ work contains references to American-born civilians who were raised by Irish-speaking parents (e.g. P.J. Kenedy) and Union army regiments with large contingents of Irish-speakers (e.g. the 88th New York Infantry, which was referred to in my evaluation of David Murphy’s work). In terms of quality, it is difficult to fault either the blog in general, or this particular entry on the blog in particular. Fundamentally, Damien Shiels is giving some of the proverbial spotlight to Irish speakers as a means of understanding a particular aspect of the

⁹ This arises as much from his interest in Irish emigration to America as it is does from his interest in military history.

Irish military diaspora, without losing sight of the fact that the military dimension is still his focus¹⁰. In that sense, his work is an improvement upon both that of Myers and Murphy.

One can compare this favourably with other works. McGarry (2013) focuses on the exploits of Irish soldiers in European armies, e.g. Austria, France, Russia and Spain. However, his references to the Irish language are largely confined to the Irish community in France. A good source of information on Irish speakers in Spain, however, would be Henry (1992) and Stradling (1994). Intriguingly, one particular work (O’Gara-O’Riordan, 2015) offers valuable information on the contribution of Spanish army officers to Irish language scholarship, yet as a work, it is not part of a diaspora- or military-themed book, but a selection of essays concerning the writer and antiquarian, Charles O’Conor of Belanagare.

Areas of controversy

As I have stated previously, the primary area of controversy is the emphasis of Irish service in the British military to the neglect of their service in other nations. Shiels (2016) considers this focus to be unnecessary on the grounds that non-British conflicts such as the American Civil War have had just as much an influence upon Ireland’s history and landscape as the First World War. One could argue that this is due to the revisionist/nationalist divide. If this is so, such a dichotomy cannot be allowed to dominate every single aspect of Irish history. It stresses only the ‘Irish in Ireland’ to the detriment of the Irish abroad. I can think of no obvious reason why historians should feel compelled to adopt this approach.

Another area of controversy is the seeming unwillingness to engage with Irish language sources, as described by Whelan earlier. If, as he says, Irish historians do not engage with such material when dealing with any kind of history on the home front, one can hardly expect them to display an interest in the activities of Irish speakers who have emigrated, for military reasons or otherwise. An “internationalist”, or “post-nationalist” or “post-revisionist” approach is needed in order to combat both the lack of respect for Irish language material and the disinterest in diaspora studies.

Questions raised

I now raise the following questions based on the findings in the literature review:

¹⁰ It is worth noting that Shiels approaches his topic as much from the perspective of Irish diaspora studies as from a military history one. Hence his foray into .

- Why does Britain receive so much spotlight in the study of Irish military history?
- Why have the military experiences of Irish speakers been put to one side even when studying Irish regiments in the British army?
- Why is there not a stronger overall interest Ireland's connections with other military powers?

Areas requiring further research

In the context of the works reviewed above, I propose two main areas of further research. The first category deals with foreign armies which are known to have had Irish language enthusiasts in its ranks, and the second one refers to armies which may have had such personnel, but for which such evidence has yet to be found:

Category A:

So far, virtually all known armies to have had Irish language enthusiasts have been referred to either in this dissertation, or in my digital artefact. An interesting idea for a project in this case would be to identify one particular military power, e.g. the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and based upon what records exist of the Irish officers who served the Empire, make a study of Irish language enthusiasts in its army. Anecdotal evidence (Bredin, 1987; MacManus, 1979; McGarry, 2013; Ó hÉanna, 2013) suggests that this has potential.

Category B:

Some countries, e.g. Canada and South Africa, still have Irish-designated regiments, but ones which have not contained large numbers of Irish, or Irish-descended, personnel for a very long time. There are, however, examples of Irish language enthusiasts in Canada, some who have served in the military relatively recently (Delap, 2008a), and some who lived through military conflicts (Sullivan, 2008), but for whom hard evidence of wartime service is not currently available.

In the case of South Africa, MacBride (2006) maintains that there were a number of Irish speakers in the Irish detachments of the Boer Commandos, and Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú (2011) also cite the example of a priest from Leitrim who learned his Irish in South Africa, and engaged in activities for the language movement there and later in Ireland. Whilst the data concerning Irish speakers in these two cases will, in all likelihood, be difficult to come by, studies have been conducted of the Irish population in this country (see McCracken, 1989, 1991

and 1999). Bearing MacBride's assertions in mind, one could expand upon the data yielded by McCracken's works.

III: DIGITAL DATA VISUALIZATION

The goal of CATTUVVIRR is to display qualitative data in the hope that future scholars can draw conclusions and establish theories of their own based upon that which is presented. Due to the fact that the Irish language community's contribution to military history cannot be measured in quantitative terms such as numbers of people involved, etc., I have determined to use the project as an exercise in displaying qualitative data, which is rooted in grounded theory (see the Tools and Methodologies chapter). Therefore, my project concentrates on information which cannot easily be measured or rendered tangible and/or visible (see Kräutli, 2016).

It cannot, therefore, be used to determine causality or make comparisons thus contrasting it with the more quantitative kind of visual displays advocated by academics such as Tufte (2013). Although I can certainly claim to have learned a great deal through the construction of the digital artefact (as per Frayling, 1993), my ultimate goal is to use it as a teaching tool. This review of literature relevant to digital data visualization contains references to the four main kind of timelines described by Kräutli (static, dynamic, exploratory and open). As the timeline segment of the CATTUVVIRR project is a dynamic one, I shall evaluate and defend it in the context of the other three categories in particular, with references to works concerning electronic visual displays and data visualizations as well.

In order to make this series of comparisons, however, it is first necessary give a brief description of a dynamic timeline's characteristics. A dynamic timeline is a digital artefact which can be manipulated by the user through basic scrolling and zooming functionality. It restricts itself to storyboard-style interactions. However, it has limits on how detailed its records can be and does not permit filtering or searching. Furthermore, a dynamic timeline does not allow the customization of data sets, and neither does it give the user the opportunity to permit the visual displays.

The interaction between technology and user is tightly restricted; however it is possible to view the presentation from different perspectives and navigate different aspects of it separately. Most importantly for my artefact, it places considerable emphasis upon individual records. In the case of CATTUVVIRR, one half of it constitutes the timeline, and the other part of it is characterised by the map (created by OpenStreetMap contributors). A user can operate either facet of the artefact in any one of the following ways:

- a) *Timeline*: either (i) by dragging the text at the bottom of the page – in the section which contains both hyperlinks to each different entry on the timeline – to the left or to the right, or (ii) by pressing the arrow buttons on either side of the text/diagram combination in each entry.
- b) *Hyperlinks*: just below the timeline, there is a series of hyperlinks to each entry on the timeline. The user can click on any of them if he/she wishes to navigate between entries situated in conflicts separated by long periods of time.
- c) *Map*: helps the viewer to identify the areas on the map pertaining to the entries, and zoom in on them.

Every movement of the timeline automatically causes an equivalent one on the map. For example, if I move from Patrick Haverty in the 19th century to Robin Stewart in the 20th (or in the reverse direction), the emphasis on the map shall move from New York City to Belfast (or *vice versa*). Conversely, the timeline can be manipulated with the map by clicking upon the blue markers indicating the locations for each entry. A complication arises, however, from the fact that there is a large concentration of such markers on certain areas of the map. Their extreme proximity to one another makes it difficult – although not impossible – for the user to click upon one without clicking upon the other. As such, the users are advised to use either the arrow function or the hyperlinks on the timeline.

Dynamic timelines versus static timelines

A static timeline is a digital timeline which possesses the same level of functionality as a non-digital one, i.e. it would work just as well on paper as it would on a computer screen. That is to say, it is purely presentational, but does not permit user manipulation. As such, its interactivity – as per Manovich (2001)'s definition of the term – does not extend beyond use of the appropriate browser. This format appears to be most effective when depicting measurable data such as charts and graphs. One of the first issues to bear in mind, as Kelleher (2013) reminds us, is what story is being told when constructing a static timeline. In my case, this offers one major complication – I am not in a position to claim that I am telling one complete story, simply because I have been operating on the basis of limited hard data for my subject field.

Rather, CATTUVVIRR's purpose is to tell a series of individual stories. It is for that same reason I agree with Smith (2013)'s assertion that static timelines, if not used appropriately, can

overwhelm the viewer with detailed information. In contrast to that, the individual stories to which I referred earlier are designed to be short, personal and illustrative. Kelleher's main defence of static timelines is, at any rate, based upon their (undoubted) effectiveness in presenting quantitative information for the purposes of mining information from data sets (see Clifton, 2016), determining causality and drawing comparisons. Whilst I hope that my own digital artefact might somehow help digital scholars to engage in these activities in the future, it is not something I want to accomplish with a dynamic timeline.

Dynamic timelines versus exploratory timelines

Exploratory timelines allow users to manipulate graphic representation beyond that of a dynamic one, and offer more detailed records and filtering/searching functions. Kräutli confirms a relationship between exploratory timelines and the concept of exploratory data analysis (EDA). EDA is defined by Tukey (1977) as a manner of the utilisation of datasets independent of any prescribed hypotheses. This appears to be a variation of grounded theory, i.e. the creation of data prior to the formulation of theories. As my Tools and Methodologies chapter points out, CATTUVVIRR is also rooted in this tradition.

However, as I have stated previously, the creation of searching filtering tools is not one of my primary objectives. Furthermore – and as I have made abundantly clear – I am operating with limited information, so I cannot manipulate the artefact in order to offer access to more detailed records. This can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, there is the lack of interest in the topic (described in the military history section of the Literature Review). Secondly, the keeping of military records in most countries is a relatively recent phenomenon. For example, in the case of Scottish soldiers, the oldest existing military records date back to the 1640s (National Records of Scotland, 2016).

In the case of Ireland, some sources (e.g. Hollick, 2011) cite orders of battle from the same decade (pertaining to the English Civil War), but this is at a time when one could have taken for granted that Irish was the dominant language in 'Irish' military units. When it comes to later periods such as the 1798 Rebellion, the North Cork Militia is often cited by sources such as Cathal O'Shannon ("Rebellion," 1998) as having contained a large number of Irish speakers. During my own research, however, Gibson (2015) assured me that material pertaining to language in the UK's data-rich National Archives – the primary source for most British military records – is not searchable.

That lack of prior existing data renders it impossible, in the case of CATTUVVIRR, to allow filtering and searching functions in order to tell the full story of the Irish language community's connections with military history. As such, I have therefore chosen individuals to be entered onto the timeline who have made some kind of impact on the history of the Irish language, and who are certain to have had military records. Unfortunately, in the case of the latter, the hard data of their service has not always been made available. However, even if there was more information to work with, it is entirely possible that I would have chosen a dynamic timeline after all.

By way of an explanation, let us use the mathematical concepts elucidated by Killoran (2007) as a framework. The Irish language community in military history can be identified as the dataset (or 'set') known as "set *B*". Those who served the Kingdom of Spain can be labelled as "subset *A*". Subset *A* is completely contained within the set, but it does not comprise the entirety of the set. An exploratory timeline would contain searching and filtering functions that would enable the user to find, and visualize, subset *A* in a manner which renders the subset completely independent of the remainder of the proper set's contents.

As CATTUVVIRR is a dynamic timeline, this cannot happen. The reader should not, however, be quick to consider this a limitation. If I had taken the decision to utilise my digital artefact as an exploratory timeline, the user would indeed have been able to filter Set *B* by other subsets such as "Military Power", "Time Period" or "Branch of Service", the viewer's attention would have been concentrated on the subsets themselves. Whilst this is not ignoble in itself, my goal at this point in time is to demonstrate the plurality of conflicts in which members of the Irish language community have participated, of the military powers they have served, and the lengthy time period over which they have done so.

This is a 'big picture' which would be jeopardised by allowing the reader to focus on the 'small picture', if he/she were to engage in filtering activities. On the matter of relationship extraction, which is a key component of searching functions, it is also impossible for CATTUVVIRR at this time to engage in construction of the kind of causal relations described by Rindflesch *et al* (2000) and Ramakrishnan *et al* (2006). By way of illustrating this point, if I wished to establish a correlation between a particular nation-state on one hand, e.g. France, and Irish language community participation in its forces, it would be difficult to do so.

Dynamic timelines versus open timelines

An open timeline permits its users to manipulate its display in a manner using a considerable degree of human-computer interaction, and allowing them to import customised data sets of their own. Kräutli (2016) maintains that open timelines combine the best traits of their static, dynamic and exploratory counterparts, and are thus superior. He goes on to argue that open timelines have two distinctive overall advantages in that they are (a) transparent, and (b) reusable. It is in the context of those perceived added advantages that I shall proceed to defend this particular dynamic timeline, and the thinking behind it, against his chosen digital artefact:

Transparency

I shall tackle this point based upon several of the various categories of transparency as defined by Mantena (n.d.). Although this source uses the categories in the context of network files, I feel that the same principles can be applied to browser-based timelines:

- Access transparency: can the artefact be viewed from a variety of different sources, e.g. iPads, tablets, PCs or laptops? A well-constructed dynamic timeline can be viewed as easily as an open one using such media. The only difficulty in CATTUVVIRR's case is that it is easier to view its contents with a large screen. Therefore, it should not be accessed from small-screen instruments such as smartphones. However, this is a reasonably common problem with many large visual displays.
- Replication transparency: how easy is it to replicate CATTUVVIRR's data at several different sites? Such a task is rendered perfectly simple due to the 'embed' function, which enables the user to replicate the timeline in a Facebook post, in a blog post or on a webpage using an embedded URL code.
- Scaling transparency: is the algorithm affected due to the amount of entries placed into the timeline? This question can be answered in the negative. All additions changes can be made efficiently and comfortably. Therefore, CATTUVVIRR is perfectly in keeping with Diakopoulos (2008)'s insistence that every change which occurs in the system should be easily inferable from the external display.

Re-usability

This is closely linked to the replication segment of the ‘transparency’ section. As I have previously stated, the time-map can be depicted in several different media. One recommendation, however, is that a webpage is far superior to a social media post due to the size of the time-map display. Of course, in order to be able to carry out such a replication, one must first have the right to edit the content of an entry into the CATTUVVIRR timeline. I, as the main operator of the time-map, can extend this right to anyone I chose. A new user can add as much data as he/she wishes with one caveat, namely that TimeMapper, the software which I used to design the digital artefact, strongly recommends that the key fields of a Google Spreadsheet to be used for such a project not be tampered with.

To do so would jeopardise the effectiveness of the presentation. Therefore, within reason, CATTUVVIRR as a dynamic timeline allows a reasonable amount of participation and collaboration from interested parties. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that if a member of today’s Irish language community (with the requisite military experience) were to display an interest in contributing to the project, he/she could be invited to share in the editing duties and input data pertaining to his/her own life into the spreadsheet section. Of course, it cannot be denied that it does not present the same amount of such opportunities as an open timeline. There are, however, good reasons for such a constraint.

By way of illustration, Kräutli explains that open timelines permit users not simply to change how the data is visually presented, but also to bring their own datasets into play. My main objection to this is simply that I would not want any other dataset, except that of military figures from the Irish language community, to be used for CATTUVVIRR. The project must be unique in that regard, because as I have argued previously, this is a dataset which has not been studied to its full potential. In this regard, digital scholarship – contrary to what Fish (2012) seems to believe – has imitated the worst errors of non-digital scholarship, rather than improving them.

My objective is to present research in a manner befitting a competently constructed dynamic timeline so that it might be used to view information regarding a particular cultural and linguistic subsection of Irish society. For the presentation to be effective and maintain any sort of integrity, the terms of the research cannot, at this point in time, be broadened any further.

IV: OVERALL SUMMARY

This shall consist of summaries for both the military history section and the data visualization section.

Military history

The problems within Irish military history research can be summarized thus:

- Too much emphasis on Irish involvement in British military campaigns at the expense of connections with other nations. As an addition, I deem this unnecessary, because in the case of Scotland, there is a precedent for taking an interest in Highlanders who served in the Canadian army (see Nicleòid, 2016).
- With a few notable exceptions, any mention of the Irish language community's involvement in military history so far has been cursory and/or incidental. This is in stark contrast to the lively interest taken in the wartime activities of other groups within Irish society.

In order to rectify these problems, I have set up a multi-period and multi-conflict time-map with a strongly internationalist outlook.

Data visualization

Of the four main types of timeline as detailed by Kräutli, I have argued that the dynamic kind is the most effective one for the creation of the CATTUVVIRR time-map for the following reasons:

- The static timeline has the potential to present too much information over too short a period of time. Such an approach would be problematic for me given that the information I have been using is quite limited to begin with.
- Exploratory timelines place a great deal of emphasis on searching and filtering. I have argued that this could prove a distraction from the goal of emphasizing the multi-national dimension to CATTUVVIRR.
- An open timeline offers opportunities for more liberated user manipulation. The case was put that this would, at the current point in time, prove detrimental to the digital artefact I have created, and that such a strategy

offers no guarantee of avoiding a digitally-based repetition of the mistakes made by non-digital scholarship.

The case has therefore been made that the objectives of the CATTUVVIRR project are best achieved by using a dynamic timeline because it allows both user manipulation and participation without jeopardising the central theme of the presentation. The Tools and Methodologies chapter of my dissertation shall describe the thinking behind my digital artefact and the research I have put into it.

Tools and Methodologies

The Tools and Methodologies Chapter of my dissertation shall consist of the following:

- I. Philosophy
- II. Approach
- III. Strategy and Research Design
- IV. Data Collection and Analysis Methods
- V. Ethics, Reliability, Validity, Generalizability and Limitations

I: Philosophy

Essentially, the thrust of my digital artefact shall be to find what will be, with some notable exceptions, second-hand information from disparate sources, and bring it together in a format that is both visual and interactive. The approach to gathering the information shall be qualitative in nature, in that it shall not be used to create mathematical models, as is the purpose of quantitative research (see Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010). My primary reason for avoiding the more ‘numerical’ approach championed by quantitative researchers is because there is simply not enough data at this stage concerning Irish speakers in foreign armies to create such models.

As I have explained in the Literature Review chapter, this is due to the lack of an organized study of the experiences of such a group. Qualitative research is most strongly associated with interpretivism, which is one of the most popular research philosophies. In order to best explain this, I shall first compare interpretivism with its main philosophical rival, positivism:

Positivism vs Interpretivism

Positivism is based largely on the scientific method, i.e. (i) unsolved problem, (ii) hypothesis development, (iii) predictions from the hypothesis, (iv) experiment, (v) evaluation and improvement, then (vi) confirmation. The most important aspect of positivism for me is its insistence that all knowledge is verifiable (see Larrain, 1979). I have two reasons for not focusing on verifiable knowledge in this project.

As I have stated in my Literature Review, hard, factual, collated data concerning Irish speakers at war is exceptionally difficult to come by, and thus any information I have will be incapable of being rendered in numerical format. Furthermore, much of the information I will have researched, and then displayed, will not be of a quantitative nature due to its emphasis on

human behaviour and thought processes (see the Interpretivism section). These are characteristics which by definition cannot always be subjected to the scientific method.

Therefore, other factors pertaining to an individual entry on the timeline such as ‘military power’, ‘military unit’, ‘military conflict’, etc. are not available in each case (see Literature Review). In that absence, I hope to explore what are (sometimes) less obvious behavioural patterns, primarily the individual’s motivations for interest in the language, and for participating in a particular conflict. However, the interpretive school of thought stresses the importance of subjective human experience, and argues that the world cannot exist completely independent of it.

Furthermore, it argues that experience can be detected and analysed by means of textual examination. This has proven true in the case of CATTUVVIRR, because the majority of sources which I have used to obtain information about my subject are textually based. Exceptions, of course, can be made for video clips, TV documentaries and radio broadcasts. Yet even these latter sources, like their textual sources, contain mainly qualitative information. It would be challenging, at the least, to discern patterns of behaviour for military figures with connection to the Irish language, in that they have been found in the armed forces of six different nations¹¹.

They also have served in a variety of different ranks, from private soldier to general, during a wide range of different conflicts. As I have argued in my literature review, their experiences have been ignored, and without apparent reason. Any narrative concerning Irish speakers appears to have had the status of “Other” conferred upon them (see Sharp, 2008 and Spivak, 1988). Essentially, because Irish is perceived as having become the language of a people who were marginalised, the viewpoints associated with it are deemed as being myths or fictions, and thus the term “Other” is applied to speakers of Irish.

By becoming the “Other”, they can now be considered a marginalised group outside of the hegemonic political structure. As a collective group, they are then rendered “unseen” (and therefore immeasurable), whilst groups which are not marginalized remain visible (and therefore measurable). Interpretivism is considered by some (e.g. Scott, 2006) as being a means of validating, if not completely vindicating, the perspective of the other, because of positivism’s focus on the visible. However one looks at the matter, CATTUVVIRR is an

¹¹ Britain, Canada, the Confederate States of America, France, Spain and the United States of America

exercise in grounded theory. This involves analysing data in order to construct a theory (Yancey Martin & Turner, 1986).

Allan (2003) argues that because collecting data is the first step in the process, grounded theory is almost an exact reverse of traditional research model frameworks. It is certainly entirely appropriate to my own initiative for several reasons. My intention has never to postulate any grand theories about the relationship between military history and the Irish language community. Due to the lack of study of any causal relationships between the two, such an endeavour would, in any case, be impossible.

I seek to take data from a wide range of sources, and to display it in an innovative, visually-rich and textually-concise manner to an online audience. Once the data is put before the public in the desired format, it is my hope that users, academic or otherwise, can use it to formulate new theories regarding Irish military history.

II: Approach

Context of research

My research in the field of Irish military history, and my need to add to it, has two main contexts:

- i. Minority language studies
- ii. Internationalism

Minority languages studies

As I have asserted in both the Introduction and the Literature Review, there is a lack of focus on the military activities of people involved with the Irish language. The information which is to be found on this particular group is largely incidental, and dispersed amongst various disparate sources. This is unusual because the wartime activities of other minority language groups have been the subject of study in other nations, and have, in some cases, become part of popular culture (see Ching, 2010). An excuse for neglecting Irish language sources could be made on the grounds that no precedent exists for stressing the linguistic and cultural background of Irish soldiers.

This is not entirely the case. One particular cause for optimism can be found in the case of work by a Master's student at the University of Louisville (Bois, 2007). This is an excerpt from a thesis on the topic of the Inniskillings at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Bois takes a particular

interest in the background and ethnic culture of the soldiers in this Irish regiment. Of course, he does not focus purely on the linguistic dimension, but rather uses it to give the reader an idea of what life was like for a certain type of army recruit before joining the British army, thus informing and enriching what we already know of their experiences.

At any rate, it is not the job of academics to follow precedent, but rather to offer fresh, yet valid, perspectives on their given fields. The practice of following well-worn paths has caused problems for my own research. Most of the literature concerning Irish military history is non-digital, and it is safe to assume that trends in this trend have exercised a considerable influence on its digital counterpart. Thus, a lack of Irish-language focus in one field will find a parallel in others.

Internationalism

I offer a critique of the fact that Irish military history studies focus too much on (a) the ‘British’ connection, and (b) the Irish struggle against Britain, to the detriment of work on the military activities of the Irish living outside their country. Such tendencies are, from my own perspective, insular and anti-international. In the interest of theorizing, I would make the following assumptions. Firstly, that the usual purpose for avoiding an internationalist approach to any discipline would be that of stressing a more ‘local’ perspective. There are fewer things more local in any branch of Irish studies than the Irish language.

Secondly, that the usual purpose for avoiding a local perspective would be to stress a more ‘global’ (or internationalist) one. Nothing could be more global in the context of Irish studies than the Irish diaspora, the overall story of which cannot be told without some reference to military history. Therefore, I conclude that both the digital, and non-digital, study of Irish military history suffers because its practitioners are not sufficiently local in some areas, and not sufficiently global in others. This somewhat unlikely contradiction is the context within which I have been conducting the research.

Limitations of research

The research behind CATTUVVIRR is currently being limited by a lack of organized data, a lack of data aggregation, and a lack of primary resources.

Lack of organized data

This dilemma links back to the common theme running through my dissertation thus far. There is no hard data concentrating upon military figures with Irish language connections. If a particular military figure was interested in Irish, or came from an Irish-speaking background, such a fact is, in most sources, made quite clear. Equally, if a military unit is recorded as having any number of Irish-speaking recruits in it, or if the Irish language and the culture/folklore associated with it is a part of the recruits' background, it is by no means impossible to verify this.

However, it must be stressed that in the field of Irish military history studies, no deliberate effort has been made to study the experiences of Irish speakers as a whole. This would be understandable if study of the field was in its infancy, but dedicated Irish military history dates back to no later than the 19th century (see Murphy, 2009 and Rouse & Quinn, 2009). Therefore I can think of no compelling reason why this group has been left out, especially when one considers that many texts have been published dealing with the contributions of other groups in Irish society to military history.

These have been divided along various lines such as gender (McIntosh & Urquhart, 2010), social class (Blackstock, 1998) and locality (Henry, 2007). If such social groups are worthy of inclusion in the canon of Irish military history, should not Irish speakers be as well?

Lack of data aggregation

This project has a data collection phase, and a data collation one, both of which shall be clearly defined. However, for reasons which I shall explain below, this is not the case for the data aggregation phase. I shall now begin to briefly describe the collection and collation of information for CATTUVVIRR, and then consider future methods of data aggregation.

Data collection phase: this is the means by which I have gathered pertinent facts concerning military figures connected to the Irish language. The process involved consulting a wide variety of both digital and non-digital sources pertaining to either the Irish language or military history. In CATTUVVIRR's case, data collection has taken place before the formulation of any theories. As such, emphasis has been placed upon ensuring that the collection is conducted properly, because as the Faculty Development and Instructional Design Center (2005) reminds us, an absence of such care can invalidate the study.

Data collation phase: Macueve (2007) identifies two different methods of data collation. One approach is that of summarising data from a single source over a given period of time. The other involves consulting a variety of different sources regarding a similar set of specified data elements, and it is this latter path which I have chosen. CATTUVVIRR's data has been collated under the following fields:

- Title: the military figure's name.
- Start: usually the military figure's birthdate, but when this detail is not available, "Start" can serve as (a) a beginning for the Description of both military and linguistic activities of the individual in question, or (b) as the beginning of a conflict in which the individual was involved if he/she is still alive.
- End: usually the military figure's death date, but when this detail is not available, "End" can serve as a conclusion for the Description of both military and linguistic activities of the individual in question, or (b) as the end of a conflict in which the individual was involved if he/she is still alive.
- Description: the details of the person's life pertaining to military activities and Irish language activities. This section constitutes the main textual segment of the digital artefact.
- Web Page: the source of the media image used. In most cases, this is Creative Commons.
- Media: the URL of the media image being used, referring to an image relevant to the individual's life. This image compliments the textual dimension of CATTUVVIRR.
- Media caption: a brief description of the image, situated below it.
- Media credit: giving credit to the person or organization responsible for the image.
- Place: a place associated with the individual's life. This could be their birthplace, a military theatre or a place associated with their language activities.
- Location: the map co-ordinates of the above area. This is vital in order to operate the mapping function of the digital artefact.

- Source: the source(s) of the information contained in the Description section. These are always in the form of an in-line bibliographical citation.

Data aggregation challenges: as I have stated previously, the concept of data aggregation poses a problem for CATTUVVIRR. Under the current circumstances, I cannot aggregate data in the manner that I would like. This is due to the software created by TimeMapper. In order to create a timeline with that particular site, a Google Spreadsheet must be opened. However, the TimeMapper spreadsheet requires specific fields (see the collation phase section) in order for the time-map to function properly. Any effort to modify, add to, or detract from those fields can cause the digital artefact to become unstable.

Possibilities for future aggregation: it has thus been established that large-scale data aggregation will prove difficult due to the TimeMapper restrictions. This does not mean, however, that future attempts to engage in this process will be fruitless. It is my intention to create HTML-based tables containing cells linking to various entries on the time-map. These cells shall be divided into different categories of qualitative data such as “Motivations for Military Activities”, “Reasons for Interest in the Irish Language”, etc. and quantitative data such as “Military Unit(s) in Which Figure Served”¹², and “Military Power(s) By Figure”, etc. Variations of these categories can then, theoretically, be aggregated with one another

The ‘W’ questions

- *What?* A time-map created with the use of TimeMapper software detailing the experiences of a group of people from military history selected due to their connections with the Irish language.
- *Why?* The intention of this artefact is to critique certain norms and practices within the digital and non-digital study of Irish military history.
- *Where?* The time-map shall be put up on my website, from whence it shall be shared on various forms of social media such as Facebook and Twitter.
- *How?* It has been constructed using time-mapping creation software from TimeMapper, and a Google Spreadsheet.
- *When?* The digital artefact will be shared online when my dissertation is completed.

¹² Some of these are only working titles.

- *Who?* The target audience of the digital artefact include: Irish military historians, internet-based military history enthusiasts, military veterans with Irish connections.

Qualitative methods or quantitative methods

I intend to concentrate on qualitative methods rather than quantitative ones for the following reasons:

- Military figures with Irish language connections have not, as of yet, been the subject of concentrated, serious, deliberate study. The bulk of the information I have concerning them comes from a variety of different sources pertaining to either military history or the Irish language, all of which are useful, but none of which deal with the subject in detail.
- Although I have collected some first-hand information in the form of e-mails and social media threads, most of the data I have collected falls under the category of content analysis. It consists of ‘mute sources’ (see Hodder, 1994) such as books, articles from journals or newspapers, webpages, documentary films and video clips.
- The areas which I hope to get a sense of are the personal motivations the people had for getting involved in military activities and the language. These are concepts which cannot be measured, and measurement is the hallmark of quantitative research (see Moballeghi & Moghaddam, 2008).

Fundamentally, the grounded theory approach which I am using is accepted as being within the canon of qualitative research (Creswell, 2006 and 2008). It is a cautious approach which is strongly rooted in the anti-positivist tradition due to the fact that it stresses the collection of data before the formulation of theories, whereas positivism – just as firmly associated with quantitative research – stresses prior theory as a driving force, even when it is confronted by contradictory data (Kuhn, 1961).

III: Strategy and Research Design

This section shall consist of the data collection method, the reasons for choosing it, the rationale behind selection of candidates put into the timeline, and proof that the results obtained are valid and reliable.

Data collection method

I have collected my data purely by means of analysing second-hand content. As I have stated in the previous section, most of my information has come from a variety of what are called ‘mute sources’. The only exceptions to this generalization are a small number of individuals who have kindly provided me with first-hand information via e-mail and social media.

Reasons for choosing data collection method

I have chosen the above method of data collection for the following reasons:

- Although all the sources I have used are mute ones, they offer a reasonably eclectic mix of digital and non-digital sources, something which I consider to appropriate to the CATTUVVIRR project.
- In terms of their chronology, the sources might prove of interest to the user. The oldest one was published in 1888, and the most recent one was published in 2016. Thus it is demonstrated that a genuine narrative can be identified amongst various scholarly works produced over a very long period of time.
- There is a distinctive lack of first-hand documentation and data (see previous chapters). As such, all non-fictional material concerning the history of the Irish language and those connected with it on one hand, and literature concerning Irish military history, have remained mutually exclusive fields thus far.
- In spite of that lack of concentrated literature, the task of finding information about Irish language-connected military figures from mainly military, or mainly Irish language, material has proven relatively straightforward. For example, military history sources often identify units with considerable numbers of Irish speakers (without focusing on the language dimension). On the other hand, sources devoted purely to biographies of Irish language figures (e.g. Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 2011) give reasonable information on figures of military backgrounds.

Rationale behind selection of candidates put into the timeline

The process for selecting an individual for a biographical entry on the CATTUVVIRR time-map predicates on a certain set criteria. Said individual needs to be Irish-born, or as in the case

of John Kelleher (J. V. Kelleher, 2002) and Séamus Ó Fianghusa (Donegal Daily, 2011), of traceable Irish descent. Certain precautions need to be taken in terms of how recent such ancestry is because some, e.g. Humphrys (2010), suggest that all Irish people have a common ancestor, McEvoy & Bradley (2012) maintain that there are such things as Irish Y-chromosomes, and Radford (2015) points to the possible establishment of an Irish genome. Therefore, if there is such a thing as Irish DNA, there is such a thing as Irish ethnicity, and the existence of this is central to how I have defined my dataset.

The entry must then also be a part of the military diaspora. By this, I mean that the individual must have served a country other than Ireland as part of a military campaign. Those who participated only in Ireland's many wars against England are excluded, simply because their stories are already well-documented (see Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 2011 and MacAonghusa, 1993). For instance, Criostóir Nuinseann, an Irishman who briefly fought for Queen Elizabeth I in Ireland, is included. Seán Ó Catháin, who fought for the IRA against the Crown during the 1919-1921 War of Independence, will be included because of his service in the US army during the First World War some years previously.

People such as Pádraic Pearse, whose lives are impossible to understand without reference to the language movement, shall not be included because although they engaged in warfare, it was on Irish soil and with the goal of independence. Furthermore, those who served the Crown in Ireland in a policing role, rather than a military one, shall be excluded (see Lohan, 2008 and Shea, 1981 for examples). There are many examples of Gaelic scholars with no Irish backgrounds who engaged in military activities as well (e.g. Ó Bréartúin, 2009). On a final point, a small number of individuals have been left out of the time-map, mainly because I am of the opinion that the tales of their military exploits may be somewhat exaggerated.

To clarify, whilst they may have served in the military, sometimes the details given may be fanciful, or verification of their service using other sources has proven difficult. Thus I have taken the decision to exclude them. Another reasonably numerous group represented in the data I found was one which consisted of people who were related, in some form or another, to military figures. Such people are connected to, and affected by, military history, but they are not a full part of it. Therefore, in the interests of maintaining a realistic perspective and narrowing the field of research, they are excluded.

One more important factor is the individual's relation to the Irish language. It is not sufficient for them to be native speakers, or simply habitual speakers, of the language. They need to have

demonstrated a genuine interest in it, made a positive impact upon it (and the community associated with it), or a combination of both.

Why the results obtained are valid and reliable

In order to explain why the presentation of the data is valid and reliable, I must first break it down into its constituent parts. Each entry on the time-map consists of a co-ordinate on the map (on the left-hand side of the screen), a brief biography giving details of the individual's linguistic and military activities (in the middle of the screen), a citation for the information in the previous section (just under the biography), an image relevant to the individual (on the left-hand centre of the screen), a caption just beneath the image which gives due recognition to its source¹³ and a description of the image's content underneath the caption.

With regards the validity and reliability of the results I have presented, the most important fields in the spreadsheet responsible for containing the data are (a) the one used for accrediting the source of the image, which is already explained, and (b) the citation. The latter refers, in all cases, to an item on the bibliography of the dissertation. Gathering the necessary information for the timeline whilst dealing with a lack of readily-organized data has proven to be the greatest challenge of this work. Like all research projects, however, CATTUVVIRR has been made possible by the information received from a combination of both first-hand and second-hand sources.

First-hand sources

As the first-hand sources category is by far the smallest of the two, I shall deal with that one first. They are Aralt Mac Giolla Chainnigh of the Canadian army, Robin Stewart of the British army, Maidhc Newell of the United States Marine Corps and Séamus Ó Fianghusa of the US Army National Guard. These men are a unique part of the project because the information which they supply is based largely upon their own personal experiences. However, in most cases it is backed up by other sources of a supplementary or auxiliary nature.

By way of explanation, let us look at the first example (Mac Giolla Chainnigh). This individual was, as is explained in the timeline, one of the driving forces behind the foundation of the North American Gaeltacht. As such, he has been accorded a reasonably high profile within the worldwide Irish language community. Such a status ensures that finding information about Captain Mac Giolla Chainnigh's military service has proven relatively simple, so much so that

¹³ The source is Creative Commons in the case of every entry, except when specified.

it could even be done without his assistance. However, it is necessary to directly involve him in the process for several reasons:

- a) It would be unethical to publish an academic work which directly refers to the personal life of a living being without at least informing them.
- b) Involving him in the process of presenting the data is a safeguard against any mistakes I myself might make, or any misunderstandings in the interpretation of the data that I may be responsible for.

In the case of Robin Stewart, the social media conversation is responsible for the bulk of the information concerning military activities and one or two finer points concerning his interest in the language. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that I was first drawn to his story due to his involvement in a brief YouTube clip about his life. One could, therefore, argue that it was the second-hand sources which led me to the first-hand one. Séamus Ó Fianghusa, like Mac Giolla Chainnigh, has become a figure of note over the years within the community. The film made concerning his life (see Nic Giolla Easbuig, 2011), as well as a newspaper article, have been the main sources of data.

However, personal contact with Ó Fianghusa was required to clear up certain minor details such as his precise rank. Maidhc Newell is an exception, in that he is the only one of the first-hand sources of information for whom no corroborative material of any kind has been necessary. Given that his was a relatively brief tour of duty (four years), and that he did not take part in any major conflict, there is no question of the exaggeration mentioned earlier. This is another advantage of using the additional research material.

Second-hand sources

By process of elimination, this is by far the largest category of data material. Its defining characteristic is its variety, insofar as it consists of both digital sources and traditional (non-digital) sources. This variety of sources is, in my opinion, a direct result of the lack of interest in the expressed subject. The sources of secondary information can be divided into the following categories (in descending order of relevance to the CATTUVVIRR Project):

- 1) Documentary films.
- 2) Radio broadcasts.
- 3) Books.
- 4) Bibliographical databases.

To begin with documentary films, the choice is presently somewhat limited. Some series, not necessarily of a military theme but dealing strongly with the Irish language e.g. the 'Coláiste Éireannach' series (Hughes, 2015) have contained direct or indirect references to the Irish who have served in both Spain and France. Although it does not concentrate fully on the Irish soldiers of these countries, its information regarding the community with which they were associated can easily be verified in the sources below.

The documentary film concerning Séamus Ó Fianghusa as an invaluable source of information regarding the subjective experience and personal views of someone from the Irish language community serving in a regiment that is, as Flynn (2008) explains, no longer completely ethnically Irish. Some might criticise this source as not being objective. Whilst the views given by the person who is the focus of the film are subjective, the manner in which the producers of the film enable him to express them is purely objective. Nevertheless, the point must be reiterated that the bulk of scholarly work on Irish military involvement with a single nation-state focuses on the United Kingdom.

Despite this, the contribution of the Irish language community to British military history has been overlooked, especially in relation to the First World War, which appears to have received the lion's share of the attention. One exception to this is a documentary film (Ní Chatháin, 2015) which has been broadcast several times by its BBC creators within the last 18 months. So far, it is the only factual film dealing with the theme of Irish speakers' experiences during the First World War. It focuses on the experience of a Donegal-born priest – an tAthair (Father) Pádraig Mac Giolla Cheara – who sent a series of letters to a defunct Irish language periodical *An Crann* describing his experiences in France.

Although the programme provides useful statistics regarding Donegal's contribution to the war, there are certain discrepancies regarding which military unit Mac Giolla Cheara served in. That is to say the name given for this unit does not tally with the known lists of British army formations which served during that conflict. This is almost certainly due to human error on the part of the film's researchers. To add to the confusion, the priest's entry on the Irish language biographical database *Ainm.ie* does not give the unit designation. Having said that, the information concerning the letters and the individual himself appears credible. This is quite a satisfactory situation from my own perspective because I am more interested in the experiences and motivations of individuals than in the actions of large military formations.

Moving now to the subject of radio broadcasts, these do not refer to the exploits of ‘Irish’ Gaelic speakers, but to ‘Scots’ Gaelic speakers, and their experiences during the First World War. In answer to any suggestion that this may be irrelevant, I would like to make it clear that they have been included for comparative purposes. Although they mainly focus on the British forces (see BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, 2014 & 2016), presumably because British army service has played a large role in the folk memory of the Scottish Highlands, one broadcast (Nicleòid, 2016) dealt with the deeds of a Highland emigrant to Canada. Such broadcasts tend to use historical records belonging to the descendants of the soldiers in question.

As with the case of the *Ó Fianghusa* documentary, the use of such material can lead to accusations of bias or exaggeration. However, given the amount of easily-accessible digital and non-digital material which can be used to verify or falsify the information disseminated by the broadcasts, there is no reason to assume that such errors cannot be rectified. Let us turn our attention now to the most traditional of non-digital sources, military history-related books. For the sake of this discussion, it would be unwise at this point in time to completely disregard the field of military history fiction.

There is a respectable quantity of literature in Irish offering fictional depictions of real-life historical events, especially the Cromwellian period in Ireland¹⁴ (e.g. Mac Grianna, 1956; Ó Baoill, 2010; Ó Liatháin, 1966; Ó Scolaí, 2008). Some, such as Mac Cóil (2007), deal with the activities of the Wild Geese (Irish soldiers in the service of some of Europe’s major Catholic powers). Ó Neachtain (2008) presents a fictional soldier’s experiences in the American Civil War, based upon the experience of an ancestor of the author. Whilst all of these contain real elements of authenticity and factual accuracy, they cannot, by definition, be taken as authoritative sources. The situation offers only slight improvement in the non-fiction field. As I have demonstrated in previous chapters, references to participation by the Irish language community usually only seem to occur in a casual or accidental basis.

In some cases, instances connecting the Irish language to military history can be ambiguous (e.g. Ó Saothraí, 1992) or unverifiable (e.g. Ó hÉanna, 2013). I reiterate the assertion that this has been caused by an unwillingness to deal with the Irish language community’s wartime experiences in a collective manner. Thus questions of authenticity and reliability have been in

¹⁴ Some might argue that this conflict was a domestic one. My argument against this is that the Irish soldiers who served the king (Hollick, 2011) and those who served Parliament (Stoyle, 2005) both fought for rival ‘non-Irish’ entities. In any case, Irish soldiers were involved in the fighting outside their own country as well, such as in England (Murphy, 2007) and Scotland (Singleton, 2014).

danger of becoming redundant. However, this is not to say that no progress has been made, especially when it comes to the stories of individual members of the community. Works such as Reid (2011) and Ryan (1939) offer very helpful and in-depth information in this area. However, the most reliable research tools I have discovered the biographical databases, the Dictionary of Irish Biography (“DIB”) and *Ainm.ie* (“Ainm”).

Ainm is an online biographical database dedicated to roughly 1,700 people who have influenced the Irish language community from 1560 to the present day, and is strongly associated with the non-digital biographical dictionary *Beathaisnéis* (NicLochlainn, 2012). Breathnach (n.d.) points out that *Beathaisnéis* often had difficulty because it dealt with people who had lapsed into obscurity, and thus had to rely upon a wide variety of both second-hand and first-hand sources. Needless to say, it is quite a good source of information for military figures. Indeed, it is possible to tag each person listed as a soldier (34 in all). However, they are not tagged by nation-state or conflict. As such the tagged list consists of people who served in several different forces and periods.

DIB is a more general database which covers people who have influenced Irish life. Each of its 9000 entries has its own self-contained bibliography, something lacking in its Irish language counterpart. Ainm.ie has several advantages over DIB. The fact that it is in Irish and deals specifically with the Irish language community gives it novelty value, and it is free off access. However, the aforementioned bibliographies give DIB an advantage over Ainm, if not in terms of reliability, then certainly in the context of verifiability. As one would expect, the *Beathaisnéis* research ensures that Ainm is better at dealing with Irish language activities. Conversely, DIB’s use of largely English-only military sources allows it to prevail over Ainm. Confusingly, certain military figures in Ainm, such as Sir William Porter MacArthur, are given database entries of paltry length, or as in the case of Maurice George Moore, have yet to be included.

Conclusion

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (n.d.) and the Association of Legal Writing Directors & Dickerson (2010) remind us that the main purpose of citing sources is to gauge the validity of a writer’s argument. Given the lack of data which scholars are faced with, it is my overall opinion that the research tools I have evaluated here do the best job they can with what they have to work with.

IV: Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Data collection

I have collected my data by means of the qualitative method. An extremely common first-hand variation of this method is the interview. Although I myself have not been able to perform such a technique in person, I have conducted a personal correspondence with several members of the Irish language community who have had personal military experience. Turning now to second-hand methods of qualitative research, Taylor & Bogdan (1984) stress the importance of previously-documented sources such as films, video recordings, radio broadcasts and text. This final category has proven of particular importance to the CATTUVVIRR Project, and it shall cover both digital and non-digital texts.

Analysis methods

Due to the lack of hard data or quantitative data available concerning the topic in question, I have resorted to using discourse analysis for this aspect of the digital artefact, as this is the most effective method for evaluating such a wide array of differing digital and non-digital sources. More specifically, the analysis methods for CATTUVVIRR should be classified as an example of what van Dijk (2001) would describe as critical discourse analysis because the purpose of the project is to address a social problem.

The social problem in this case is neglect of the Irish language community within a particular academic field. Yatsko (n.d.) maintains that one of the main purposes of discourse analysis is to derive an insight into a person's socio-psychological characteristics. I have tried to emulate this whilst constructing my digital artefact by giving the user of an idea of why each individual entered into the time-map become involved in both military and language-related affairs.

Fairclough & Wodak (1997) point out that ideological work is often done during discourse analysis. Assumptions – which are often in themselves ideological – are regularly made regarding ideology concerning the Irish language movement (e.g. White, cited in Comer, 2016). Such notions are frequently simplistic and/or inaccurate, and I consider CATTUVVIRR an opportunity to dispel them.

Reliability of findings

Morgan & Waring (2004) consider the idea of data reliability to be information in an error-free form. Whilst it has been one of my key objectives to achieve this, I have been hampered, to a

certain extent, by a lack of prior study and hard data. The main result of this is that I have had to make it clear to the user, in certain entries on the time-map, when there has been a lack of information during the data-gathering phase.

For instance, in the case of George Augusta Hill, he is cited by both DIB and *Ainm* as being a British army officer, but neither source given any details of his service record. However, I have taken care not to place any false, misleading or ambiguous statements in the textual sections of the time-map. As I have made clear in the Strategy and Design section, all the sources I have used cite their own data as well as they possibly can.

V: Ethics, Reliability, Validity, Generalizability and Limitations

- Ethics: the major ethical question in this area which I have come across is that of relational ethics. These are applied in situations where a researcher places great importance upon his/her relationship with a person who is a source of information (Ellis, 2007). This was crucially important in the case of the four entries on the time-map related to living people (namely Mac Giolla Chainnigh, Newell, Ó Fianghusa and Stewart). This has also come into play when I had to ask permission to use copyrighted imagery on the time-map. It was not, however, of serious importance for all the other sources, which were second-hand.
- Reliability: in order to test the reliability of the data presented in CATTUVVIRR, the users of the time-map shall be able to link to the bibliography of the dissertation in order to see which sources of information are being used for each entry. As I have made clear in previous sections, every effort is made to ensure that the user is able to test the reliability of the given data his- or herself.
- Validity: my digital project sets out to establish whether or not a timeline is an effective method of digitally documenting the contributions of certain members of a language group to military history. It also offers a chance to members of that group who are still alive to tell their own story. Given that this is a small group, and that the data is limited, I think that the measures I have taken have been as effective as possible.
- Generalizability: even though the study itself is confined to the Irish language communities, I feel that it can be applied to other linguistic

minorities, such as Scots Gaelic speakers (MacDhòmhnail, 2011), Welsh speakers (Heath, 1996) and North America's First Nations peoples (Fox, 2014). The fact that these groups have been given more attention in their own countries could even mean that a CATTUVVIRR-style project would be all the more necessary in Ireland.

Limitations: the main limitation of my research is that the pool of data from which I have had to draw is a relatively-limited one. Thus, even when I have input all the available information into the time-map's spreadsheet entries, it shall still continue to be a 'work in progress' for the foreseeable future.

Main body of the dissertation

This chapter shall consist of the following:

- I. The background to the CATTUVVIRR Project
- II. The significance of the topic
- III. Discoveries made
- IV. Salient points of the research
- V. Drawbacks
- VI. Most effective, and least effective, methods
- VII. How the CATTUVVIRR topic affected me
- VIII. Possible ideas for future research

I: Project background

This project is rooted in my own personal interest in both Irish military history and the Irish language. From mid-autumn 2003 to mid-summer 2010, I was a historical re-enactor portraying Irishmen who served in the American Civil War. When I decided to give up re-enacting as a hobby, I maintained my interest in military history, but proceeded to broaden its scope to include the Irish who fought for other military powers and in other conflicts. My connection with the Irish language goes somewhat deeper.

It is something in which I have had an interest, more or less, since I was 13 years old, and it has had a major role in defining the course of my life. From 2009 to the present day, I have worked in the Irish language sector in a variety of capacities, voluntary, professional and academic. The aspects of the language which do the most to capture my imagination, however, are the history of the language, and of the people connected with it. So, it was inevitable that I pay strict attention to any instance when military history should intersect with the history of the Irish language. Indeed individuals with tangible personal connections to both fields have gone on to become something of a fascination for me.

As I have stated in the Introduction chapter, it was Titley (2011) who first illustrated (a) the lack of factual first-hand military-themed literature in Irish, and (b) the comparatively large amount of such material in Scots Gaelic. Essentially, the purpose of the CATTUVVIRR Project is to redress the imbalance of this situation in a manner befitting the digital humanities. However, whereas most Scots Gaelic military memoirs tend to pertain to the UK armed forces

during both world wars, I have also wanted to include the Irish who fought for other nations as well.

To that end, I sought a digital artefact which would offer the means to cover multiple military powers and periods of conflict. In order to ensure that CATTUVVIRR would not be able to go “off-topic”, I chose a digital artefact which would permit a certain amount of user interaction and allow relevant persons to supply appropriate data. Nevertheless, it would also be presented to the public in such a manner that its purpose – that of showcasing the activities of a specified language group – would not be misunderstood or misinterpreted in any manner.

At no point during the conceptualization of this project has it ever been my intention to formulate any set theories regarding the military experiences of the Irish language community. The goal of the CATTUVVIRR Project was, and remains, to function as an exercise in grounded theory. Borgatti (n.d.) reminds us that putting forward theories before establishing appropriate data protocols can threaten the integrity of research. My digital artefact has been set up in such a way as to avoid that, and to concentrate on presenting information rather than analysing it.

Fundamentally, CATTUVVIRR has its genesis in a personal enthusiasm of its creator. It is my hope that this shall prove no barrier to contributing positively towards the study of Irish military history. As Terras (2010) points out, it is by no means unheard of for works of amateur digital scholarship to be of service to projects from either well-established professional digital backgrounds or from traditional non-digital ones.

II: The significance of the topic

This topic is significant because it offers an opportunity to partially redress the subaltern dimension to Irish studies, and how this dimension has been viewed in the context of both Irish language studies and military history studies. Liam Kennedy (cited in Godson, 2007) has ventured the opinion that the Irish tend to overplay their role in history as an oppressed race. Whilst this may be true in some cases, there are some areas which cannot but be looked at through a subaltern lens. A prime example of this is the Irish language community. The logic of subaltern studies applies to this group – as much as it does to any other in Ireland – because of its current minority status.

Such a status is further solidified by arguments (e.g. Romaine, 2008) that the decline of the language has received very little attention as an important phenomenon in Irish history or world

history. Regardless of claims by Kennedy and others, the subaltern status of the Irish is due to their entirely subordinate relationship with Britain. Murphy (2007) maintains that for the entire period of history covered in his own publication (only around a century less than that covered by the CATTUVVIRR Project), that the foreign army to have recruited the greatest number of Irishmen is the British one. I have argued in previous chapters:

- a) That this particular group has received more study than those who served in any other nation.
- b) That the Irish-speaking contingent have not received sufficient deliberate study.
- c) That both tendencies are due to something of a postcolonial deference to Britain.

Ludden (n.d.) theorizes that some are conditioned to see colonialism as a cultural phenomenon. Perhaps this is the reason for the academic inconsistencies which I have just outlined. If this is true, it is far too simplistic a label to place upon any aspect of history. By contrast, my project shows how some in the Irish language community were involved in building the British Empire, or attempting to uphold or consolidate the Crown's rule in Ireland.

As Moore (1998) points out, colonial narratives are not always characterised by black-and-white narratives of the oppressor and the oppressed. He also cautions us against placing subalternity upon too high a pedestal. On that basis, CATTUVVIRR shall also demonstrate the community's interactions with other military powers and (not infrequently) empires, thus illustrating:

- The fact that Irish military history is not simply a tale of resistance, and that the country's military diaspora at times was not always in a subaltern position.
- That its association with Britain is by no means the only important historical narrative of which it is a part.

Fundamentally, the significance of the CATTUVVIRR Project is that it manages to straddle both the local (the Irish language community) and the universal (the various military powers and conflicts to which they have been connected). Thus far, the discourse concerning Irish military history has confined itself largely to studies of locality, gender, profession, social class, individual military units and specific conflicts. No other scholarly work in Irish military

history, be it digital or non-digital, explores the experiences of this particular group in any single conflict.

My project begins to shed light on their actions, but in an unrestricted multi-conflict, multi-period and multinational manner. Gran (2004) argues that subaltern studies lie outside the field of traditional history. If it can be argued that the study of Irish military history has become too 'traditionalised', I therefore maintain that my digital artefact is operating outside the field with a view to improving it. In summary, the CATTUVVIRR Project is significant because it uses digital methods in order to make the field of Irish military history more open to new areas of study based on a certain group, yet at the same time, use that group to render the field more specialized.

Another significant aspect of my digital artefact is that it places great emphasis on the Irish diaspora. Nic Eoin (2013) argues that transnational Irish-language writing can, and should, be considered part of broader Irish cultural discourse. In my view, this same logic can be applied to the global wartime experiences of the Irish language community. Ó Conchubhair (2008) rightly maintains that the present Irish language communication network is a global construct. It would be easy to consider such a notion remarkable, given the documented decline of the language. However, it must be remembered that as long as Irish was the majority language of the country in which it developed, the diaspora had a part to play in its history.

Fitzgerald & Lambkin (2008) insist that there is no reason why the nation-state should remain the focus of historical analysis. This makes all the more sense when one realises that the Ireland in which the Irish language has played a major role did not have an independent state of its own for most of its existence. Furthermore, CATTUVVIRR's interest in the military affairs and foreign policy of other nation-states illustrates the validity of this point. Hall & Malcolm (2008/2009) maintain that local studies can be used as a means of enriching those of a more multigenerational and multinational nature. As I have previously argued, there are few aspects of Irish culture more 'local' than the language. On the strength of that, my digital artefact is using the community of the local in order to depict the international and the universal in a new light.

III: Discoveries made over the course of the project

These discoveries fall under two categories:

- A. Digital humanities.

B. Military history.

Digital humanities discoveries

- The fact that there is a definite lack of dedicated study and hard data pertaining to the Irish language community in world military history means that a grounded theory approach is vital to tackling the subject. More specifically, it has been made clear to me that it would be difficult and therefore futile to formulate logical or cohesive theories about a field without first building up a reasonably extensive dataset. Parry (2005) maintains that to maintain a theory is the same as binding one's self to a rule. In my opinion, the unwillingness of Irish military historians to tackle the experiences of this community is an unnecessary rule to have imposed upon their work.
- Another discovery I have made is that it is necessary to strike a reasonable balance between user interactivity on one hand and specialization. Leahey & Reikowsky (2008) point out the frequency with which specialization and collaboration occur in tandem. In the case of CATTUVVIRR, the focus upon the Irish language community is the area of specialization, and the collaboration – however limited in scope – is defined by the help received from first-hand sources. A dynamic timeline has proven to be the ideal instrument in order to attain this balance.
- As a relative newcomer to the field of digital humanities, perhaps the most important discovery I have made in the construction of the digital artefact is the considerable drive to ensure that the voices of minorities are heard. Parham (2016) stresses the importance of challenging the way in which knowledge can be shaped by scholars, and of trends in lines of inquiry. When it comes to the military experiences of the Irish language community, the lack of interest has been shaped by the traditional mind-set of the field, something which has also defined trends in the lines of inquiry. In the context of the aforementioned discovery, CATTUVVIRR represents an opportunity to ensure that the voice of this particular minority is heard.

Military history discoveries

- There is the question of the Mac Giolla Cheara letters, which have been referred to in previous chapters. Whilst my attention was originally drawn to them by a BBC documentary, the major discovery in this case is that they are accessible online (see the de Brún entry in the bibliography section). I was keenly aware, before having viewed them, that there was a distinct lack of interest in the contribution of Irish speakers to the First World War. Nonetheless, it never occurred to me that such negligence could have been compounded by the existence of a written account of the conflict in Irish.
- Additionally, I have also been made aware of new data concerning Irish speakers in Canada and South Africa. With regards Canada, I have been made aware of several instances of Irish language activity in that country in the years prior to the First World War, and in the years subsequent to the Second World War. Maume (2009) mentions that some of Douglas Hyde's fundraising activities on behalf of Irish language-related causes occurred in Toronto, Ontario. Sullivan (2008) offers the example of Newfoundland native Aloysius O'Brien, who learned his Irish in the years following the Second World War, although I have yet to establish if he engaged in any military activities. Murray (2000) demonstrates that there was Canadian-based scholarly interest in the Irish language during the 19th century, so one need not concentrate merely on 20th century conflicts.
- With regards South Africa, there is evidence of an active Irish language community around the period of the Boer War, as it has been recorded that there was a Gaelic Society in Port Elizabeth near Cape Town (Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 2011). Last, but by no means least, is the discovery of an account in Irish of a Co. Kerry-born US soldier's experiences during the Korean War. This was published by Mac Gearailt (2004) as a third-person narrative. Although it is thus disqualified from being a first-hand account, it is as valuable in its own way as the Mac Giolla Cheara letters.

IV: Salient points of research

Liu (2011) argues that there is an overall lack of cultural criticism in the digital humanities. It is possible to apply Liu's logic to my digital artefact. I argue that CATTUVVIRR constitutes

a cultural criticism of the insufficient focus on a minority group in relation to Irish military history in contrast with the attention that has been paid to the activities of other groups. This negligence is, in my opinion, an example of cultural imperialism (Johnston, 2000), in that a viewpoint is formulated about a relationship between a powerful nation and a relatively weak one, which favours the strong one.

What is unusual is that the viewpoint appears to originate with academics and writers from the smaller nation (Myers, 2011, 2013 and 2014), whereas writers in the powerful nation (Bredin, 1987 for example) do not automatically encourage this strain of opinion, even to suit their own narrative. It could be part of a subconscious tendency to look to a larger nation for a culture whilst discarding one's own (as explored by Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989). Ó Mianáin (2004)'s assertion that there is something inherently anti-establishment about interest in Irish could also be an alternative explanation.

If so, the act of overlooking the Irish language community's military experiences resembles nothing more than the act of unnecessarily conforming to an established, profession-based norm (see Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). However, it is not the job of digital humanists to (a) presume the superiority of one culture over another, or (b) uphold any kind of orthodoxy. In fact, humanists have a duty to recognise the scholarly work of at least studying such cultures (Weber, 2015), even if it involves challenging orthodoxy. The CATTUVVIRR Project transcends both of those 'bad habits' and proceeds upon the assumption that the study of a minority group is worthwhile in its own right and for its own sake, especially if it has not been done sufficiently in the past.

Nevertheless, certain realities must be faced. As van Weijen (2013) points out, English still has a dominant role in the humanities in comparison with other languages (even those which are not minority ones). The compromise I shall have to make in the construction of my digital artefact is that it shall have to be created through the medium of English (although I am considering the creation of an Irish-medium version of it in future). I have taken this decision in order to be able to present the project and the fact that it has value. Thus I am presenting a narrative pertaining to a language minority in a dominant language.

Another aspect of the research is the overall extent of the Irish language community's military history (the entirety of which would be impossible to present in a project the size of CATTUVVIRR). In order to even begin to completely describe their narrative, one would have to look first to the pre-Christian era (Charles-Edwards, 1996). Simms (1996) ably describes the

connections between the Fianna of Gaelic mythology and literature, and the kern, bands of light infantry specializing in guerrilla warfare which formed the backbone of the armies of the Gaelic chieftains.

They had some involvement in the Hundred Years War (Seward, 1978) and in Henry VIII's wars against the Scots (Bredin, 1987). Clavin (2009) describes the contribution of the kern to the early Irish presence in the Spanish army. As such, there is a great deal of material to be used, and so the decision taken to narrow down the dataset to a select group of specific members of the community was justified. However, such further projects may prove useful and illuminating for future projects (see Section VIII of this chapter).

V: The limitations of the project

I have divided this section into methodological and personal, with specific reference to the categories of limitations listed by both Anderson (2010) and the USC Libraries Research Guides (2016).

The following areas have presented methodological limitations for the project:

Findings which are difficult to present visually

Wyse (2011) reminds us that one of the primary purposes of qualitative research is to develop an understanding of human personal motivation. This has also been one of the chief objectives of the CATTUVVIRR Project. More specifically, it asks and – when possible – answers the following questions based upon the data given:

- If someone from the Irish language community engaged in military activities, what (if any) reasons are given?
- If someone from a military background took an interest in the Irish language, what (if any) reasons are given?
- If someone with a background in neither field went on to get involved in it, what (if any) reasons are given?

My digital artefact is, however, limited by the fact that only the primary text-based section of it can be used if not to answer these questions satisfactorily, then to at least illustrate their importance. Nevertheless, as Anderson (2010) points out, such findings are far from easy to depict visually, especially when the chief visual tools are maps and static images.

Sample size

As I have outlined in previous chapters, I have carefully limited the sample size to select individuals whose lives have been marked by involvement with both war-time activities and the Irish language. The limitation here, though, is that I cannot tell the entire story of the Irish language community's military activities. The main reasons for this are:

- There is a lack of available or reliable data (see the relevant sections).
- I have yet to determine a saturated point, i.e. the maximum amount of entries to be placed on the timeline (see Guest *et al*, 2006). The reason for this is that I intend to add further entries to the timeline when the digital artefact has been submitted.

If I had taken the decision to concentrate on the actions of the Irish language community during one particular conflict, and/or in the service of one specified military power, it is possible that I could reach the aforementioned saturation point. However, since one of the objects of the CATTUVVIRR exercise is to demonstrate the plurality of conflicts which have touched the Irish language community, this is a limitation which I am prepared to accept.

Lack of available data

Available data is fundamentally a question of quantitative research, in which – as Anderson (2010) reminds us – useable statistics have a vital role to play. Sources such as Hollick (2011) and McGarry (2013) offer plausible frameworks which would allow any researcher to give his or her best guess. Nevertheless this field is marked by a distinct lack of available data, which is invariably the result of a lack of prior concentrated study (see next segment).

Lack of prior study

I have described this limitation in detail during previous chapters. The primary question pertaining to it, however, must be re-iterated at this point. If almost every other kind of substratum of Irish society has been the subject of military literature – even to a limited extent – why has the Irish language community left out? It is something which I have largely attributed to either a form of cultural cringe, or conformity for the sake of conformity, or possibly a combination of the two reasons.

Possible flaws in reported data

Over the course of my research, I have discovered three cases in which I suspect – without knowing for certain – the possible use of exaggeration. This suspicion is confirmed in one case, that of Eoin Ó Cathail (1840 – 1928), a manuscript collector who is said to have served with the US cavalry against on the western frontier after the American Civil War. However, there are some cases in which one is inclined towards a degree of scepticism. Firstly, we have Tomás Ó Casaide (c. 1700 – c. 1749), a poet who allegedly joined the French army, deserted and then joined the bodyguard of the Prussian king, a position which he also later vacated.

Hugh Courtney (c. 1845 – 1920), following his service in the American Civil War, is said to have joined the British Army in order to relieve financial hardship following a drinking binge. Whilst I am sure it is possible that Ó Casaide and Courtney may have done some of the things they claim to have done, I feel that I have reasonable doubts regarding some of the finer details of their stories. It would not be the first time that personal accounts of military activities in any language have been tainted by falsehood (Morse, 2015) or exaggeration (Cole & McNeill, 2015). On that basis, otherwise potentially interesting entries will be excluded from the timeline.

The following are limitations for which I, as the researcher, am responsible:

Access

A certain number of entries on the timeline contain information which has sourced from the digital version of the Dictionary of Irish Biography. The limitation in this case is that entries from this database can only be viewed upon computers which have a subscription. Therefore, verifying such information could prove to be a protracted process for anyone who is not a subscriber. A non-digital version is also available, but this needs to be purchased.

Potential bias

Two possible accusations of bias can be levelled against my digital artefact and the logic which drives it:

- The charges of bias I have levelled against certain sections of the academic community could themselves be examples of unconscious confirmation bias. Sarniak (2015) defines this as a tendency for researchers to formulate beliefs and hypotheses which they simply seek to confirm using the

responses to their research. If my theories are tainted in this manner, I welcome any effort to correct them.

- It could also be suggested that selecting a particular group for study is an example of bias in and of itself. Indeed some say that all research is biased to a certain extent (*ibid.*) However, I defend my focus upon one particular group on the grounds that it has not been the subject of study up to now.

Linguistic constraints

Many of the sources I have used over the course of the research (e.g. Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, 2011; de Bháldraithe, 1996; de Brún, 2004; Mac Gearailt, 2004) are in Irish only, and offer no translation. As such, even though CATTUVVIRR is presently in English only, the users of the project will have to rely upon translation services in order to verify some of the information presented within it, or seek further data.

VI: Most effective, and least effective, methods

The most effective method in constructing the CATTUVVIRR Project has been discourse analysis. Its effectiveness is such that it has been the only methodology used for this particular digital artefact. Furthermore, the main reason why I have resorted to discourse analysis is that there is a definite lack of data-based study of the Irish language community's wartime experiences, a situation which negates the possibility of any kind of quantitative research. As I have stated previously, certain texts offer a framework to estimate the contributions of Irish speakers to certain conflicts, but even in those cases no hard data is offered.

Sukamolson (n.d.) argues that quantitative research is eminently useful for seeking answers to numerically-based queries, and for testing hypotheses. By this logic, I could have used CATTUVVIRR to ask an example of the former, e.g. "How many Irish speakers have served in the Canadian army?" For instance, some useful statistics about the numbers of Irish people who served in the Canadian forces during the First World War have been collected (see McGreevy, 2014). However, statistics from this period are not broken down by nation of birth (*ibid.*), and so it is unlikely that language will be a variable.

Turning to the question of testing hypotheses, the same lack of data negates researchers' ability to formulate theories such as, for instance, a causal relationship between the Irish language community and military service in the Spanish armed forces. Thus I am compelled to resort to discourse analysis. Glynos *et al* (2009) maintain that one of the objectives of discourse analysis

is to search for the inherent meaning and subjectivity of human actions. For me this is the most important aspect of the project. The variety of nation states involved, together with the variety of conflicts covered, leads us to assume a variety of different political loyalties and reasons for language interest. As I seek the subjective world views of each individual on my timeline, where possible, discourse analysis is the best tool.

VII: How the project affected me

The main ways in which the project has affected me are in the fields of grounded theory and discourse analysis:

- Grounded theory: researching the military experiences of the Irish language community on a global, multi-conflict and multi-period scale has impressed upon me a firm belief in the principles of grounded theory. The lack of existing hard data pertaining to the subject negates any researcher's ability to formulate any of what Trochim (2006) might call confining theories. Thus the essential purpose of CATTUVVIRR has been to collect data and present it in so that future scholars might use it to formulate hypotheses of their own. Grounded theory involves research that can, conceivably, never end (*ibid.*). Thus I have learned that, once the digital artefact is presented online, I shall be able to add new entries to it, if or when new data presents itself.
- Discourse analysis: given the wide range of sources I was obliged to use in order to construct CATTUVVIRR, I was also struck by the important role of discourse analysis in qualitative research. The lack of organized data concerning my topic has necessitated consulting books, films, video clips, radio broadcasts and online database entries. Needless to say, whilst these are helpful, they do not always give perfect details of either military service or language activities. Discourse analysis is useful in this case, because as Cohen & Crabtree (2006) point out, it gives the researcher a chance to contemplate what is not in them, as well as what is.

Both grounded theory and discourse analysis have, therefore, encouraged me to take an approach to research that is, at once, both cautious and open-minded. Grounded theory has taught me the value of collecting data before establishing any theories, and discourse analysis has instilled in me the understanding that the information I seek is not always in the documents I expect it to be in.

VIII: Possible areas for future research

I have identified the future possibilities for future research based on, and/or elaborating on, the presentational ideas and themes of the CATTUVVIRR Project:

1. A digital project – which need not necessarily take the form of a timeline – focusing on Irish language societies in countries such as Canada and South Africa from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, with a view to exploring their contributions to the armed forces of such countries.
2. A HTML-based table containing the people entered into the CATTUVVIRR Project. They could, in turn, be divided into different sub-categories, e.g. military power, conflict, etc. Furthermore, each person in the timetable could be hyperlinked to his or her individual entry on the timeline. This would enable the viewer to skip from one time period to another with reasonable speed.
3. A timeline depicting the wartime stories of Gaelic scholars who did not have Irish ancestry. They are a reasonably large group – although not as large as the category presently covered by the CATTUVVIRR – and their stories are told in detail in their Ainm.ie entries.
4. A timeline depicting the story of the kern. These were light infantry soldiers who specialized in guerrilla warfare. Originally, they were the backbone of the armies of medieval Irish chieftains, and loosely inspired the mythical Fianna of Irish literature. However, they survived into the age of gunpowder, and helped to form the first Irish unit to serve in a Continental army (Spain).
5. A literary-themed timeline which depicts various periods in Irish language poetry and prose only covering works of a military nature. To a certain extent, this is similar to the previous point, because the first entries in the timeline could be Fianna-related. However, as sources such as de Fréine & O'Donnell (1992) and Ó Laighin (2012) illustrate, certain periods of Irish military history have produced contemporary military-themed poetry dealing with real people and real conflicts.
6. A timeline focusing upon documented events where military figures expressed genuine support for, or interest in, the Irish language in a collective and organized manner. Although examples of this are not always

well documented, sources such as Ó Murchadha (2006) and Ó Saothraí (1992) demonstrate that such an endeavour would be worthwhile. This would be in contrast to CATTUVVIRR, which looks at individual support or interest.

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